

WILSHIRE'S

Volume 6
Jan. - Sept. 1904

Introduction to the Greenwood reprint by

HOWARD H. QUINT
Department of History
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts



Greenwood Reprint Corporation
Westport, Connecticut
1970

Introduction
Copyright © 1970 by
GREENWOOD REPRINT CORPORATION

**This reprint edition reproduces the entire contents
of the original publication as far as it
has been possible to determine**

**This work has been printed on long-life paper
and conforms to the standards developed
under the sponsorship of the
Council on Library Resources**

Printed in the United States of America

335.05
WI
1904 Ja-S

WILSHIRE'S

JANUARY

COTTON STILL KING
GENERAL LEONARD
WOOD

MR. GOMPERS AND HIS
LITTLE PLAN



People of the Abyss.
—Jack London.

Social Responsibility.
J. G. Phelps Stokes.

*Mayor Jones and "All the
People."* —Eugene V. Debs.

*"The Love Letters of Mar-
garet Fuller."* —Joel Benton.

125 East 23'd Street. New York.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

January, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
MR. GOMPERS AND HIS LITTLE PLAN.....	Editorial 1
JAPAN SIPS—AMERICANS GULP.....	Editorial 6
THE PROSPECT OF AN UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM.....	Editorial 9
GENERAL LEONARD WOOD.....	Editorial 10
THE COTTON FAMINE MAY ELECT HYNDMAN.....	Editorial 12
A FRENCH VIEW OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.....	P. P. Ayer 15
MAYOR JONES AND "ALL THE PEOPLE".....	Eugene V. Debs 19
A BETTER WAY.....	C. C. Allen 21
FROM FATHER TO SON.....	Samuel Lewis Brooks 23
THE STRIKE OVER.....	Julia D. Young 23
SELFISHNESS THAT IS RIGHT.....	J. Louis Houle 24
WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! A Song.....	H. S. H. 26
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.....	J. G. Phelps Stokes 27
A SERMON ON THE SUNRISE.....	32
THE PEOPLE OF THE ABYSS.....	Jack London 33
LOVE LETTERS OF MARGARET FULLER.....	Joel Benton 40
PROGRESS ABROAD.....	43
PROGRESS AT HOME.....	44
CURRENT EVENTS.....	46
BOOK REVIEWS.....	51
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	53
OUR PRIZE WINNERS.....	56
FUN AND PHILOSOPHY.....	60

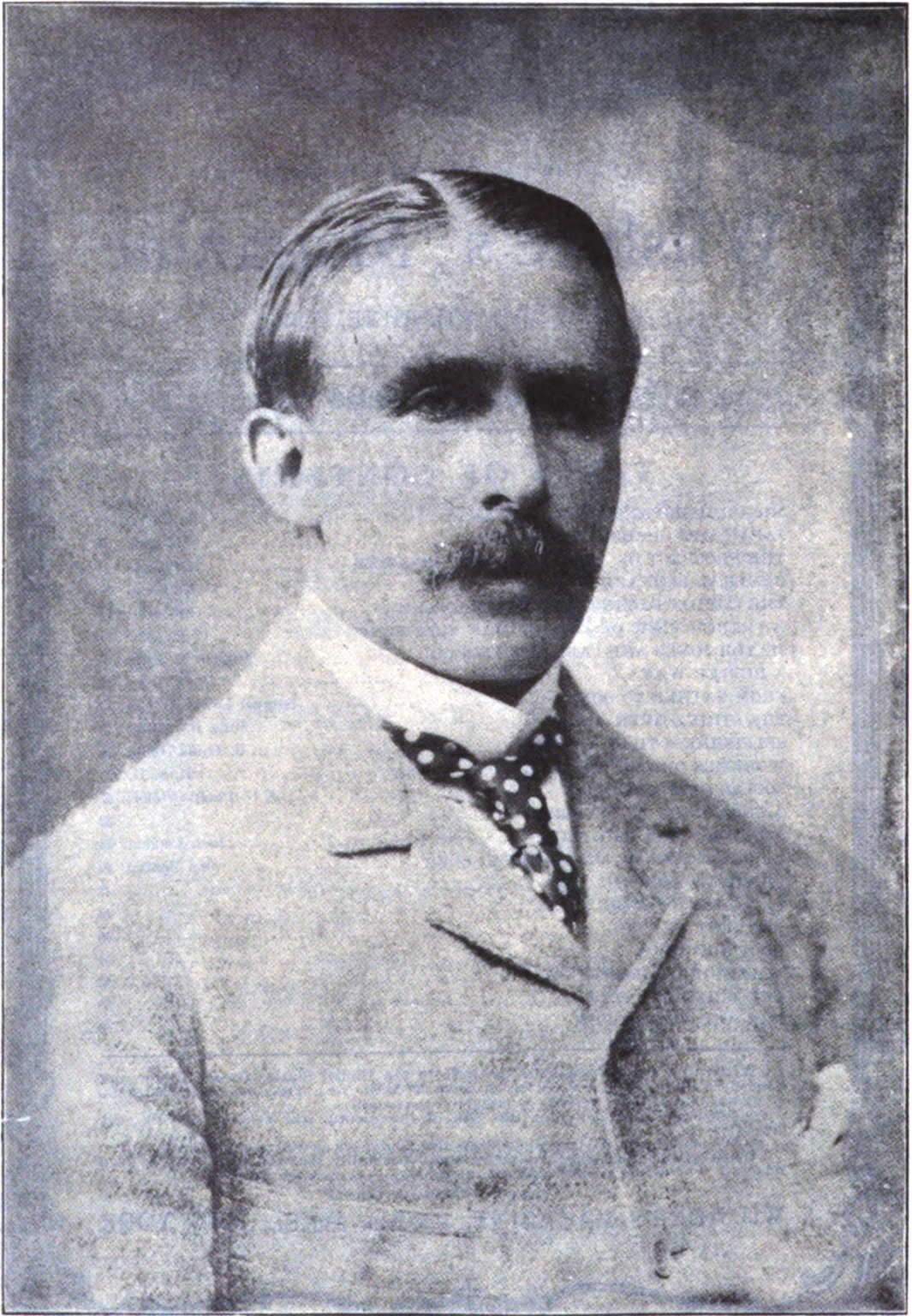
WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE mailed, postpaid, to the United States, Great Britain and Canada for fifty cents a year. To foreign countries \$1.00 a year. Three months trial 10 cents. Remittances should be made by postal or express orders. Subscriptions received after the 15th of the month will commence with next month's issue.

When notifying us of change of address always give old as well as new address.

When renewing subscriptions please state specifically that the remittance is for a renewal. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 1.

TORONTO, JANUARY, 1904

Fifty Cents Per Year

MR. GOMPERS AND HIS LITTLE PLAN

THE American Federation of Labor, by a vote of over five to one, has decided that it doesn't want any close connection between the political and the economic movements of the working class.

Mr. Gompers, the president of the Federation, took occasion during the debate on the subject to declare to the socialists: "Economically you are unsound, socially you are wrong and industrially you are an impossibility." Such remarks from Mr. Gompers naturally aroused more or less annoyance among the socialist delegates at the convention, and among the socialists generally throughout the country. But what else could we anticipate? Mr. Gompers spoke from his own particular trade-union standpoint. The trade-union movement is essentially a movement to raise wages. That this is a difficult task goes without saying. It is difficult enough when the whole attention of organized labor is devoted to this one object, and dividing the attention certainly would not make the task any

lighter. This is essentially the position taken by Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell and the rest of the trades unionists pure and simple, and there is more or less logic in it. Neither Mr. Gompers nor Mr. Mitchell understands the present economic situation and its natural evolution. They look upon socialism as if it were a scheme of industrial government to be imposed upon us by the conscious action of the working class, along the line of a predetermined plan. That it is coming about as a natural and inevitable result of industrial and social evolution never occurs to them.

The Socialist Party at the last election cast a very small percentage of the general vote. If Gompers should advocate that trades unionists attach themselves to this small party, he knows enough to know that his advocacy would influence only a small percentage of the trades unionists, and that little good could accrue to the socialist movement, and much harm to the trades union movement. He also knows that such advocacy would cost him his office. Many

of the trades unionists are good Democrats or good Republicans, as the case may be, and have as much affiliation for their respective parties as a Methodist has for his church. Some would rather abandon their trades union than to abandon their party. To ask a Republican trades unionist to attach himself to the Socialist Party would be almost like asking a Methodist to become a Roman Catholic. It takes a long process of education to make a Socialist. This is particularly true when the man has been doing as well as the average trades unionist has been doing for the last four or five years. He is quite satisfied with the existing system which has given him a good job for the last four years. Of course, he asks for more, but often in his inmost heart, he thinks he is getting all that is his due, and he is simply asking for more because he thinks he can get it.

The knowledge that he produces a great deal more than the very best paid trades unionist gets, and the conviction that he should get the whole of his product, is not as yet widely prevalent among the trades unionists. However, President Gompers himself admitted that conditions for the next year are not going to be analogous to those of the past four years. He knows that we are approaching a period of great depression; and he has warned the capitalist that they ought not to meet this by reducing wages. He has adopted the socialist argument, that inasmuch as the working class constitutes the great bulk of consumers, any reduction in wages will reduce the demand for commodities to just the extent of the reduction; and render the problem of over-production still more insoluble.

The idea of Gompers appealing to the capitalists to keep up wages in a time of

falling prices and over-production is a more palpably Utopian scheme than anything the Socialists ever dreamed of presenting. For instance, here are, say, the cotton mills encountering a reduction in the price of cotton cloth. They have two alternatives, either to shut down the mills altogether or to reduce wages, so as to decrease the cost of the cloth, and enable them to make and sell their product without loss.

According to Gompers' plan they would go ahead paying the same wages as at present, in order to give the mill-workers an opportunity of buying more cloth than they could if wages were reduced. If the cotton mill owners were the only employers of labor in the world, this plan might work well enough; but inasmuch as they are engaged in competition with all the rest of the world, and as the laborers spend but a very small proportion of their wages in buying cotton cloth, and the far greater proportion in buying bread and meat and sugar and paying rent, it can be seen that the cotton mill owners personally would get a very small direct benefit through keeping up wages in the cotton mills. It is self-evident that the Gompers' plan is an impossibility. With the period of depression and falling prices that we are now entering upon in the United States, the capitalists must either reduce wages or shut down the factories. The reduction of wages would be at best only a temporary expedient, and we would finally have to shut down the factories anyway.

Gompers is right in saying that the working class constitutes the bulk of the consumers, and that cutting down their wages will hasten the coming of the unemployed problem; but in the meantime cutting down the wages does give the capitalist a chance to breath a little

longer, and the meantime is very important.

When the Federation of Labor meets next year conditions are going to be very different from what they are at this meeting. There will be no mutual congratulations next year about the prosperity of trades unionism, increase of wages and winning of strikes. On the contrary it will be a very mournful tale of the breaking up of the trades unions, a large decrease in the membership of the Federation, a great reduction of wages and hundreds of thousands of members out of employment. Gompers' absurd plan of having the capitalists pay high wages during periods of depression will not even be mentioned.

The question as to whether socialism is an industrial impossibility, as Mr. Gompers has proclaimed, will probably be the particular subject of discussion. Certainly the existing system of competition will have proved itself to be an impossibility and will be so realized by a great many out-of-work trades unionists next year. When a man is out of employment he is very apt to have his ideas shaken as to the eternal goodness of the existing system, even if he does adore Mr. Gompers.

With competition found to be impossible and Socialism declared by Gompers to be impractical, the trades unionist will be indeed in a perplexed state of mind. Whatever way he may look he will see no land in sight. However, with the collapse of the present wage system, it is probable that the deference he now shows to Mr. Gompers' view of socialism may be considerably modified.

So long as we can get along at all with the present system, no change will be made. Man, as a rule, is loath to do anything until he has to do it, and naturally when it comes to making such a

vast change as that from one social system to another, he is not likely to do it until it has become a vital necessity. And this is the point, it seems to me, which is likely to be reached before a great many years.

Trades unions are only of benefit to the laborer when there is a demand for labor, just as the Trust is only of benefit to the capitalist when there is a demand for capital. The trades union prevents competition among laborers cutting the price of labor below the point of subsistence. The Trust prevents capitalists selling their capital below cost. In both cases the premise is that there is a demand. If there is no demand for labor, the trades union naturally cannot protect the laborer. When there is no demand for capital for the production of commodities because of there being no sale for them, there is no reason why there should be any Trust among capitalists to prevent too much capital going into that industry.

The crisis just now impending over the United States cannot be obviated by action of either the trades unions or the Trusts. They are equally helpless before the situation which arises from non-demand for their respective commodities.

Some people have argued that the Trusts, by regulating the production of commodities, can institute some sort of industrial feudalism which will result in the permanence of the existing competitive system.

There is no doubt at all that the existing Trusts, by virtue of their monopoly, have been able to make much greater profits than they would have made under competition, and to a certain very limited extent they have divided these profits among their respective employees by the payment of somewhat higher wages.

This sop, though small, had something to do with the Federation's declaration against anti-Trust legislation, alleging that such legislation would be turned against the trades unions rather than against the capitalists. No doubt there is some truth in this allegation; but it is also true that the trades unions themselves feel somewhat kindly toward the Trust form of industry which has enabled them to get higher wages than might possibly have fallen to them otherwise. The employer when he reduces wages invariably excuses himself to his workmen by declaring that he is reluctantly forced to it by the lowering of prices. The Trust, by being the only employer of labor, might oppress labor, but so far it has not exercised its power that way. The trades unionists are apparently grateful to the Trusts for the favor they have received, and the adoption of the resolutions by the Federation of Labor is more or less tangible evidence of this gratitude.

The recent disclosures ventilated in McClure's Magazine about the combination of the trades unionists and the trust of the coal dealers in Chicago, by which the coal dealers raised the price of coal, and then, through their tremendous profits, were enabled to pay higher prices for union labor, is still fresh in our memories, and is a concrete example of what Mr. Gompers is grateful for.

With a constantly growing demand for commodities the Trusts could hold a monopoly price upon sales, and if they were entrenched still further in their monopoly by an alliance with the trades unions, and in return for this alliance, gave higher wages, then, indeed, we would be in danger of the so-called "industrial feudalism." And it is not owing to the reluctance of the capitalists or of the trades unionists that such a system

of industry may not some day be imposed upon us. That there is no danger of such a fate befalling us is owing to the fact that such a state of affairs is an economic impossibility. Of this the existing industrial situation alone is sufficient evidence.

Here we have the Steel Trust finding the market flooded with steel products, because the capitalists who have been building steel buildings and laying steel rail, find that there is no longer any chance of profitable extension of their business. Therefore they don't buy steel; therefore the steel mills don't make steel; therefore the steel trust cannot employ men. So that even if the steel trust were willing to pay the highest-asked wages, it could not do so, simply because it cannot pay even the lowest wages, because it cannot sell its product. Hence any combination between the steel trust and its employees must finally fall to the ground as soon as the market for steel collapses; and such is the case today.

We could only have an industrial feudalism by the total elimination of competition between the capitalists, as well as between the laborers, and not only throughout our own nation, but throughout the whole world.

It must be remembered that there is one great class of competitors whom no union can ever save from competition, and that is the farmers. The farmer is statistically shown to get less return from his farm than the average laborer gets from his labor. The farmer is really engaged in selling his labor, just as much as the laborer is; he merely doesn't sell it directly to the capitalist as does the laborer. The wheat farmers of the world are engaged in competition, one against the other, in the sale of their wheat; Liverpool fixing the world price of wheat. The price is determined by

the cost of production at the margin of cultivation. The great majority of farmers are working at approximately this margin of cultivation. They are, hence, compelled to work for a mere subsistence wage like the city laborers. The mere fact that the farmer gets paid for his wheat instead of for his labor does not alter the fact that he is really paid a competitive wage, just as much as is the day laborer. Now, with the farming class so ground down to the verge of mere subsistence through competition in the sale of their products, it is at once evident that they can not get enough of their product to avoid over-production, unless a world-union of farmers to hold up the price of their agricultural products can be formed. This, on the face of it, is an impossibility. And it is not only the farmers who are cutting their own throats by competition. There is an immense body of small middle class men, merchants, etc., who, through competition, are also selling their services at a mere subsistence living. Then, of course, there are hundreds of thousands of laborers who can never be organized into a trade union and who are getting mere subsistence wages. The only people who can be raised above the mere subsistence wage are practically those who are already organized in the trades unions, and these constitute only about one-ninth of the wage-workers of the United States. And even with the trades unionists, their own estimate of what they should have is so very low, being only a few cents a day above a subsistence wage, that even if all the organized workers got trade-union wages it would have little effect in relieving the glutted market of the world.

Again, we have not taken into consideration the competition of the capitalist who is removed from the possibility of entering into a trust and has the price of his products lowered by competition exactly as are those of the farmer. The capitalist himself lowers his prices in the struggle for a market.

This theory of an industrial feudalism is one of the wildest and most ridiculous ones that has ever originated in the mind of man; but, luckily, outside of a few dreamy socialists of the half-baked variety, who are so far removed from the actual affairs of this world, that what they think is of no importance, it is held by no one.

Another idea that is being suggested in this connection is equally absurd. It is that the capitalists when they find a period of depression coming on, and that they cannot utilize labor in productive enterprises, will transfer it from productive occupation and use it creating luxuries. To speak concretely: if Mr. Schwab, who is a large holder of steel trust stock, finds that there is a slack in the demand for steel, and that he cannot employ laborers to make more steel, he would take five thousand men away from the steel mills and set them to work raising roses in his garden.

The absurdity of this is at once evident when it is remembered that when over-production of steel exhibits itself it means that a much lower price will be paid for steel. This means a tremendous falling off in the profits of the steel trust and naturally a great diminution of Mr. Schwab's income. It may be that his income may sink to practically nothing, if all his capital is invested in the steel trust. So that these Utopian dreamers would argue that the moment Schwab's income sinks to zero, it will be the signal for him to employ thousands of men in growing roses, merely to keep them employed. Just when Schwab would naturally economize he is to splurge. Further analysis of this absurd idea is quite unnecessary. It is even more absurd than Mr. Gompers' idea of the capitalists keeping up high wages on a falling market. There is no future for this country except socialism, and there is no possibility of benevolent feudalism or any other thing, side-tracking the irresistible movement of humanity to its inevitable goal of socialism.

JAPAN SIPS—AMERICANS GULP

WE have spoken a number of times about the peculiar rapidity of the industrial revolution in Japan.

Here is a country that only a few years ago was living under a state of feudalism such as obtained in Europe more than one hundred years ago.

There were no capitalists, in our sense of the word, because there was no capital. That is, no capital except land. To be rich meant to own land, for land was the only wealth. Suddenly Japan opened its doors to our western world. The mechanical inventions of the 19th century were adopted with astonishing rapidity by this race of people already fully educated and prepared for using such inventions, but who had hitherto no opportunity of knowing of their existence. Within twenty years steam and electricity lifted Japan from the 17th century to the 20th.

With the growth of capitalism and the extinction of feudalism, naturally capitalists supplanted the old land-owning nobility, and the proletarian working men appeared in place of the old time serfs. Social conditions in Japan, from being static, have become tremendously dynamic. At first the new manufacturing factories of various articles, cotton cloth, matches, carpets, etc., paid tremendous profits. 100 per cent was a normal profit. This state of affairs could last but a comparatively short time, only until more factories

could be built and production catch up with demand. Today big profits in Japan are becoming a memory of the past. The golden age of competition in Japan was short. Not only have profits almost disappeared but in many industries there is great over-production, so great, in fact, that monopoly has come about there exactly as it came about in this country, as an absolute necessity to sustain prices. With over-production naturally comes unemployment, and "unemployment" is something the Japanese mind with its feudalistic training cannot understand.

When Japan had no machinery she, of course, could not over-produce, and with her teeming population she always had employment for the serf. The serfs, it is true, did not get much, but they did not kick because they could see with their own eyes that there was not very much produced, and there were a good many mouths to feed. All this was simple and plain to the feudal mind of the Jap of twenty years ago. He did not produce very much and necessarily he did not get very much. But today, how very different. The former serf is now a free working man. He is no longer bound to the soil. He is free to walk around and hunt for a job. And for a number of years after he was transformed from serf to working man he found the job, and the wages therefor gave him somewhat better conditions

than he got as a serf under the old feudalistic regime. He began to think all the problems of life were solved. If with the building of a little machinery in Japan he was a little better off, then with the building of very much machinery he would be very much better off. This is the way the little Jap worked his mind, and it did look logical enough in theory, but it has not worked out in practice worth a cent. Instead of getting more and more pro rata as he produced more and with better and better machinery, he suddenly found that he got less and less, and, in fact, he is now threatened with getting nothing at all. The more he produces the less he gets, and when he produces the most he gets nothing. Now, of course, all this result might have been foreseen if the Jap had been an American, with an American's keen business foresight, but nobody could expect a poor miserable fool of a Jap to understand such a paradoxical result. And he doesn't. He is actually foolish enough to kick about it. He don't like it at all. He won't listen to the capitalists who tell him that this is all in the natural order of events, and that if he were only properly equipped with the mind and stomach of a smart American he would not think of kicking. So the capitalists in Japan are trying very hard now in Japan to make the Jap workingmen look at things in the light the wise American workingman looks at things. But it is all hard work, and getting harder and harder every day, for we see in our American newspapers that the foolish little Japs are so stupid that they have actually given up the problem and have decided that they cannot work the American system.

They are now going around and saying that anyway the competitive system

is no good—just to think of this Japanese ingratitude after all it has done for them—and they are not going to try and work the old thing. They say that they would go back to feudalism only they can't. Feudalism at least fed them and assured them of some kind of a living, even though a bad one.

It's better to be sure of half a loaf than uncertain of a whole one.

But they cannot go back to feudalism. Steam machinery and feudalism do not seem to fit somehow, and as they cannot go back to feudalism the Japs have decided to take the best part of it, namely, its co-operative distributive features and join it to the modern co-operative machine production and thus have a co-operative nation. The Japs call this socialism, and it does look very much like socialism too. In fact, it is doubtful if it could be distinguished from the American brand of socialism that *Wilshire's Magazine* dishes out. But the Japs, it will be observed, are not taking up socialism because it is a good invention, as they took up, say, the telephone, but simply because they find they must either take it up or starve to death.

The Japanese capitalists are telling them how wrong and how stupid they are to think of adopting socialism, and are pointing out to them the prosperity America has under capitalism, and telling them to "stand pat," and that four years more of Hanna will make all pain disappear, and so forth and so forth. But the stupid little Japs won't listen to the old song any longer and say that they want their socialism now, and they want it bad. The result is that the Japanese Government, which is a capitalist government, just like our own government, is trying as hard as it can to smother the cries of the new-born

socialist Jap baby, and a number of the leaders in the socialist movement have been sent to jail, and no doubt others would have been Maddenized to Canada if Japan had either a Madden or a Canada. There are a few modern improvements, however, that Japan seems to have missed getting, and Madden is one of them.

Just now, however, the Japanese Government seems to have discovered a new foe, and a most dangerous one, for it is a foe within the ramparts. It was difficult enough to fight the socialists, but to find it necessary to arm itself against the capitalists and fight foes in the front and traitors behind is a situation of extreme danger.

It would appear that the American Tobacco Trust, allied with certain of the Japanese tobacco magnates, has very nearly captured the entire tobacco trade of the nation. However, in devoting themselves strictly to business and leaving politics alone, the tobacco men seem to have missed it, for the other Japanese capitalists, those who do control politics, are saying that it will never do to let the tobacco men run things, and they have determined to run the tobacco business by having the government own and manage the business. It's all very interesting. The following from the New York Commercial explains:

The measure for monopoly of the sale of manufactured product provides that the cigarette business shall be taken over first, and this on or about June 1, 1904. A year later the cigar trade is to be monopolized, and after that the smoking tobacco business, thus allowing three years for the process.

The circular explaining the reasons for the desired monopoly was sent throughout the empire on Oct. 15, and on that day published in *Jiji Shimo*, the officially inspired gazette of Japan. It is, in part, as follows:

"From the careful consideration of the present state of the tobacco business, and from the deep study of the financial conditions of the country, the government thinks it necessary to make an improvement on, or proceed a step

further than, the present system of tobacco monopoly.

"A careful observation of the tobacco manufacturing business in this country reveals a fact that no one can deny, that the demand for cigarettes is increasing day by day, which is followed by the invention of new machines, and the use of the machines results in the subjugation of the smaller manufacturers to the larger.

"Our financial condition today makes the government consider the tobacco manufacturing monopoly to be one of the most important sources of revenue. It is needless to say that the present system was also made to meet the same purpose. Nearly all the other sources, being taxed sufficiently, if not in excess, can no longer be relied upon to make up a sufficient revenue to meet the expenditure of the government, which increases every year with the country's progress towards prosperity and civilization. Therefore, on tobacco alone, we trust to increase our revenue, if a good system be adopted. And now is the time to adopt the good system.

"The government intends to build about 40 factories throughout the country, commencing in 1904, and completing them all by 1909. But the factories now used by the present manufacturers which the government may consider suitable or necessary will be bought and used by the government.

"Selling organization: Wholesale dealers will be appointed in important cities and retailers in every district; the former are to buy the manufactured goods from the government and sell to the retailers, who supply the consumers. The present licensed manufacturers, leaf tobacco brokers, and brokers in manufactured goods will be given a privilege to be wholesale dealers.

"Should the present retailers desire to continue in the same occupation, permission will be given them; and those manufacturers and brokers in leaf and manufactured goods who are unable to become wholesale dealers but desire to be retailers, will be given permission also."

It is true that the government alleges that one reason for the taking over of the tobacco monopoly is a fiscal one, that it will afford a great source of revenue for the state, but one can easily see that the taking over will also greatly strengthen the hands of the government and will, therefore, be a desirable move for them to make irrespective of any fiscal considerations.

Suppose that the Roosevelt administration should declare that they had determined upon taking over the Tobacco Trust in this country and running it as a government undertaking just as our

post office is run. Would anyone believe them if they should say that they were simply doing it because the tobacco business would afford a fine revenue for the state? In the first place it is absurd to think of such a thing happening anyway, because the Tobacco Trust, which is closely allied to the Standard Oil Trust—and in fact all the big trusts are closely allied—has already annexed Roosevelt & Co., as it would be about as absurd to talk of Roosevelt annexing Rockefeller, as it would be of talking about Panama annexing the United States. But ignoring the palpable absurdity of such an event, and granting its possibility, it can be seen how such a move would increase the power of the state.

Not only as to the working class, but particularly in reference to the capitalist class.

The capitalists in control of the state would become more powerful against the Trusts not nationalized with every Trust they nationalized.

However, this is all dreaming. Japan may nationalize her Tobacco Trust, but the United States will never nationalize her Tobacco Trust nor any other Trust until we Americans are ready to nationalize all our Trusts. We will never make two bites of our Trust cherry, no matter what the Japs may do..

Let the Nation Own the Trusts.

This means All the Trusts and All at Once and Right Now.

This does not mean that we would not take one trust at a time if we could get them that way, but it simply means that our philosophy teaches us that we could not take our milk by the teaspoonful even if we preferred sipping to gulping.

THE PROSPECT OF AN UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

THIS magazine has consistently predicted the ultimate appearance of a huge unemployed problem of unexampled dimensions. We think this prophecy is now about to be realized.

Upon October 12th the Southern Pacific Railway Company discharged 1,200 men, and it is said that the New York Central is about to follow suit.

That the number of men now employed by the railways has increased over fifty per cent. in the last seven years is not generally known. Here are the statistics:

	Number of Employees.	—Increase—	
		Number.	Per Ct.
1895.....	785,034
1896.....	826,620	41,586	5.3
1897.....	823,476	*3,144	0.4
1898.....	874,558	51,082	6.2
1899.....	928,924	54,366	6.2
1900.....	1,017,653	88,729	9.5
1901.....	1,071,169	53,516	5.2
1902.....	1,189,315	110,291	11.0
1902, over 1895....	404,281	51.5

*Decrease.

During the same period, while the number of men increased 51.3 per cent. the total amount paid in wages increased 51.7 per cent., practically nothing at all *per capita*, notwithstanding all the talk

about the increase in wages that is going about the country.

	—Increase—	
	Amount.	Per Ct.
1895.....	\$445,508,261
1896.....	468,824,531	\$23,316,270 5.2
1897.....	465,601,581	*3,222,950 0.7
1898.....	495,055,618	29,454,037 6.3
1899.....	522,967,896	27,912,278 5.6
1900.....	577,264,841	54,296,945 10.3
1901.....	610,713,701	33,448,860 5.8
1902.....	676,028,592	66,314,891 10.9
1902, over 1895	230,520,331	51.7

*Decrease.

While the railways are paying \$230,520,331 more in wages today than they did in 1895 they have nothing to complain about, as their earnings have increased \$651,008,805, leaving them a balance to the good of over 420 million dollars.

	—Increase—	
	Gross Earnings.	Amount. Per Ct.
1895.....	\$1,075,371,462
1896.....	1,150,169,376	\$74,797,914 6.9
1897.....	1,122,089,733	*28,079,643 2.4
1898.....	1,247,325,621	125,235,888 11.0
1899.....	1,313,610,118	66,284,497 5.3
1900.....	1,487,044,814	173,434,696 13.2
1901.....	1,588,526,037	101,481,223 6.8
1902.....	1,726,380,267	137,854,230 8.7
1902 over 1895	651,008,805	60.5

*Decrease.

However, under the existing system of financing a large part of this 420 millions is absorbed in fixed charges upon new bonded issues, and the balance when applied to dividends upon the stock becomes in the view of the directors almost a fixed charge, so zealously do they guard against any expenditure that may mean decreased net revenue.

Just now there is good reason in the minds of the railway managers to look for a serious diminution in freight receipts. This means not only less demand for men, but less revenue, so the railways will have two excellent reasons for laying off men—the opportunity and the necessity.

Of the 404,000 men that have been added to the pay roll of the railways since 1895, there is good reason for believing that 200,000 or more will be laid off before 1905.

GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

THERE is a great fuss now going on about the rapid advancement of General Wood.

Wood first enlisted, entered the army, as a line officer by appointment in 1886, then later went into the medical service, where he remained until the Spanish war when he resigned and, together with the redoubtable Teddy, organized the Rough Riders.

From a colonel of the Rough Riders he was successively advanced, first by

McKinley and later by Roosevelt through various civil and military offices in Cuba, until now, with this last upward step, he is in line for the head of the United States army.

The kick against this last advance which is now being made in the Senate, is based upon three principal reasons: First, that Wood took a present of a silver service from a gambling club in Havana in return for giving it a license to carry on gambling. This charge,

if proven, should not only be sufficient to prevent Wood's advancement, but to drive him from the army altogether. However, it is not by any means proven, and would seem to be only brought up for the purpose of preventing Wood's promotion. The evidence is ridiculously flimsy, and the general opinion that there is nothing in it is well founded.

The second charge is that Wood was unduly active in procuring the conviction of Hanna's friend, Major Rathbone, of postal frauds in Cuba. This has resulted in Hanna making every effort to prevent Wood's advancement, although why this charge, even if proven, should have any great weight it is hard to see. The amount of this matter is that the evidence that Hanna purchased his first election to the Senate from Ohio, and that Rathbone was his go-between, is so infinitely stronger than any evidence that Wood treated Rathbone unfairly, that the comparison is absurd in its disparity.

Bribery of state legislatures by millionaires aspiring to the U. S. Senate is common enough not to attract any particular attention, but what is uncommon is that after the thing has been done and over with and the scandal almost died out, for the senator to be willing to bring it to the public mind again simply in order to pay off a political debt. There is such a thing as sticking to a friend, but then—

The final charge is that Wood's advancement pushes him over the heads of other officers much longer in the service than he, and that it is consequently unjust. It seems to me that the sooner we establish a precedent for the advancement of young and efficient men of the army ahead of those who hold rank

simply owing to seniority, the better it will be for the army. If there is one service in which youth and talent should be given the first place it is in the military service. When the late war of the rebellion began the North suffered tremendously owing to being handicapped with having decrepid old Mexican war veterans as her generals. Not until these old fossils were weeded out could any battles be won. A generalship should not be awarded to a man as a matter of personal justice to him, nor as a personal reward of any kind, but simply because the state considers that the recipient will make a good general. Hence, the principle involved in the promotion of Wood over his seniors, if of any moment at all, is all in his favor. The real point at issue is simply his superior competency over those over whose heads he is to be promoted.

Certainly he is one of the very few men who went into the Spanish war and came out with honor as to both his military and civil record. Whatever may be alleged against him for delinquencies, his conduct at San Juan and his administration of affairs at Santiago and Havana are admittedly creditable to the highest degree.

It is superfluous to say that we are not admirers of Mr. Roosevelt or his methods, and therefore when we find occasion to endorse his action regarding General Wood, it cannot be laid to our friendly feeling to the administration. Wood is very probably the best man possible for head of our army. The very fact that he is not bound by the narrow traditions of a long training in military life gives him a much broader grasp of life than would be likely to be found in a West Point graduate.

THE COTTON FAMINE MAY ELECT HYNDMAN

NO better example of the anomalies of our existing system can be found than the present situation of the cotton market.

This year's American crop is ten million bales, last year's crop was twelve million bales. A bale contains about 490 pounds. The average price last year was \$35 per bale. This year, owing to the short crop, the average price will be over \$50 per bale. The price today (Dec. 3) is over \$50, but a good many bales were sold before the rise at less than \$40.

As a result of our producing two million bales of cotton less this year, we receive over a 100 million dollars more than we did last year.

The less cotton the growers produce the more the world pays them. Of the total crop 65 per cent. usually goes abroad, so that Europe will pay us this year for our cotton something like 150 millions of dollars more than she did last year, and get 15 per cent. less cotton. She has already paid us on this account over 50 million dollars in excess of what she paid us last year, and that the other millions are bound to come to America is an economic necessity.

This tremendous and unexpected drain of gold from Europe to America, when augmented by the enormous amount she must send us in payment for our other agricultural crops, soon to be sent her, and all this added to the amount which will become due us for the great surplus of manufactured goods we are getting ready to "dump" upon her is simply going to paralyze the European money market to an unprecedented degree. We have in this magazine been

steadily predicting a tremendous unemployed problem as being due to arrive soon. We now foresee that a financial panic is also likely to accompany it. It may not, but, whether it does or not, we are soon to have our unemployed problem.

What an absurd world we live in, and how much more absurd that we stand for it all, when we can change things for the better whenever we wish!

Here we are paying far more for far less cotton this year than we did last year, and the extra payment, instead of being of benefit, actually endangers the whole industrial structure of the world.

Suppose society were organized on the basis of co-operation, and that then the cotton-growers should deliberately destroy one-sixth of the cotton crop and ask society to pay them twice as much for the remaining five parts as it paid them for the whole six parts the year before.

And suppose society should agree to this without a murmur, and, in fact, congratulate the cotton-growers upon their superior sagacity in creating the artificial scarcity and getting a greater reward. Would we not think society had gone quite crazy? Of course we would. Why do we not think society crazy now? It is doing exactly the same thing. Simply because our industrial system is organized in such a crazy manner that we are not surprised when society acts crazily, for we know that it must do so in order to conform to its crazy organization.

If I am carrying a heavy weight in my right hand I must lean to the left in order to counterbalance it. Nobody would

think me crazy for leaning to the left if he saw I was carrying a heavy weight. But if he did not see the weight he would naturally think something had gone wrong with me either physically or mentally.

We all see the heavy weight that society is carrying in our absurd economic system, and, therefore, we are not surprised at seeing everyone living lop-sided lives, for we know the reason why.

We would like to walk straight; we think it more beautiful to stand upright than bent, but we would rather cringe and live than die with heads unbowed. Life itself is but a result of the organism modifying itself to a changing environment.

We preach the Golden rule, but we do not follow it, simply because we cannot unless we are willing to starve to death in the following.

However, to continue regarding the cotton situation.

There will be thousands of hands thrown out of employment in the cotton mills of this country and England. The famine in cotton is unprecedented since the civil war. These poor people will many of them die. They would like to live. They would fight for life if they knew what or whom to fight.

But what or whom can they fight?

It is the economic system which envelops us all; that is our common enemy, and to fight it requires the concerted work of many.

In the South, where labor is so little advanced, not much can be looked for in the way of intelligent protest against the present order of things.

In the New England states the cotton hands are more intelligent and more may be looked for, but not much. The arduous confined life of the weaver seems to sap all the life and vim out of him.

This is not so much the case in England, where the work is lighter.

We may look for the protest from England being more marked than in America.

Just before sailing for home last autumn, I went down into Lancashire,

to Burnley, which is the heart of the cotton manufacturing business of England. Hyndman was with me. He is standing for parliament from Burnley, it will be remembered; and we had one of the finest socialist meetings in the town hall there that it has ever been my pleasure to address. Hyndman is immensely popular with the Burnley people, and the announcement that he is to speak always insures a crowded house. He made a great speech, and a prophetic one, now that I recall it. He warned his audience that they, the people of Burnley, were living always in dependence upon what was almost the whim of the cotton growers and speculators of a foreign land, and that any day they might be starving, owing to events in America transpiring over which they in Burnley had absolutely no control. He called upon them to join the great world movement to put the earth at the democratic disposal of all its inhabitants, irrespective of the possession of bonds, stocks and title deeds to land. There was a great response from the house. However the weavers and spinners of this country may vote, there is no doubt that their brethren in Burnley are going to support Hyndman and the Socialist Party.

If a few months ago the Burnley people appreciated the vulnerable position they were in from the control of cotton—and therefore their right to live—by America, how much more will they today feel the terror of their state when this tremendous rise in price closes up their mills and throws them upon the streets to beg for bread.

The present price of raw cotton, compared with the price of cotton cloth, makes it impossible for the mills to run at a profit, and, anyway, they have not the cotton to weave. By the time the price of cloth finally rises to a point justifying the mills to operate, the workers of Burnley will have had as stern an object lesson in behalf of Hyndman and socialism as an empty stomach can convey to minds already more than half ready for conviction.

The ordinary wages earned by a weaver in Burnley run from \$5 to \$6

per week. Men and women seem to earn about the same amount.

A good house can be rented for \$1.25 per week.

A man can take six looms if he has a helper, and earn \$9 a week; but he must pay \$2 of this to the helper, so he is not much better off after all.

The Burnley weavers marry early; for marriage means doubling the income and halving the expense. This is the theory, but it doesn't always work out. The arrival of a baby often disturbs the theory. It costs \$1.25 to board a baby until it is three years old. After that age it does not seem to be the fashion to board Burnley babies. They are left to shift for themselves, practically unattended, in the house or on the street, while the parents work in the mill.

In making a tour of inspection through the schools, I was particularly struck with the superior appearance of the very young children over the older ones. I remarked on this fact to the superintendent of the schools, and he attributed it to the better care the very young children received when they were nursed out.

However, the being left to shift for themselves on the street does not last very long, for as soon as they are fourteen years of age, they are taken into the mills and begin their life in the lint and dust, to go down to the notoriously early grave of the cotton weaver.

Probably one of the most striking things a stranger notices in the Lancashire district is the wearing of wooden clogs instead of leather boots. The clog is about the same thing as a shoe, except that it has a wooden sole protected from wear by iron bands. The wearing of clogs is almost universal with the weavers, for they are cheaper than shoes and really more comfortable for use in the mills where a great deal of walking is not necessary. The wooden sole gives a perfectly dry and always warm footgear, and when the irons wear out a few cents puts on new ones, giving practically new clogs. It is true clogs are not beautiful to gaze upon, nor is their sound pleasant to the ears; neither do they add to the grace of the

wearer. They would hardly do for a waltz, but, on the other hand, there are a good many who prefer a clog-dance to a waltz, anyway.

Hyndman, when first nominated by the socialists of Burnley, had only one candidate in opposition to him, the Conservative. The Liberal candidate, Sir Philip Stanhope, who had been the sitting member for some years, withdrew and declared in an open letter that he would not oppose Hyndman, as he thought that the working class in Burnley should have a socialist represent them in parliament. Things went along this way for several months, and it looked as if Hyndman would have a clear field as far as the Liberals were concerned; but finally a certain Mr. Fred Maddison popped up and was adopted by the Liberals of Burnley as their official candidate, under the name of Liberal-Labor Party.

This Maddison is a kind of animal that has not as yet been bred in the United States, and let us hope we may always be spared the visitation. He is known as a professional "Labor" candidate; one who is always at the disposal of the Liberal Party whenever they wish to use him as a "Labor" candidate to split the socialist vote in a constituency where there seems danger of a socialist candidate being successful. The Liberal Party loves to point him out as an instance of how it recognizes the "claims of labor."

Whenever occasion arises in the Liberal Party for the doing of such dirty political work that no clean man will undertake it, Mr. Maddison is ready.

Our friend Mr. Madden in the U. S. post office, who exiles us to Canada, is not as bad as Maddison, for he never knows he is doing dirty work. He has no sense of smell. But he, too, is pointed out by the Republican Party as an instance of how that party recognizes the claims of labor. In fact, he has so long been pointed out as an example of how the Republican Party rewards a nice, good little workingman, that now the party is afraid to bounce him, although there is not a member of Congress but has his hammer out for him, owing to

his having put everybody by the ears who has had any dealing with his department in the post office.

However, I did not intend to run in either Madden or Maddison in this article upon cotton. It is wonderful the operation of the human mind.

I hear that Hyndman is still having tremendous meetings, not only in Burnley, but in all the great cities of England. It is said his meetings are by far the greatest socialist meetings ever held

in England, and are attracting an immense amount of attention. It is a pity he cannot find time to come over here and stir us up. There can be no question that what with Chamberlain's talking for protection and Hyndman for Socialism, in connection with the tremendous unemployment problem so fast developing there, England has never before been so awakened to the necessity of doing something to save her soul and body from general ruin and damnation.

A French View of the German Elections

Translated from *La Revue Socialiste* by P. P. AVER

THE struggle in the recent legislative elections in Germany has been especially acute. The Constitution of the Empire, elaborated the day after the war with France, has not given to the Reichstag a direct influence on the destinies of its representatives. The Kaiser is still an absolute master; it is he who elects the Chancellor of the Empire, under whose direction the representatives are but subordinates, and it is on this Chancellor's pleasure that their tenure depends.

Thus the Nation's Assembly has but a consulting role, and too often, unfortunately, has but a semblance of the position which it should have in the political life of a great nation such as Germany. Yet public opinion is stronger than the Constitution, the importance of the peoples' representatives elected by universal suffrage having much weight. A symptom of this state of public opinion with reference to the last election is, that the percentage of registered voters who took part

was much in excess of preceding elections. In Berlin, for example, over eighty per cent. of the registered voters cast their vote, and in Essen ninety-five per cent., with like results everywhere.

The elections of June, 1903, were made principally on the issue of the protective tariffs introduced in the Reichstag toward the close of the last legislature by the party of the right, made up of the representatives of the great landlord interests of the old feudal nobility, who complain of their yearly diminishing incomes, owing to increasing cereal imports. Russia, in particular, exports to Germany large quantities of wheat and coarse grains at prices which, in spite of duties, are much lower than the German landlords wish to obtain.

This live issue had during several months preceding the elections grouped and consolidated the different political parties in two great parties; one, the majority, embracing all the parties of the right, the Catholic centre and a part

of the Liberals, declared itself for the raising of the tariff; the other, the minority party, made up of Socialists and a small group of Liberals, remained faithful to its principles and opposed with all its strength its opponent. Thus we find a reactionary coalition bent upon refusing all reforms and granting no concessions.

The converse is the Social Democratic party, which at all times has been the defender of the interests of the working classes. The Berliner Tageblatt, the organ of the Liberal minority, on the eve of the election stated: "Every voter who has not voluntarily corked his ears knows into what the issue resolves itself. It becomes necessary to vanquish political and economic reaction."

The ground thus prepared was especially favorable to the Socialist candidates, the party following the program enunciated at Erfurt, 1891, pledging itself to the abolishment of all indirect duties, tariffs, and all economic measures which sacrifice the interests of the collectivity in favor of the interests of a privileged minority. This attitude taught the German proletariat that Socialism and only Socialism understood and knew how to defend the interests of the workers, and neither time nor labor had been spared in educating the voters, thus inspiring them with hope as to the result of the election.

A rapid examination of results will suffice to give an idea of the Socialist victories. Berlin, the capital, was upon the founding of the Empire, divided into six districts, upon the basis of one deputy for every 100,000 inhabitants. Its population has trebled since 1871. Its registered vote now by districts—one to six respectively—17,505, 81,205,

31,513, 115,851, 33,825, 164,932, equals 444,831. Of these registered votes in Berlin 324,822 voted, and the Socialists polled 216,547 on the first count, being nearly one-half of the registered vote and two-thirds of the actual vote polled. The Vorwaerts, party organ, on the following day came out with the following announcement: "Berlin, capital of the Social Democracy. Germany, the Socialist Republic."

Equally significant is the success attained by the Socialists in the Kingdom of Saxony. The reactionaries of this kingdom had recently obtained a modification or curtailment of the franchise for the Saxon parliamentary elections, so that no Socialist could cross the threshold of the Chamber, with this end in view, of striking a decisive blow to the development of Socialism in Saxony. But this measure, as with Bismarck, recoiled against its authors.

Much success was obtained in the great commercial cities of the north, Hamburg, Lubeck and Bremen. Even in Catholic communities hitherto considered electoral forces of the Center, the Socialist idea has penetrated to an extent which will bear fruit in the near future. In the industrial districts of the Rhine and Westphalia, the Catholic party has lost greatly in importance, and the struggle has been between Socialists and National-liberals. At Solingen, the centre of a great metallurgic industry, the Socialists won.

In Catholic Bavaria the Socialist idea has progressed, and in the first poll the Bavarian capital has given to the Socialist candidate 10,178 votes compared with 11,470 votes obtained by the National Liberals and Catholics combined; and Beyruth following the

example of Munich, has given the Socialists an important vote.

The bourgeois parties have become furious at the result of the elections. The success of the first balloting for the Socialists was the signal for combined action on the part of all the bourgeois parties against the common enemy, and an alarm was raised by the press, both Liberal and Conservative organs joining forces and taking part.

The majority of the Liberal party was as violently opposed to the Socialists as the most positive Agrarians. The Cologne Gazette, National-Liberal organ, became quite aggressive and invariably advised electing Catholics in place of Socialists. The many newspaper articles on tactics to be used seemed inspired by fear. An article in Die Zeit gave as a reason for defeat "that the live force of Socialism was so great that it had penetrated to all parts of the Empire. The Socialist wave had submerged us."

The writer, Rev. Frederic Naumann, had embraced Socialism through the Christian faith and sympathy and love for the working classes, by means of a democratic application of the teachings of Scripture. He attempted to use Christianity and the interpretation of certain texts of the new testament, after the fashion of liberal protestants to touch the possessing classes, and awaken in them a humanitarian sense of duty, and thus contribute toward the emancipation of the working classes. But the irresistible force of scientific Socialism has taken hold of the masses of the workers, and this Christian Socialism is now on its way toward Marxian Socialism, with the slogan that, "before being Christian, or even national, it is sincerely Socialistic."

RESULT OF THE POLLS.

	1st Poll	2nd Poll	Total 1903	Total 1898	Gain
Conservatives	31	22	53	52	1
Party of the Empire	6	13	19	20	
Anti-Semites	1	8	9	12	
Catholic Centre	88	13	101	106	
National-Liberals	5	47	52	53	
Liberal-Democrats		20	20	28	
Liberal-Union		9	9	15	
German Democratic		6	6	7	
Socialist	55	26	81	58	23
Agriculturists	1	1	2	6	
Bavarian	2	2	4	5	
Polish	14	2	16	14	2
Hanoverians		5	5	3	2
Alsacians	5	4	9	10	
Independents	6	3	9	8	1

By the fusion of bourgeois parties against the Social Democracy on 121 ballotings, but 26 were won by the Socialists.

It is in evidence, however, that the Socialist party has won a great victory, the increase in its representatives to the Reichstag being nearly fifty per cent. A reference to the above results shows that most all parties lost in representatives, this loss being counted in the Socialist gain; so it is in these political and religious centers that Socialism has penetrated and begins to triumph. The proletarian masses who through ignorance and fear remained glued to their masters' parties, and who up to the present had lived in the darkness of the past, now turn with a spontaneous and sincere joy toward the light—toward the free and emancipated life. The Catholic center and the Socialist party are the two victors in the elections.

These parties, though quite dissimilar in their political methods and a negation of each other in their ideals and programs, have produced great results by realizing the necessity of political organization of the grouping of disciplined voters and solidarity of units capable of great effort at the time of action.

The one represents Catholic discipline founded on passive obedience. The other represents proletarian discipline which finds its basis on a community of interests and the correct reasoning which makes unity imperative.

The Liberal parties are now caught between two great armies—one, always on the defensive, includes all the Conservatives and reactionaries, fearful of losing to progress and wishing to maintain its hereditary position with the enjoyment of its special privileges. These all fear the intellectual life now emancipating the proletarians. In front of this group another army faces it, always increasing in numbers and aggressiveness, whose effort irresistibly increases. The first rank is organized, disciplined and marching in complete order. But behind these comes an incoherent mass joined to the last rank. This army represents the unfortunates, the suffering, the exploited, who by their numbers seek to bring about social justice. And between these two great armies are to be found independent groups of Liberals, some of whom, when facing the enormous mass of the proletarian army, are frequently seized with fear, and vote with the reactionaries without knowing that they are voting against their own interests. Some Liberals, however, join hands with the Socialist army, knowing that it stands for humanity, equality and liberty. Although not understanding

the whole program, they have recognized the truth and justice of the Socialist position.

It is thus that the Liberal party disappears before Socialism, and there is reason to believe that the intermediate parties will not last long before the rising tide of Socialism.

The Socialist group in the Reichstag has always been revolutionary. What will the next group do? Will it follow the advice—unquestionably interested—of several Liberal papers, who, with the Berliner Tageblatt, desire it to modify its tactics and become reformers?

From our point of view it is not advisable for German Socialism to enter into the new domain urged by some of its new found friends. To be really great and strong it must remain what it now is.

There is reason to believe that the result of the elections has not calmed the imperial wrath, and that the opposition between Socialism and the government will be accentuated.

Many reasons of internal policies which agree with the party's interest seem to indicate that German Socialism will maintain its attitude and its revolutionary program without arresting its admirable development.

Those who have made the Social Democracy what it now is, will know how to conduct it without serious accident toward the new career which now opens itself.

MAYOR JONES AND "ALL THE PEOPLE"

EUGENE V. DEBS

MAYOR Jones, the prophet of the golden rule, denies the class struggle and proclaims himself "for all the people." He is for the exploiting capitalist as well as the exploited wage-worker. Naturally he could not be against the one or the other and still be "for all the people." He declares his opposition to the wage system, but just how he can be *against* the system and *for* the class who uphold and get rich out of it and will fight for it to the last ditch, he has not yet explained.

Perhaps Mayor Jones expects the capitalists themselves to abolish the wage system and go to work for a living. As well expect spring pullets to pick themselves of their last pin feather and walk into the kitchen and ask to be fricaseed.

From a man who in the present struggle is "for all the people," that is to say, for both sides, for master as well as slave, the following excerpts certainly sound strangely and require a little explanation:

"The *struggle* for more wages will ever continue *while the wage system lasts*, until by an awakened social instinct and a more enlightened conception of our relation to each other we shall come to see that we are really brothers and must learn to live brotherly.

"Workingmen must not only make common cause with the workingmen of their **craft**, but with every craft under

the shining sun. They must learn not only to make common cause with the workingmen of their nationality and their color, but with all colors.

"The capitalist will not hesitate to take his money bags and go to the Orient if he can make more money out of a Chinaman there than out of a white man here.

"It is the *capitalistic spirit*—the spirit that would *separate man from man* and brother from brother—which *must be overcome*, and to this end let labor make its contribution and to the development of the idea of unity, of equality, liberty and fraternity, if we hope to see the American ideal wrought out and democratic American conditions prevail, where every man can stand as an equal and a brother."

The question is, what is Mayor Jones doing to abolish the wage system? At the last election he supported the Democratic party, that is pledged in every fibre of its corrupt being to perpetuate wage-slavery.

Mayor Jones keeps telling us that he is a man without a party; that he has no use for a party; and yet when the campaign is on and election day rolls around and he has a chance to vote for the abolition of wage-slavery, we find him regularly in the field, whooping it up for a party which this partyless patriot knows will defend the wage system, with its robbery of the working class, while

there is a breath in its moribund body.

It may be pertinent to ask Mayor Jones what "struggle" he has reference to? And if he is on both sides of it? Or if it has but one side?

Manifestly the Mayor sees a "struggle." If it is not a class struggle, what kind of a struggle is it? Will the Mayor please explain if both sides of this struggle are opposed to the wage system? Is it not a fact that one side is fighting *for* that system and the other *against* it? Which side is Mayor Jones on?

If he is on the side of the working class, and a bona fide opponent of the wage system, then he is against the capitalist class; and if *against* the capitalist class he is not *for* all the people, unless in his golden rule encyclopædia he finds that capitalists are in the mineral instead of the animal kingdom. However that may be, just at present the capitalists are *the people* by a good working majority, and if Mayor Jones is *for* them in the "struggle" he admits is going to abolish the wage system, he is not a socialist, nor is he for the working class, nor is he opposed to wage-slavery.

Mayor Jones makes out a tough case against the capitalist in the paragraph quoted above. All wage-slaves are alike to him. The Chinaman is as good as the American sovereign (?). Simply a question of price with the capitalist, and yet Mayor Jones is for him for he is "for all the people."

Since Mayor Jones is for the capitalist and the capitalist is for the wage system—in fact is its incarnation and will perish with it—it follows that he is also for wage-slavery, his disavowal to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mayor Jones, in the name of the working class, defends their exploiters; in the name of economic freedom votes for wage-slavery; in the name of a "free untrammelled soul," a "man without a party," he is cheek by jowl with a gang

of machine politicians and supports the decrepid and corrupt Democratic party.

According to Mayor Jones, it is the "capitalistic spirit" that is doing all the mischief. But how are we to extract the "capitalistic spirit" from the capitalist?

And if we could extract the "spirit," the capitalist would be dead.

We Socialists perfectly understand the "capitalistic spirit," but we are not wasting any time on the "spirit."

The only way to destroy the "capitalistic spirit," the breath of capitalism, is to destroy capitalism. And this means fight, and no living man or dead deity can be on both sides of this fight any more than he can go up on one elevator and down on another at the same time.

I feel a special interest in Mayor Jones because it was a speech of mine, delivered in Toledo in 1895, which started the Mayor off, as he afterwards admitted to me, on his career of agitation. I would like to see him take his stand where all doubt as to his allegiance to the working class would be removed. His present attitude is not only hazy, equivocal and uncertain, but since he trains with and supports a capitalist party, he must be set down as the friend of the capitalist class and the enemy of the working class.

Personally, I have a kindly feeling towards Mr. Jones. Not only this, but I have such a friendly interest in him that I would like to see him make the record he has the brain and heart to make in the great struggle for emancipation from the cruelty and crime, the slavery and horror of capitalist despotism.

The eccentricities of Mayor Jones will not always amuse the people of Toledo and keep him in the Mayor's office.

He is dallying on a foundation of shifting sand, and he will have to get on the rock or be swallowed up in oblivion.

A BETTER WAY

C. C. ALLEN

LET me first define Socialism, taking my definitions from standard authorities:

"The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity."—Encyclopedia Britannica.

"The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operated action."—Imperial Dictionary.

"A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster.

"A science of reconstructing society on entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry."—Worcester's Dictionary.

"Any theory or system of local organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community."—Century Dictionary.

"Socialism is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to every-day life."—Prof. Ely.

There is in the present belligerent attitude of labor and capital a vital problem to be solved. A superficial handling of the subject will not settle it. The Socialist believes he has a solution of the problem. One of the basic principles of Socialism is the ownership by the people

of the instruments of production, that the advantages of their use and ownership might accrue to the people collectively. The postal system has already been socialized, and in some countries the telegraph and railways. Socialism would extend this principle until all means of production and distribution were brought under the collective control of the people. This does not necessarily imply exclusive social ownership, but the centralization must be extended so that the collective ownership shall dominate and control all other ownerships.

There should be collective management of production and distribution. If you religionists would have stealing stopped, then help to make it possible to live honestly; if you would have women virtuous, give the world an industrial system that provides a way for them to live respectably. Let us stop buying things for less than they are worth and selling them for more than they are worth. Let us have the things that we create at their labor cost. Let us give to all the value of their creation; to give them less is robbery. Let us substitute collectivism for selfish individualism. Our soulless commercialism is the crying sin of the hour. We fight foreign wars to find a market for surplus exploited from labor, then charge the cost to posterity. We deprive ourselves of things sent abroad and then boast that the balance of trade is in our favor.

In His time, Christ built no cathedrals. He made the Church imposing only by its moral grandeur. He preached from the pulpit of the hills, beneath the dome of blue. He was never accused of sympathizing with wealth and power, but was hated because he told the truth about the hypocrites of His time. If He had lived today there is no reason to suppose that he would not take the same position, preach from the corners of the streets, denounce the wealth-worshipping classes of our times, and draw upon himself the bitter hatred of the press and the cold disdain of the Church He established.

The Church of today gives no evidence of a genuine sympathy with the labor movement, which is only another phrase for the cause of the common people against the oppression of accumulated wealth. I speak of the Church as an institution. I know that there are many of its individual members filled with compassion for the poor, that hospitals are built, that alms are given, that charity funds are raised—but what does it all amount to? Simply the pouring of a little balm on the surface, while the cancer eats at the heart.

You might as well try to cure the smallpox by the application of a court-plaster. After centuries and centuries the rich are richer, the poor are poorer, and the misery is keener than ever before. What we want is not the relief of paupers, but conditions that prevent their manufacture. What now is the Church doing to secure such conditions? Where are the pulpits that teach like Christ—denouncing the oppressors of the masses? Where are the preachers declaring to their wealthy pew-holders that it is easier for the camel to pass through the needle's eye than for the rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven?

Where are the ministers who are denouncing the process by which the Carnegies and Rockefellers, the Morgans, the meat trust and the coal barons absorb from the common product countless millions? We prate about our patriotism and point to the flag—yes, the flag, glorious emblem, when it is emblematic of things that are glorious, but too many times it is wet with the tears of the women who make the bunting and try to support their children on three dollars a week.

How useless and senseless to pray "God's will be done on earth," while we sanction the rule of Pierpont Morgan and plutocracy with our ballots! How unreasonable to pray God to hasten the millenium, while we continue a wage system that builds palaces on the hills and hovels in the hollows. No, the burning of red fire on the Fourth of July is not the kind of patriotism the country needs just now. It wants men who have the Christian fortitude of a Moses to liberate American industrial slaves from the enslaving capitalist system. We are often told we are dreamers. So were Washington, Patrick Henry and Tom Paine, but they dreamed the dreams that come true. Their dreams of a republic were realized by those who succeeded them.

I anticipate a time when our subsidized courts will be asked by the trusts, corporations and combines to suppress the Lord's prayer, claiming that it is an incendiary document and tends to make men dissatisfied with their lot.

To the Socialist whose vision is clear and his faith strong a new era is about to dawn, a new industrial system is shortly to evolve from the present chaotic, planless one, and the earth is to become a fitting home for all its children.

FROM FATHER TO SON

SAMUEL LEWIS BROOKS

Fetters that we wear, my brothers,
Are not forged within a day.

All through my life I have considered work as essential to true living. As the rising sun announces the arrival of a new day, I wend my way across the fields to take up my daily labor. I am conscious of my importance in the economy of life. I realize I am one of the units which go to make up the foundation upon which the structures of all governments rest. My breast swells with pride as I walk blithely along the winding pathway. The songs of birds, the rustling of the breeze through the leaves, the shining dew drops and fragrant blossoms fill me with a gladness that is never paralleled. When I reach the work-shop my every task seems surrounded with a halo of joy, the joy of creation. The ringing of the hammer, the rasp of the file, fall with sweet sounds on my ear. It is life's truest music, the music of industry. But as the

long hours slip away the time seems to double and hesitate. Tired eyes, ears and strained muscles seem to be filled with rebellion. My work grows more and more distasteful, until the very task that filled me with joy in the morning is now disgusting. I glance out of the window, over the fields that a few hours ago were my inspiration, but they look hot and unsatisfactory. The whistle blows, telling me that the long hours of drudgery have been suspended. How shrill it sounds; surely it cannot be the same one that echoed so cheerfully among the hill-tops in the morning! I drag myself from the shop back through the dingy fields. Only a few short hours ago I bounded along over this pathway filled with the strength of true manhood, and now I go stumbling back, an abject slave.

This is one of many, many days, and the end is not yet.

THE STRIKE—OVER!

JULIA D. YOUNG

The wheels revolve—the eager muscles strain—
Peace falls at last on that unequal field
Where the one army, sipping its champagne,
Lounged till the other, sullen-starved, should yield.

SELFISHNESS THAT IS RIGHT

J. LOUIS HOULE

IN every treatment of social philosophy or discussion of ethical problems, this word selfishness is so frequently used, that it seems pertinent to analyze the tendency we all have, which is thus designated, and which is generally considered the bane of human existence.

With the dawning of consciousness to every child, with the first conception of the "I am," comes the desire for the good and well-being of that self. Even before the recognition of the fact that there are other selves to consider, it puts forth strenuous efforts to perform the functions which tend to that well-being.

The beneficence of the design of this creation, of which we are a part, is manifest to us in that we are so constituted that we have pleasure in performing the functions that make for our growth. Simultaneously with the increasing desire for the well-being of self comes an increasing desire for the pleasure of self, and it may be well here to trace this development and see at what point it will lead us to consider the well-being of the other entities we are early forced to recognize. Each of us must of necessity be to ourselves for a time at least, the centre of the universe, inasmuch as we can only correspond with it from our one point of view. If we follow closely this course of development, we

will see that not only does all pleasure come from performing the functions that tend to growth, but that the very instant the desire for pleasure so dominates the desire for well-being, that the effort to perform is solely for pleasure, it becomes abortive and destroys the possibility of a pleasure which is greater in both kind and degree, *i. e.*, the mental pleasure of self-control and the consciousness that we are acting for our highest good.

Thus we see that self-interest will lead us in the right direction, and we may even pursue, with pleasure, our selfish desire in acquiring the knowledge necessary to act wisely for our own good, but the moment that our effort to acquire knowledge is solely for our pleasure, we destroy the possibility of that pleasure for which we seek.

This higher pleasure may be called social or spiritual pleasure, and it is as much greater, in both kind and degree, as the mental is greater than the sensual. Here a new element enters, though the same law is operative, and here it is that our own pleasure demands our considering the well-being and pleasure of others.

A fact not generally recognized is that when we pursue knowledge or exercise the mental faculties solely for our pleasure we become idea proud, and, as a

result, prejudiced; which is the same thing in the mental realm that sensuality is in the physical; which not only precludes our further development, but destroys the possibility of that spiritual joy of either imparting to others or receiving from them by words, acts, or other creations of design, known as the arts and crafts. If our observations thus far have been correct, may we not say that humanity's needs are greater selfishness and greater love of pleasure, intelligent instead of ignorant; deep instead of shallow; and broad instead of narrow selfishness.

Instead of seeking to stultify the prime motive of being, love of self and love of others because of self, we should intelligently exercise it, for sufficiently far-sighted policy merges into the broadest principle.

We have noticed that the highest development and greatest joy of the individual can only be attained as a member of society and if we will observe further we will see that the body politic develops, according to a law, analogous to that under which the individual does, and that the possibility of the individual is limited by the stage of development of the body politic, of which he is a part. Humanity has been divided up into units which have had a consciousness and self-interest distinct to each, and this consciousness has broadened as the units have broadened, from the family to the tribal, and from the tribal to the national, until at the present time we are evolving a consciousness of the oneness of the whole race. We have arrived at that stage of development where that other element enters into our national selfishness; where our pleasure and growth demands our taking into consideration the pleasure and well-being of the other nations for its fulfilment. We witness

this in the treaties, ministers plenipotentiary, and the more recent endeavors to establish an international tribunal of arbitration.

The history of nations is the account of the physical functions exercised to develop the perfect physique of a body politic. There has had to be a lot of gymnastics and a lot of strifes, but we are coming to the completed form; with a consciousness of the unity of humanity. We were a long time in the womb; there has been a time of travail and bringing forth; there has been an almost helpless infancy, when the hands have clawed the eyes, but we are gradually coming to the point of the consciousness of self, the "I am" of the body politic.

What the mental and spiritual development of that ego will bring forth we hardly dare here conjecture, but we have no doubt that a collective will, when it is developed, will be a mighty force. When all humanity, with one definite purpose, unitedly asserts itself for its betterment, there will be accomplishments. The possibilities of the individual who shall be a part of that body when it has come to its full statue of perfect manhood, is a glorious thing to contemplate. The only suggestion we have of the powers and personality of such a one is the life of Him whose consciousness was in the oneness of all.

Even now the possibility of individual self-interest is broadening, until many of us are apprehending the fact that the greatest good of each can only be attained by each working for the greatest good of all.

The mission, therefore, of this twentieth century is to force intelligently this conception upon every individual of the race; for the very apparent purpose of

the highest good and greatest happiness of each of us. study to pursue that course in life where we can best serve, remembering that our

Would we be truly great in our conceptions, in our achievements, in our consciousness? Then let us assiduously greatest pleasure comes in performing the functions that tend to development. Elmvale, Ont.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! A Song.

H. S. H.

I.

Workers of the world unite! Join hands as comrades all;
Golden is the east with light, hark! hear the clarion call.
Arise! To arms! On every hand triumphant steps we hear;
Onward to the promised land, unflinching, strong, sincere.
With holy zeal we'll spread the light, O workers of the world unite!

II.

Workers of the world unite; in freedom's cause enlist;
Conquer masters', tyrants' might; let those who dare resist.
Forward with resistless sweep the host are marching on—
Freedom's Mount is high and steep but victory lies beyond.
With holy zeal we'll spread the light, O workers of the world unite!

III.

Workers of the world unite! Join hands across the sea.
Truth dispels the gloomy night; the workers shall be free.
Nations are to us a name—our country, 'tis the world!
Freedom is our mighty aim; our banner is unfurled.
With holy zeal we'll spread the light, O workers of the world unite!

Chicago, Dec.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

J. G. PHELPS STOKES

The increasing use of the phrase, "Preventive Social Work," is indicative of an increasing prevalence of belief that social evils are in a large measure preventable. By "social evils" is meant all those forms of distress and suffering and wrong that are directly or indirectly consequent upon the individual's relations with other portions of the social organism of which he is a part. Chief among social evils are disease, poverty, habitual idleness, vice and crime, all of which have usually been assumed, until recently, to be either unavoidable eventualities and mishaps incident to the progress of social evolution, or else direct consequences of perverse volition where the offending individual has been alone responsible. It has, of late, become evident, however, to social workers in every field, and to students of social movements, and to criminologists and educators and other observers of influences which affect human nature, that antecedent to the sickness and poverty and crime, and antecedent to the perverse volition, there usually lie casual conditions.

Disease, for instance, is now known to be at least usually due either to defective and unsanitary environment or to defective physical constitution, both of which are largely beyond the individual sufferer's control. Individuals of sufficient intelligence and of sufficient economic and other resources, can, perhaps, select their own environment, and by suitable habits of life can acquire health and preserve it; but for the majority of mankind health depends in very large measure upon conditions not of the individual's making, on the environment in which he lives, and on his inheritance;

conditions which, usually, the individual has neither the knowledge nor the means to avoid. The therapeutic aspects of disease do not concern us here; but its social aspects are of very far-reaching consequence, owing to the bearing of disease upon the economic and moral welfare of the community. There are upward of one million deaths per annum in the United States; since approximately 92 per cent. of these are of individuals less than 65 years of age, it is evident that mere old age and normal wear and tear of tissue are relatively small factors in inducing mortality. Preventable conditions are responsible for the great majority of illnesses and deaths; as, also, for most of the suffering and destitution which so often follow.

Each year sees an increase in the number of diseases traceable to remediable defects in human environments and ways of life. Unsanitary conditions of homes and workshops and public places, are found to be responsible for the spread of all infectious diseases; and defective constitutions, due directly or through inheritance to vicious or otherwise unhygienic habits, are found to be responsible for most of the remainder. Increasing knowledge of the causes of disease is gradually leading toward its elimination. Smallpox no longer ravages whole populations, except where dense ignorance prevails; yellow fever has of late been eliminated from large areas where for centuries it held uninterrupted sway; typhus is no longer known, and typhoid is wholly controllable by modern methods of sanitation. Tuberculosis, the greatest of all scourges, is now feared only where circumstances limit unduly

the individual's opportunities to secure fresh air and food and rest and recreation; and the former great mortality of infants has in the past ten years been greatly reduced through more intelligent care and feeding.

But the mere mortality consequent upon disease is but one of its evils. The effect of disease upon others than the sick should receive wider consideration than has hitherto been given it. Consider, for instance, the social aspects of the ravages of pulmonary tuberculosis. 109,492 people died from this wholly preventable disease in the United States during the census year ending May 31st, 1900. Of these, 92,732 were between the ages of 15 and 65, and therefore presumably capable of contributing in some measure, if need were, to the welfare of their families and of the community. If people could be ill for a while and die, without suffering themselves, and without causing suffering or sorrow or loss to families and friends, and without detriment to the community, then illness and death would be of little or no social consequence; as it is, however, very large social consequences are involved. Obviously, if a bread-winner is eliminated, for instance, the economic stability of the family is jeopardized or destroyed. Similarly the moral status of a group varies as the moral factors in it are eliminated or changed. The social aspects of disease are so far-reaching as to call for wide consideration and for redoubled effort toward its elimination. In fact, the poverty alone, consequent upon disease, is perhaps a greater misfortune than the death that disease causes. Death is usually painless, and it must needs come to all; but widespread poverty is neither painless nor unavoidable.

Inability to earn a living, whatever the cause, is at the basis of nearly all the poverty and destitution that confronts us, and in the production of this inability avoidable disease and infirmity are conspicuous factors. Another conspicuous cause of poverty and of the distress incident to it, a cause second only to inability to earn a living, is unwillingness to earn a living; in other words, voluntary habitual idleness. All the causes

of such inability and of such unwillingness may be sought, if we would eradicate the evils of poverty; and in proportion as these causes are ascertained, will the evils be subject to our control. Both the inability and the unwillingness are generally traceable, through many and diverse channels, to the same fundamental cause, namely: defective or undeveloped personality, either in the individual who is himself unable or unwilling, or in some individual or group who is or are responsible for the conditions which underlie the involuntary or voluntary idleness of others. Let us consider these two aspects separately.

The individual who is unable to support himself, and to do his share for the support of those properly dependent upon him, is either physically or morally defective, or else a victim of industrial conditions that have been developed by others, and for which, therefore, others are creditably or discredibly responsible. Physical deficiency is in nearly every case due either to ignorance of the laws of health and to unhygienic living, on the part of the individual or his progenitors, or to unsanitary or otherwise unsafe environment. Both of these causes are eradicable through education, sanitation, and proper industrial regulation; in other words, through proper preventive social measures. Moral deficiency appears, on the other hand, to be due almost wholly to defective associations, and here it seems likely that heredity plays little if any part. It has of late years been vigorously denied by leading educators and criminologists, that moral obliquity is inherited. To be sure, cerebral abnormalities that cause partial or complete moral and intellectual blindness occasionally occur; but the occurrence of inherited immorality cannot be irrefutably shown. There are to be found numerous congenital idiots and congenital criminals, persons congenitally incapable of apprehending moral truths; but these infrequent cases probably owe their lack of morality not to inherited spiritual disposition to evil, but to adventitious structural defect. Among normally constructed persons, it would appear less likely that the immoral

individual has inherited an immoral propensity, than that, if born of immoral parents, he has entered life in an environment prejudicial to the development of moral health; and to his associations with this environment owes the trend of his character. Thus, we must seek to forestall moral deficiency also, by suitable preventive measures; chiefly by removing unfavorable influences from the environment, and by substituting other influences, social, educational and recreational, more conducive to moral growth. The evil influences of a so-called "slum" are apparent, and are everywhere conceded; but the equally evil influences, through example and otherwise, of the more polite sensuousness and of the most extravagant waste in wealthier sections, require, similarly, the consideration of thoughtful people. Where social evils exist in crowded tenement districts, they must be in part offset by the condemnation of the worst areas and the creation of playgrounds and small parks, and by the improvement of tenements, and by providing varied opportunities for decent amusement and recreation, and by providing more complete educational facilities; and above all by striving to so modify existing industrial conditions that each individual shall have more opportunity for the development of all that is best in body and character and soul.

This brings us to the relationship of the remediable environment to the problem of vice. Vice is obviously especially reprehensible where enjoyments of clean and wholesome kinds can as easily be had. But in many districts opportunities for clean and wholesome enjoyments are few and far between. It is natural for people to desire recreation and pleasure. Some degree of recreation and enjoyment is perhaps essential to bodily and moral health. Human nature is such that nearly everyone feels the need of recreation and amusement. Where opportunities for decent pleasures cannot be found, indecent pleasures will be had. Vice will never be greatly diminished till opportunities for wholesome recreation and enjoyment become more widely available; nor, furthermore,

until desire for the gratification of desire is more widely controlled by the development of individual character; that is to say, by the moral development of individual human personality. Vice, like nearly every other form of wrong-doing, is but the result of misdirected desire for personal gratification. The direction of desire is largely determined by suggestive influences of the environment. Where prevalent suggestive influences are bad, whether in tenements or in streets or elsewhere, the occasional development of vicious habits is but a natural consequence. If we would prevent the development of vice, we must abolish the conditions which induce it.

Until recently efforts at social betterment have been for the most part superficial; have been aimed at the amelioration and control of the consequences of evil conditions, rather than at the amelioration or eradication of underlying causes. Much social and charitable effort of the past, and even of the present, can be likened, as some one has remarked, to the effort of the unwise physician, who in dealing with, say, a cutaneous eruption, contents himself with applying soothing ointments to the skin, utterly neglecting the disordered system to which the eruption is due. From early times "charity" of some form or other, true or false, helpful or harmful, has been a factor of importance in the dealings of man with man. But it must be recognized that this word "charity" has served as a vehicle or garment for deeds and practices of many and various sorts; some wholly friendly and kind, and in large measure, intelligent, wise and uplifting; others, ulteriorly self-seeking or pretentious, perfunctory or ostentatious, designed in the language of the Apostle to cover a multitude of sins. There can be no true charity except where there is true sympathy, and true sympathy cannot exist except in proportion as there is true understanding of personal needs or motives. Suffering must be relieved, and often the needy must be aided; but let us carefully distinguish between need and mere desire; between aiding the needy, on the one hand, and merely gratifying and

confirming the fraudulent on the other; let us guard against purchasing present comfort at the expense of needless future pain. Let us, moreover, consider very earnestly to what extent we should expend upon palliative measures, resources that if otherwise expended would eradicate causes which if continuously neglected will be continuously productive of harm.

Crime, like all other evils, is a product of causes usually susceptible of social control. At the 32nd Annual Congress of the National Prison Association, recently held in Louisville, Kentucky, there were present upward of one hundred prison officers, representing the penal institutions of the United States and Canada, and as many penologists and criminologists and students of social movements. The sessions of the Congress lasted five days, and throughout the entire proceedings there was not a dissentient voice raised against the opinion voiced by many of the speakers, that the prisons themselves are among the principal sources of crime, and that they probably create far more crime than they cure. There were those present who maintained (and they among the ablest and most experienced) and who presented impressive arguments and evidence to show that upon the whole, the influence of most of our prisons upon the offenders and upon society should be regarded as detrimental rather than reverse; and that until our prisons of antiquated type are replaced by well conditioned modern reformatories, they will continue to be schools of crime and vice, and prolific sources of every kind of wrong. It has been too customary to regard prison problems as of no great social consequence, and to regard prisons as mere places of punishment for wrong-doers. To regard prisons as producers of wrong-doing has been too long overlooked. The evidence appears conclusive that ordinary jails and prisons usually accentuate the anti-social tendencies of their inmates, or produce evil tendencies where none were before. For instance, with few exceptions throughout the jails of our country and in many of our large prisons, it is

customary to so concentrate prisoners in a single room or enclosure, that boys and young men who have never committed a serious offense before, are compelled, whether they wish it or not, to associate almost constantly with habitual criminals and confirmed drunkards and rogues. The resulting moral contamination establishes thousands in criminal careers. It is believed by prison officers and penologists of experience that more than 70 per cent. of the graduates of ordinary prisons become committed to prison again. There are cases on record where individuals have been returned to prison from twenty to fifty times. Contrast these results of antiquated methods of penal treatment with the results of our modern systems of probation, indeterminate sentence and parole. Hon. Charlton T. Lewis, President of the National Prison Association, is authority for the statement that it is susceptible of demonstration that among youthful offenders about eight out of ten committed to institutions under the old or punitive system, return to crime after their release; while under the probation system not one in ten of those arrested is ever again a prisoner in a court room. Highly satisfactory results are also demonstrable where the probation system is applied among older offenders. In Massachusetts, which leads the States in the number of its probation officers, and where for many years rational reformatory methods have prevailed, the relative diminution in crime is noteworthy. From 1880 to 1900 the population of Massachusetts increased 58 per cent., while offences against the person and against property increased but 30 per cent. In 1880 such offences were in the proportion of one to every 472 of the population; in 1900, of the proportion of one to every 571. Thus there was a relative diminution of 18 per cent. in the commission of such offences during the twenty years. Similar results have been observed wherever modern methods of dealing with crime have been faithfully and continuously applied. Of approximately 24,000 prisoners placed on probation annually in France, but five per cent. are re-arrested for violation of the

terms of their release. In Belgium the same per centage applied. In New York City the investigations of the Prison Association show that approximately 90 per cent. of prisoners placed on probation there, refrain, so far as can be observed, from the commission of further criminal acts, and lead lives of usual propriety. The parole system of release, after indeterminate sentence and brief confinement, is similarly admirably successful. In New York State but approximately 18 per cent., and in Indiana but 17 per cent., violate the conditions of their parole.

More fundamentally important and far-reaching than any of these corrective methods, however, is the influence of the kindergarten system. Warden W. E. Hale, of the San Quentin State Prison, California, reported to the St. Paul Congress of the National Prison Association in 1894, that of 9,000 kindergarten children, chiefly from the worst districts of San Francisco, whose records had been traced from the time they entered the kindergarten until at an age to work for themselves, not one had ever been arrested; although during the same period and in the same districts there had been 8,000 arrests of juvenile offenders.

If the people of our land would devote more time and thought and money to eliminating obvious causes of evil, and to introducing well proved causes of good, not only would the social burdens involved in the maintenance of police forces and criminal courts and prisons be enormously reduced, but the suffering consequent upon crime and evil would gradually disappear. It would seem redundant and superfluous to say that where conditions are demoralizing, character is often demoralized; yet the bearings of the fact are so seldom adequately considered, that it requires frequent iteration. To concentrate our energy upon the punishment or reformation of demoralized characters, is "penny wise pound foolish" if we leave unchanged the demoralizing conditions which produced them; and which if continuously left unchanged will continue indefinitely to be prolific sources of the same kinds of evil.

The adolescent human organism, like every other, grows by the exercise of inherent creative faculties, and the direction of the growth, and whether for better or worse, depends upon the nature and trend of the underlying creative activities and on the nature and character of outside influences in the environment in which the growth takes place. An underlying creative tendency is inherent throughout the organic world; if uninfluenced it follows a racial or adventitious bent, whether for good or for ill; but it seldom if ever remains uninfluenced by the environment in which it is. There is constant development in one direction or another; in the case of the human being, the development is toward health and social usefulness, or toward ignorance and wrongdoing. It is for society to determine under what conditions of environment the development of character shall proceed.

Even in the teaching of our schools there are elements which tend to the production of evil. The goal ever held before the youthful mind is personal success, and, as we say, the making of a career. The constant encouragement given to personal ambition for personal triumph and personal reward, tends subtly to the development of selfish propensities, and to the neglect of proper consideration for the welfare of others and for the welfare of society as a whole. To the desire for personal advantage or gratification, regardless of the welfare of others or regardless of the welfare of the whole, nearly all, and perhaps all, evil is due. Crimes are but consequences of this far too prevalent desire for the satisfaction of personal desire, regardless of the injuries entailed. Vice, similarly, is but a product of the desire for gratification regardless of physical or moral harm done to self or others. Poverty is in large measure due to our similar self-centered desires for personal wealth, regardless of the conditions which produce it. When industrial evils underlie poverty they must be sought out and removed; and better opportunities must be provided for the development of efficiency and character. In this latter process the public

schools must play an ever larger part. Education which develops the individual for purely individual ends, naturally fosters selfishness, tends to set each in rivalry and often in unfriendly rivalry against his fellow, and too often promotes the development of unsocial attitudes that lead to ill-feeling and unfriendliness, and to wrong-doing of every kind.

The social nature of the child must be developed, and must be given opportunity for expression, and selfish tendencies must be replaced by social tendencies and by the spirit of fairness and right, if that regard of each for his fellow is to arise which is essential to right conduct and human welfare, to social prosperity and peace.

A SERMON ON THE SUNRISE

My peak rested on darkness and towered into the twilight of early morning. The east grew light,—lighter; and then I thought there was the faintest tint of color in the sky—the color on the soft cheek of a sleeping babe. Now it was the color of a young girl's blush—now the sun-kissed side of a ripe peach—now the warm glow of a dying fire. And the world that was below had only darkness still, but it was blue—the dark heavy blue of the deep sea when I looked down from the Country of the Silence. The giant peak of Mt. Rainier came out of space now, burning, blazing—a column of fire—an opal that changed before your eyes until it was molten silver and pure gold, rimmed with all the lights of precious stones. The Cascade range stood hard and black across the east—a silhouette against the blaze of the rising sun that was still below the edge of the world. Other peaks reached up into the warm light of the coming day and burned red hot against the blue sky while they floated above the purple mantle that would soon

develop into a busy world. The sky blazed like a white-hot furnace now behind the curtain of the eastern range, and below me the purple mantle faded and dropped further down, until the bottom seemed miles and miles away.

Then the sun burst suddenly up from behind the rim of the east, and it was day where I sat in the Country of the Silence—warm, full day there on the highest peak in the range, and I watched the sunlight rush downward along the mountain sides until the purple curtain was melted and the sun shone in the low valleys.

There was a sermon such as no man could preach, and it is free to all who wish to see and hear, for it happens every clear day in the year. The place is the top of Mt. Constance in the Olympic range in Washington, and there is no fence around, no "Keep off the grass" signs, and the trail to the top begins at the little steamboat landing called Brinnon, on Hoods Canal.—El Comancho, in Field and Stream.

THE PEOPLE OF THE ABYSS

JACK LONDON

Copyrighted 1903, by The Macmillan Company. All rights reserved.

CHAPTER XXIV.—DRINK, TEMPERANCE AND THRIFT.

The English working classes may be said to be soaked in beer. They are made dull and sodden by it. Their efficiency is sadly impaired, and they lose whatever imagination, invention and quickness may be theirs by right of race. It may hardly be called an acquired habit, for they are accustomed to it from their earliest infancy. Children are begotten in drunkenness, saturated in drink before they draw their first breath, born to the smell and taste of it, and brought up in the midst of it.

The public house is ubiquitous. It flourishes on every corner and between corners, and it is frequented almost as much by women as by men. Children are to be found in it as well, waiting till their fathers and mothers are ready to go home, sipping from the glasses of their elders, listening to the coarse language and degrading conversation, catching the contagion of it, familiarizing themselves with licentiousness and debauchery.

Mrs. Grundy rules as supremely over the workers as she does over the bourgeoisie; but in the case of the workers, the one thing she does not frown upon is the public house. No disgrace or shame attaches to it, nor to the young woman or girl who makes a practice of entering it.

I remember a girl in a coffee-house saying, "I never drink spirits when in a public 'ouse." She was a young and pretty waitress, and she was laying down to another waitress her preëminent respectability and discretion. Mrs. Grundy

drew the line at spirits, but allowed that it was quite proper for a clean young girl to drink beer and to go into a public house to drink it.

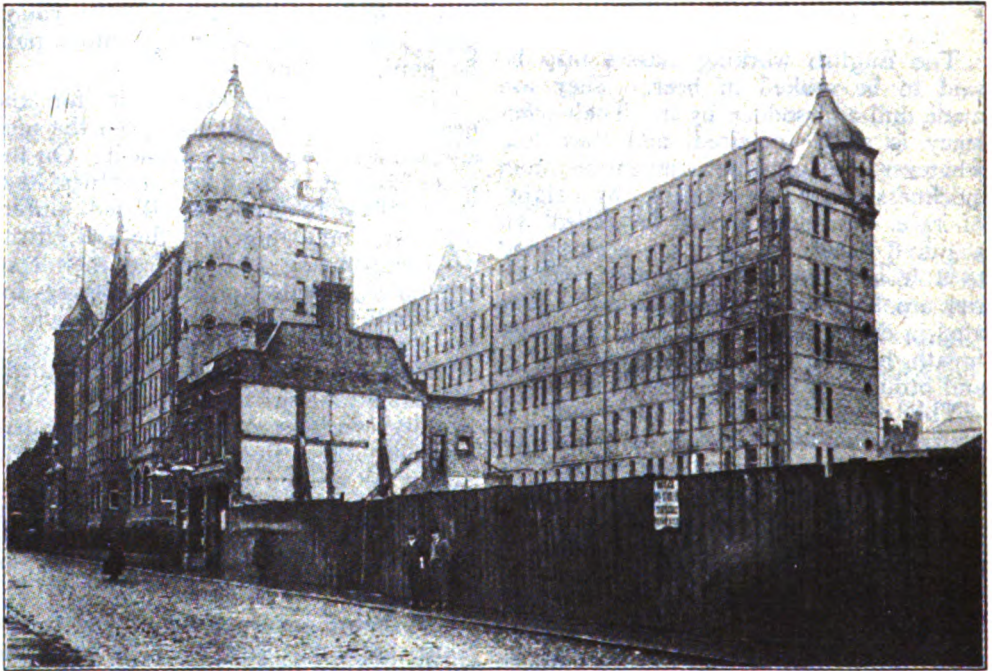
Not only is this beer unfit for the people to drink it, but too often the men and women are unfit to drink it. On the other hand it is their very unfitness that drives them to drink it. Ill-fed, suffering from innutrition and the evil effects of overcrowding and squalor, their constitutions develop a morbid craving for the drink, just as the sickly stomach of the over-strung Manchester factory operative hankers after excessive quantities of pickles and similar weird foods. Unhealthy working and living engenders unhealthy appetites and desires. Man cannot be worked worse than a horse is worked, and be housed and fed as a pig is housed and fed, and at the same time have clean and wholesome ideals and aspirations.

As home-life vanishes, the public house appears. Not only do men and women abnormally crave drink, who are overworked, exhausted, suffering from deranged stomachs and bad sanitation, and deadened by the ugliness and monotony of existence; but the gregarious men and women who have no home-life flee to the bright and clattering public house in a vain attempt to express their gregariousness. And when a family is housed in one small room, home-life is impossible.

A brief examination of such a dwelling will serve to bring to light one important cause of drunkenness. Here the family arises in the morning, dresses, and makes its toilet, father, mother,

sons and daughters, and in the same room, shoulder to shoulder (for the room is small) the wife and mother cooks the breakfast. And in the same room, heavy and sickening with the exhalations of their packed bodies throughout the night, that breakfast is eaten. The father goes to work, the elder children go to school or onto the street, and the mother remains with her crawling, toddling youngsters to do her housework—still in the same room. Here she washes the clothes, filling the pent space

die since fifty-five per cent. of the East End children die before they are five years old, the body is laid out in the same room. And if they are very poor, it is kept for some time until they can bury it. During the day it lies on the bed; during the night, when the living take the bed, the dead occupies the table, from which, in the morning, when the dead is put back into the bed, they eat their breakfast. Sometimes the body is placed on the shelf which serves as pantry for their food. Only a couple of



GIGANTIC DOSS HOUSE, STEPNEY, LONDON. A so-called "model tenement."

with soapsuds and the smell of dirty clothes, and overhead she hangs the wet linen to dry.

Here, in the evening, amid the manifold smells of the day, the family goes to its virtuous couch. That is to say, as many as possible pile into one bed (if bed they have) and the surplus turns in on the floor. And this is the round of their existence, month after month, year after year, for they never get a vacation save when they are evicted. When a child dies, and some are always bound to

weeks ago, an East End woman was in trouble, because, in this fashion, being unable to bury it, she had kept her dead child three weeks.

Now such a room as I have described, is not home but horror; and the men and women who flee away from it to the public house are to be pitied, not blamed. There are 300,000 people in London divided into families that live in single rooms, while there are 900,000 who are illegally housed according to the Public Health Act of 1891—a respectable

recruiting ground for the drink traffic.

Then there are the insecurity of happiness, the precariousness of existence, the well-founded fear of the future—potent factors in driving people to drink. Wretchedness squirms for alleviation, and in the public house its pain is eased and forgetfulness is obtained. It is unhealthy. Certainly it is, but everything else about their lives is unhealthy, while this brings the oblivion that nothing else in their lives can bring. It even exalts them, and makes them feel that they are finer and better, though at the same time it drags them down and makes them more beastly than ever. For the unfortunate man or woman, it is a race between miseries that ends with death.

It is of no avail to preach temperance and teetotalism to these people. The drink habit may be the cause of many miseries; but it is, in turn, the effect of other and prior miseries. The temperance advocates may preach their hearts out over the evils of drink, but until the evils that cause people to drink are abolished, drink and its evils will remain.

Until the people who try to help, realize this, their well-intentioned efforts will be futile, and they will present a spectacle fit only to set Olympus laughing. I have gone through an exhibition of Japanese art, got up for the poor of Whitechapel with the idea of elevating them, of begetting in them yearnings for the Beautiful and True and Good. Granting (what is not so) that the poor folk are thus taught to know and yearn after the Beautiful and True and Good, the foul facts of their existence and the social law that dooms one in three to a public-charity death, demonstrates that this knowledge and yearning will be only so much of an added curse to them. They will have so much more to forget than if they had never known and yearned. Did Destiny today bind me down to the life of an East End slave for the rest of my years, and did Destiny grant me but one wish, I should ask that I might forget all about the Beautiful and True and Good; and that I might forget all I had learned from the open

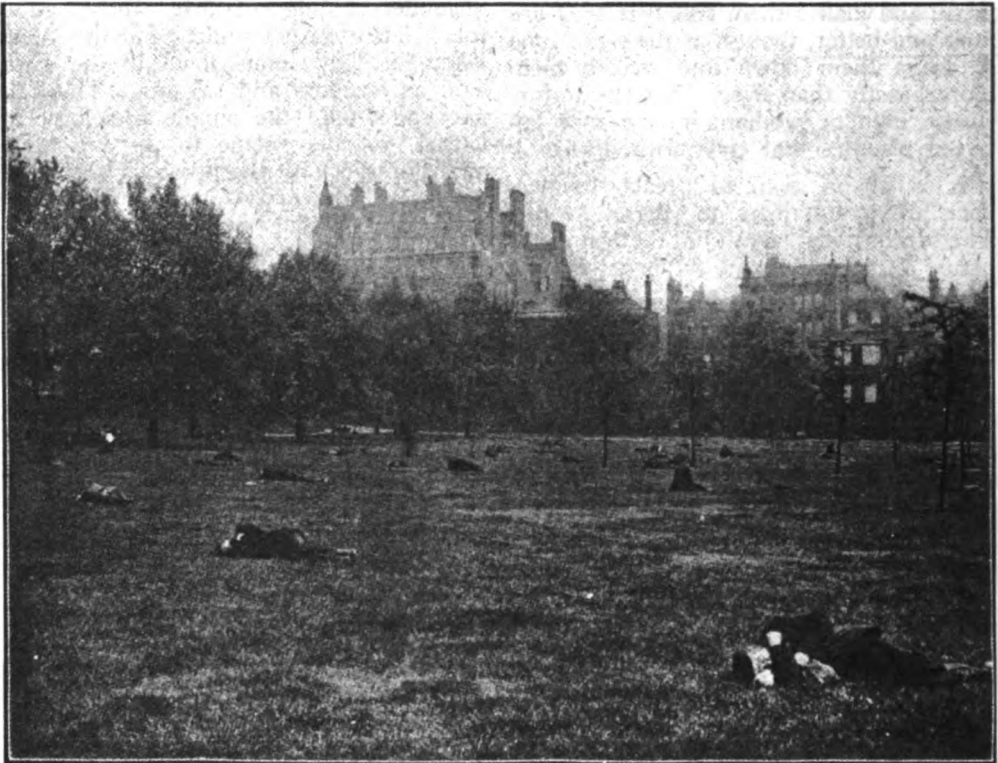
books, and forget the people I had known, the things I had heard and the lands I had seen. And if Destiny didn't grant it, I am pretty confident that I should get drunk and forget it as often as possible.

The people who try to help! Their college settlements, missions, charities, and what not, are failures. In the nature of things they cannot but be failures. They are wrongly, though sincerely conceived. They approach life through a misunderstanding of life, these good folk. They do not understand the West End, yet they come down to the East End as teachers and savants. They do not understand the simple sociology of Christ, yet they come to the miserable and despised with the pomp of social redeemers. They have worked faithfully, but beyond relieving an infinitesimal fraction of misery and collecting a certain amount of data which might otherwise have been more scientifically and less expensively collected, they have achieved nothing.

As someone has said, they do everything for the poor except get off their backs. The very money they dribble out in their child's schemes has been wrung from the poor. They come from a race of successful and predatory bipeds who stand between the worker and his wages, and they try to tell the worker what he shall do with the pitiful balance left to him. Of what use, in the name of women workers, in which, for instance, a child is taken while the mother makes God, is it to establish nurseries for violets in Islington at three farthings a gross, when more children and violet-makers than they can cope with are being born right along? This violet-maker handles each flower four times, 576 handlings for three farthings, and in the day she handles the flowers 6912 times for a wage of eighteen cents. She is being robbed. Somebody is on her back, and a yearning for the Beautiful and True and Good will not lighten her burden. They do nothing for her, these dabblers; even if they did the mother would undo at night, when the child comes home, all that they have done for her in the day.

And one and all, they join in teaching a fundamental lie. They do not know that it is a lie, but their ignorance does not make it more of a truth. And the lie they preach is 'thrift.' An instant will demonstrate it. In overcrowded London, the struggle for a chance to work is keen, and because of this struggle wages sink to the lowest means of subsistence. To be thrifty means for a worker to spend less than his income—

every worker in England should heed the preachers of thrift and cut expenditure in half, the condition of there being more men to work than there is work to do would swiftly cut wages in half. And then none of the workers of England would be thrifty, for they would be living up to their diminished incomes. The short-sighted thrift-preachers would naturally be astounded at the outcome. The measure of their failure would be



SLEEPING IN GREEN PARK BY DAY.

in other words, to live on less. This is equivalent to a lowering of the standard of living. In the competition for a chance to work, the man with a lower standard of living will underbid the man with the higher standard. And a small group of such thrifty workers in any overcrowded industry will permanently lower the wages of that industry. And the thrifty ones will no longer be thrifty, for their income will have been reduced till it balances their expenditure.

In short, thrift negates thrift. If

precisely the measure of the success of their propaganda. And, anyway, it is sheer bosh and nonsense to preach thrift to the 1,800,000 London workers who are divided into families which have a total income of less than \$5.25 per week, one-quarter to one-half of which must be paid for rent.

Concerning the futility of the people who try to help, I wish to make one notable, noble exception, namely, the Dr. Barnardo Homes. Dr. Barnardo is a child-catcher. First, he catches them

when they are young, before they are set, hardened, in the vicious social mould; and then he sends them away to grow up and be formed in another and better social mould. Up to date he has sent out of the country 13,340 boys, most of them to Canada, and not one in fifty has failed. A splendid record, when it is considered that these lads are waifs and strays, homeless and parentless, jerked out from the very bottom of the Abyss, and forty-nine out of fifty of them made into good men.

Every twenty-four hours in the year Dr. Barnardo snatches nine waifs from the streets; so the enormous field he has to work in may be comprehended. The people who try to help have something to learn from him. He does not play with palliatives. He traces social viciousness and misery to their sources. He removes the progeny of the gutter-folk from their pestilential environment and gives them a healthy, wholesome environment in which to be pressed and prodded and moulded into men.

When the people who try to help cease their playing and dabbling with day nurseries and Japanese art exhibits, and go back and learn their West End better and the sociology of Christ, they will be in better shape to buckle down to the work they ought to be doing in the world. And if they do buckle down to the work, they will follow Dr. Barnardo's lead, only on a scale as large as the nation is large. They won't cram yearnings for the Beautiful and True and Good down the throat of the woman making violets for three farthings a gross, but they will make somebody get off her back and quit cramming himself till, like the Romans, he must go to a bath and sweat it out. And to their consternation, they will find that they will have to get off that woman's back themselves, as well as the backs of a few other women and children they did not dream they were riding upon.

CHAPTER XXV—THE MANAGEMENT.

In this final chapter it were well to look at the Social Abyss in its widest aspect, and to put certain questions to

Civilization, by the answers to which Civilization must stand or fall. For instance, has Civilization bettered the lot of man? "Man" I use in its democratic sense, meaning the average man. So the question reshapes itself: *Has Civilization bettered the lot of the average man?*

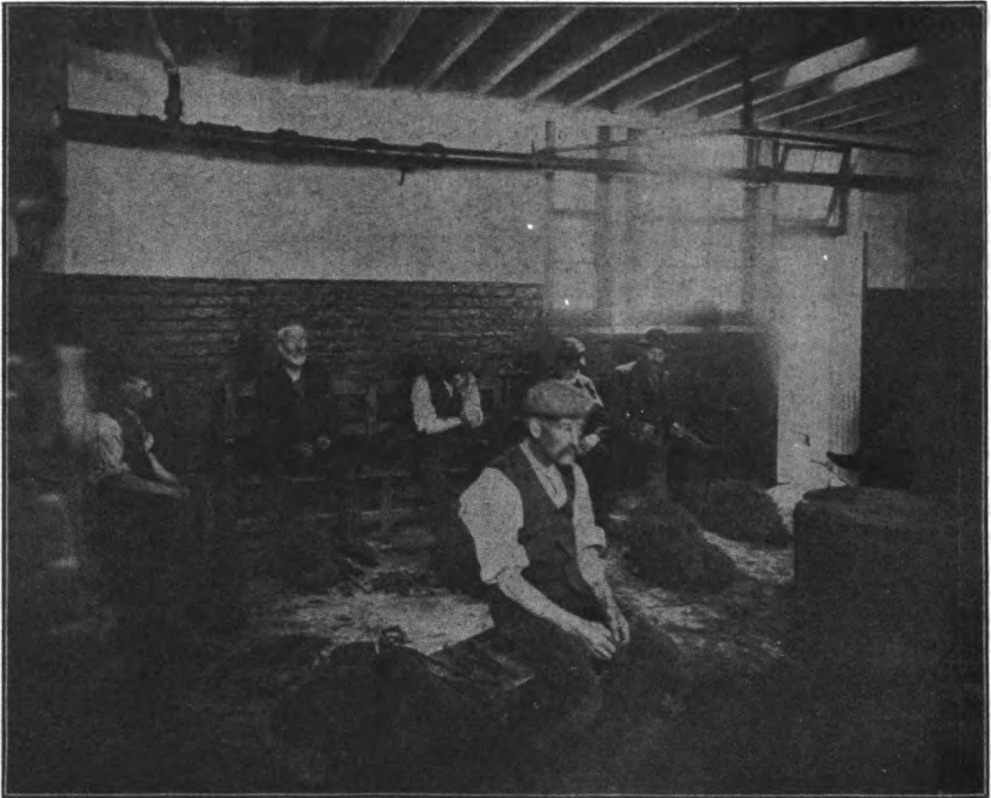
Let us see. In Alaska, along the banks of the Yukon River, near its mouth, live the Inuit folk. They are a very primitive people, manifesting but mere glimmering adumbrations of that tremendous artifice, Civilization. Their capital amounts possibly to \$10 per head. They hunt and fish for their food with bone-headed spears and arrows. They never suffer from lack of shelter. Their clothes, largely made from the skins of animals, are warm. They always have fuel for their fires, likewise timber for their houses, which they build partly underground, and in which they lie snugly during the periods of intense cold. In the summer they live in tents, open to every breeze and cool. They are healthy and strong and happy. Their one problem is food. They have their times of plenty and times of famine. In good times they feast; in bad times they die of starvation. But starvation, as a chronic condition, present with a large number of them all the time, is a thing unknown. Further they have no debts.

In the United Kingdom, on the rim of the Western Ocean, live the English folk. They are a consummately civilized people. Their capital amounts to at least \$1500 per head. They gain their food, not by hunting and fishing, but by toil at colossal artifices. For the most part they suffer from lack of shelter. The greater number of them are vilely housed, do not have enough fuel to keep them warm, and are insufficiently clothed. A constant number never have any house at all, and sleep shelterless under the stars. Many are to be found, winter and summer, shivering on the streets in their rags. They have good times and bad. In good times most of them manage to get enough to eat, in bad times they die of starvation. They are dying now, they were dying yesterday and last year, they will die tomorrow

and next year, of starvation; for they unlike the Innuits, suffer from a chronic condition of starvation. There are 40,000,000 of the English folk, and 939 out of every 1000 of them die in poverty, while a constant army of 8,000,000 struggle on the ragged edge of starvation. Further, each babe that is born, is born in debt to the sum of \$110. This is because of an artifice called the National Debt.

of a man such as Huxley. From the knowledge gained as a medical officer in the East End of London, and as a scientist pursuing investigations among the most elemental savages, he concludes, "Were the alternative presented to me I would deliberately prefer the life of a savage to that of those people of Christian London."

The creature comforts man enjoys are the products of man's labor. Since



for a thousand. One man can produce cotton cloth for 250 people, woollens for 300, and boots and shoes for 1000. Yet it has been shown throughout the pages of this book that English folk by the millions do not receive enough food, clothes and boots. Then arises the third and inexorable question: *If Civilization has increased the producing power of the average man, why has it not bettered the lot of the average man?*

There can be one answer only—MIS-MANAGEMENT. Civilization has made possible all manner of creature comforts and heart's delights. In these the average Englishman does not participate. If he shall be forever unable to participate, then Civilization falls. There is no reason for the continued existence of an artifice so avowed a failure. But it is impossible that men should have reared this tremendous artifice in vain. It stuns the intellect. To acknowledge so crushing a defeat is to give the death-blow to striving and progress.

One other alternative, and one other only, presents itself. *Civilization must be compelled to better the lot of the average man.* This accepted, it becomes at once a question of business management. Things profitable must be continued; things unprofitable must be eliminated. Either the Empire is a profit to England or it is a loss. If it is a loss, it must be done away with. If it is a profit, it must be managed so that the average man comes in for a share of the profit.

If the struggle for commercial supremacy is profitable, continue it. If it is not, if it hurts the worker and makes his lot worse than the lot of a savage, then fling foreign markets and industrial empire overboard. For it is a patent fact that if 40,000,000 people, aided by Civilization, possess a greater individual producing power than the Innuits, then those 40,000,000 people should enjoy more creature comforts and heart's delights than the Innuits enjoy.

If the 400,000 English gentlemen, "of no occupation," according to their own statement of the ensus of 1881, are unprofitable, do away with them. Set them to work ploughing game preserves and planting potatoes. If they are profitable,

continue them by all means, but let it be seen to that the average Englishman shares somewhat in the profits they produce by working at no occupation.

In short, society must be reorganized, and a capable management put at the head. That the present management is incapable, there can be no discussion. It has drained the United Kingdom of its life-blood. It has enfeebled the stay-at-home folk till they are unable longer to struggle in the van of the competing nations. It has built up a West End and an East End as large as the Kingdom is large, in which one end is riotous and rotten, the other end sickly and underfed.

A vast empire is foundering on the hands of this incapable management. And by empire is meant the political machinery which holds together the English-speaking people of the world outside of the United States. Nor is this charged in a pessimistic spirit. Blood empire is greater than political empire, and the English of the New World and the Antipodes are strong and vigorous as ever. But the political empire under which they are nominally assembled is perishing. The political machine known as the British Empire is running down. In the hands of its management it is losing momentum every day.

It is inevitable that this management, which has grossly and criminally mismanaged, shall be swept away. Not only has it been wasteful and inefficient, but it has misappropriated the funds. Every worn-out, pasty-faced pauper, every blind man, every prison babe, every man, woman and child whose belly is gnawing with hunger pangs, is hungry because the funds have been misappropriated by the management.

Nor can one member of the managing class plead not guilty before the judgment bar of Man. "The living in their houses, and in the graves the dead," are challenged by every babe that dies of innutrition, by every girl that flees the sweater's den to the nightly promenade of Piccadilly, by every worked-out toiler that plunges into the canal. The food this managing class eats, the wine it drinks, the show it makes, and the fine clothes it wears, are challenged by eight

million mouths which have never had enough to fill them, and by twice eight million bodies which have never been sufficiently clothed and housed.

There can be no mistake. Civilization has increased man's producing power an hundred fold, and through mismanage-

ment the men of Civilization live worse than the beasts, and have less to eat and wear and protect them from the elements than the savage Inuit in a frigid climate who lives today as he lived in the stone age ten thousand years ago.

THE END.

LOVE LETTERS OF MARGARET FULLER*

JOEL BENTON

NATURE, in her allotment of personality, seems sometimes to work with a lavish hand. Skipping at times the familiar average character which is so common and numerous, her fitful dice—so to speak—occasionally throw a double-six, fairly heaping up or intensifying for some one her measure of endowment. Among those so pre-eminently marked and favored, though nowise alike, we have in American literature Edgar Allan Poe and Margaret Fuller. Of the personality in other writers of genius we speak with some feeling of homogeneity; but these, and their like, come to us with a certain aura and effluence that are never less than hypnotic.

Mrs. Howe said of Margaret Fuller that "her name is one to conjure with." And certainly no woman writer of America has impressed so many strong personalities, even though she often repelled and baffled them on a first meeting or acquaintance. Emerson was one of those who received her at first cautiously, and with question, only to surrender early to her undeniable power. Mr. Greeley saw

her worth without waiting long, and became very soon her generous patron in the early days of *The Tribune*. But Edward Everett, George Bancroft, and a host of others notably eminent, paid her special and friendly attention. Mr. Congden, a once noted editor on *The Tribune* staff, compared her to Coleridge as a conversationalist. He said: "He was so astonished and spellbound by her eloquence, by such discourse as I had never before heard from a woman, and have never heard from a woman since, that I sat in silence; and if my ears had been fifty instead of two, I should have found an excellent use for them." In this instance her talk was upon the philosophers and poets of Germany.

There were those, however, like Lowell, who could not easily get accustomed to her seemingly lofty assumption, and strong self-consciousness, which she often made no effort to disguise. So Lowell speaks of her, in his "Fable for Critics," as one who comes

"With an I-turn-the-crank-of-the-universe air."

She was a sort of Sibyl, or spiritual interpreter, and could discourse eloquently

*Love Letters of Margaret Fuller, 1845-1846, with an Introduction by Julia Ward Howe, etc. New York. D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

on high themes. The Greek mythology she absorbed, and gave out with voluble and original elucidation. It was in her presence, though, that her greatness was seen, for interesting and able as her essays and books are, there is nothing in them that measures quite up to the wondrous personality her hearers and intimates acknowledged she possessed.

In *The Dial*, which she edited in conjunction with Emerson, she helped to give shape to the New England Transcendental movement of the '40s, when German thought got its first implanting among us. Along with the spiritual uplift that she was in sympathy with, came her desire to elevate the status of her sex. Mrs. Howe says that "with her contemporary, George Sand, she felt keenly the wide discrepancy between the moral and intellectual power of women, and the limits assigned them in the division of the world's work." But her protest was on Puritan, rather than on spectacularly radical lines.

What attention she won was from her spiritual impact wholly, for she had nothing approaching physical beauty. Emerson describes her at twenty-six as having "a face and frame that would indicate fullness and tenacity of life." She was rather under the middle height, but her complexion was fair, with strong, fair hair. She dressed neatly, had "a nasal tone" and "a trick of incessantly opening and shutting her eyelids." She knew many languages, was full of anecdotes and became a widely welcome guest wherever she was known. Her voice was not Shakespeare's model for a woman; so that her power lay in "the sheer force of a royal intellect."

Of few feminine writers can so much be quoted of encomium and wondering comment. Mr. Greeley noted, before he

was prepared to ratify their judgment, "that the women who visited us" (when Miss Fuller was an inmate of his household) "seemed instinctively to recognize and defer to her as their superioir in thought and culture. Some who were her seniors, and whose writings had achieved a far wider and more profitable popularity than hers, were eager to sit at her feet, and to listen to her casual utterances as to those of an oracle." She absorbed their secrets, in a day, and acted for them as a mother confessor. She did much to relieve poverty and distress. Mr. Greeley says: "She had once attended, with other noble women, a gathering of outcasts of their sex, and being asked how they appeared to her, replied: 'As women like myself, save that they are victims of wrong and misfortune.'"

It was at Mr. Greeley's home on the East River, somewhere in the vicinity of what is now Fiftieth Street (and in 1844 that was a long way out of town) that she made her home mostly, when she was doing her helpful and able work on *The Tribune*. Here she met many interesting people, and made frequent social calls. Not until a recent date was it known, however, to the general public, that here arose the first great passion of her heart toward a friend of the opposite sex. This person was a bright young German, who was in commercial business in the city, and whom Mr. Greeley knew and had befriended. His name was originally, and when Margaret knew him, James Nathan, but the patronymic was changed by Act of Congress, in 1855, to Gotendorf, for some reason not given, on Mr. Greeley's advice.

That he was a favorite with Mrs. Greeley, and visited the family often, indicates that he had no small degree

of worth. Through this frequent proximity of the two a sentiment grew up between himself and Margaret that was fervent to almost the last degree. They met often, and, for a year or more, exchanged notes, and took walks by the river shore and in its vicinage sometimes daily. For some cause not apparent, the culmination that would be supposed never came. Nathan went to Europe, as Margaret did later, she making the marriage and tragic ending of her life with Ossoli that everyone now knows.

In 1873 Nathan (now Gotendorf) compiled the letters that Margaret wrote him (without his own, which he may not have duplicated or had power to restore) and they form, with various ancillary matter, the substance of the interesting volume before me. The part additional consists of Mrs. Howe's Preface, Mr. Emerson's, Mr. Greeley's and Mr. Congdon's reminiscences, and other notes, the chief of which is that by the surviving lover.

Mr. Nathan says: "Her high intellectuality, purity of sentiment and winning conversation soon attracted" him, and they arranged to meet and to write at leisure intervals. In the very first letter Margaret writes: "My mind dwells often on what you are to tell me. I have long had a presentiment that I should meet—nearly—one of your race who would show me how the sun of today shines upon the ancient temple—but I did not expect so gentle and civilized an apparition, and with blue eyes." A little later she writes: "I hear you with awe assert power over me and feel it to be true. It causes awe, but not dread, such as I felt sometime since at the approach of this mysterious power; for I feel deep confidence in my friend and know that he will lead me on in a spirit of holy love, and that all I may learn of nature and the soul will be legitimate."

This deference was not in her habitual manner; but these words which soon follow are: "I feel chosen among women.

I have deep mystic feelings in myself and intimations from elsewhere. I could not if I would put into words these spirit facts; indeed, they are but swelling germs as yet, and all I do for them is to try to do nothing that might blight them." Mentioning their differences, she says: "You look at things so without their veils, yet that seems noble and antique to me. I do it when you hold me by the hand, yet when I feel you are thinking, I sometimes only say: 'Psyche was but a mortal woman, yet as the bride of Love she became a daughter of the gods, too.'"

The letters all have extreme warmth. She calls herself to him "the sister of your soul" and there are frequent endearing epithets often given in German. One of her adjurations is "Kill me with truth, if it need be, but never give me less If you cannot tell me all the truth, always at least tell me absolute truth." In one of her postscripts she says: "I shall expect you tomorrow, but I wish it were today. Twenty-four hours are a great many, more than enough to bring clouds, yet they will not come on the heaven of the mind, not this time."

It is evident this relationship was more to Margaret than to Nathan, but not a little to him. She confesses as much, not only in the following words, but elsewhere: "I have felt a strong attraction to you almost ever since we first met, the attraction of a wandering spirit toward a breast broad enough and strong enough for a rest when it wants to furl the wings."

Mr. Nathan's excuse for making these letters public is that he "cannot suffer their exquisite naturalness and sweetness to sink into the grave." And certainly they will interest many—particularly those who have read the "Memoirs" of her, and who can appreciate such work as Senancouis Amiel's Journal, and that interesting, introspective book titled "Thorndale." These are all notable searchings of the soul, as well as delicate interpretations and questionings of life.

PROGRESS ABROAD

GERMANY.

An impressive case of "How the sins of the children are visited upon the father," in Germany, is related by Berlin Vorwaerts of Nov. 6th. Two young carpenters from Petriben, in East Prussia, have joined the Socialist Party and are distributing Socialist leaflets and calendars. The conservative father, who was president of the town council, did not know of his son's action until the state council found out about it and discharged him (the guilty father!) from office. They say that the indignant father, of a sudden, became deeply impressed with the importance of Socialism and will now help his sons distribute Socialist leaflets.

In Baden, Minister Schenkel has formed a plan for limiting suffrage; if it becomes a law only men who pay direct government taxes and who have lived a year at least in Baden will be allowed to vote. A man must have an income of at least \$216 a year to pay a direct government tax in Baden. Many laborers move frequently from place to place in search of work. The new law would disfranchise at least a third of the working class voters. The Mannheimer Volksstimme says that the minister, fearing the anger of the people, tried to keep his project a secret until after the legislative elections which were held Oct. 30th, but at the last hour it was made known and created great indignation among the workers and Socialists, who will oppose such injustice with all their strength.

SWITZERLAND.

The Geneva Cantonal Great Council has unanimously voted to admit women

to the practice of law. Only the Socialists voted for the complete freedom of admission to the bar.

SPAIN.

The general strike in Bilbao has ended with the agreements that after January 1st wages shall be paid weekly, and that the workers shall no longer be obliged to buy at the mine owners' shops nor to live in their dwelling houses. These agreements, recommended by the government, were accepted immediately by the workers, but the employers opposed them so long as they could. General Zappino threatened to withdraw the troops from the strike region to bring the employers to terms. Most of the persons arrested during the strike have been liberated. The government has promised that the state of siege shall end before the municipal elections. The foreign mining companies, through their consuls, will protest against the new compact. Those mine-owners would prefer an American judge's injunction to General Zappino's methods.

ENGLAND.

English advocates of free trade are quoting the comparative rates of wages from the recently published blue book. According to those statistics in fifteen skilled trades, the average wages in London are \$9.08 and in English provincial towns \$8.64 a week; in Germany and France the average is much lower.

The monthly returns of the Boilermakers' Society again show an increase in the unemployed, the number out of work being 5,182, as against 4,647 last month.

PROGRESS AT HOME

Four of the national organizers of the Socialist Party are working in Southern States, viz., Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Virginia, and four in Western states, viz., Oklahoma, Arizona, Dakota, Montana, Indian Territory and Wyoming. All are meeting with marked success. Ground was broken in Arkansas in November.

James F. Carey, who was elected as representative to the Massachusetts Legislature from Haverhill for five consecutive terms and was defeated at the last elections by the united efforts of the capitalist parties, will make an extended lecturing tour in the United States during the winter.

The results of the state election in Ohio, as well as in several other states, show that the greatest gains have been made in the smaller cities and the large towns, rather than in the large cities.

Nine new locals have been organized in Minnesota in one month, with many others in process.

The position of the Socialist Party in regard to the trades union movement is shown by the following resolution adopted at a meeting of the National Committee at St. Louis in January, 1903:

"The Socialist Party will continue to give its aid and assistance to the economic struggle of organized labor, regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle and will not take sides in any dissensions or strifes within the trade union movement. The Party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of all trade organizations of labor without allowing itself to be made the ally of any one

division of the trade union movement as against another."

In reply to an inquiry from the International Socialist Bureau as to the position which the Socialist Party takes in regard to lynching, the following resolutions were adopted, and a copy sent to the International Bureau:

"Whereas the International Socialist Bureau has made inquiry regarding the position of the Socialist Party on the subject of lynching in the United States, especially lynching of negroes; and

"Whereas, the frequent lynchings which occur in the United States are bursts of animal passion calculated not only to do injustice to the victims, but also to still further brutalize the participants and the people in general; and

"Whereas, the economic conditions under the present capitalist system of industry cause the race-hatred which leads to many of the lynchings, and also foster the brutal instincts which lead to lynching in general and to the crimes for which lynching is perpetrated; therefore be it

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the quorum that the Socialist Party of the United States abhors and condemns the practice of lynching, both of negroes and whites, and that it abhors and accuses the capitalist system, which begets freaks instead of types, and then when the natural moral sense of society is outraged by some one of them, a portion of society becomes resistlessly enraged, and the mob and lynching follow. The Socialist Party points out the fact that nothing less than the abolition of the capitalist system and the substitution of the Socialist system can provide conditions under which hunger maniacs.

kleptomaniacs, sexual maniacs and all other offensive and now lynchable human degenerates will cease to be begotten or produced."

In the Provincial Parliament in British Columbia the Socialists hold the balance of power, the Liberals having elected 19, the Conservatives 21, and the Socialists 2.

not being exposed to dangerous occupations.

While the Galvin Hospital is not, strictly speaking, a free hospital, yet no one who needs attention and has no money is ever refused attendance. It is the patient's need, not his purse, that is considered. Dr. Galvin is immensely popular with the working class in Bos-



DR. GEORGE W. GALVIN

Recently Socialist Candidate for Mayor of Boston.

Dr. G. W. Galvin is one of the most valuable men in the socialist movement. He is at the head of a large hospital in Boston, the Galvin Emergency Hospital, which makes a specialty of taking in cases which require immediate attention, such as factory accidents, etc. Naturally most of such patients are among the working class, the rich

ton owing to his never ending philanthropies, and was a strong candidate for mayor.

He is a fine looking man of perhaps forty-three, an effective speaker, and an all round good fellow. That he is a good friend of Wilshire's may be seen by the big number of subscriptions he turned in on the late contest.

CURRENT EVENTS

LOW WAGES OR NONE?

The problem of the future will not be as to whether workmen will accept lower wages, but as to how they will get along when they get no wages at all. The following, which is one of many similar items, now appearing, from day to day, in our daily press, is suggestive:

Chicago, Nov. 30.—Following its announced policy of centralization, the International Harvester Company has decided to lay off 7,500 of its 19,000 employes and thus effect a saving of \$5,000,000 a year.

The first step in the direction of economy was taken night before last when 1,500 employes of the Deering Division were notified their services were no longer required.

The action will also affect workers in Milwaukee, Springfield, Ohio, and Plano.

It is to be noticed that the Harvester Company does not ask the men to take less wages, but simply throws 7,000 of them out on the streets to hunt a new job. These employes are already probably paid so little, that the Harvester Company knows it would be useless to ask them to work for less, and even if they should work for less it would be impossible for the company to sell the harvesting machines, because the saving effected through reduction of wages would not be sufficient to develop sales enough to keep the men employed. The farmers of the world want so many harvesting machines, and they naturally would prefer buying them at \$90 rather than \$100, but the farmer is not going to buy two machines at \$180 when one machine at \$100 will do the work. The second machine would not be of enough benefit to him. After I have had all the coffee I want for breakfast it is useless to offer me another cup of coffee at a less price. I don't want it at any price, I

am satisfied. Diminution of price may develop demand, but only to a limited extent. If the farmers of the world require a hundred machines today, a reduction of ten per cent. in price might induce them to buy ten per cent. more machines, but it would not induce them to buy 50 per cent. more.

In the United States there is going to be a cessation in demand for products. The first effect will be seen in the lowering of prices. It is possible the capitalists will try to induce the workmen to work for less to meet these lower prices, but even if they were successful it would be but a temporary benefit, as the first reduction in price would be followed by a second reduction, and to ask the laborers to still further reduce their demand in the way of wages would be practically impossible. They are already so near the starvation point that to take less would mean insufficient food to allow them to work to advantage. We may look forward, then, not to any determined effort on the part of the capitalists to reduce wages, but rather to their abandoning the attempt to pay wages at all. There will be a complete shut down of factories.

BRITANNIA'S FLIRTATION WITH PROTECTION.

The tariff battle in England still wages merrily. The success of the steel trust in this country in getting lower freight rates from the railroads so that it may be in a better position to dump its products on England, is undoubtedly helping Mr. Chamberlain in his efforts to convert the English to his theory of protection. The annexed cartoon is interesting inasmuch as it is only a short

while ago that all England was talking about protectionist countries crippling themselves with their tariff laws. A few years ago the Democrats of this country used to quote Gladstone, with unctiousness, as saying that so long as America continued to shackle her strong young arms with a tariff, England had no cause to fear our competition in the world's markets.

Poor old Gladstone would turn in his grave were he to know that England is having such a serious flirtation with protection.

THE SETTING SUN OF MORGAN

Events in Wall Street are following very closely along the line predicted in this magazine some two years ago. It may be remembered that at the time of the formation of the Northern Securities Company we stated that Morgan, who was then at the zenith of his career, was really the shadow and Rockefeller the reality. This statement was at variance with the appearance of things at the time, that it was not considered of any particular moment, any more than were our predictions of the present unemployed problem, made when we were in the midst of prosperity.

The tremendous slump in the stocks of the steel trust and other Morgan stocks has demonstrated the enormous strength of Rockefeller as compared to that of Morgan.

Morgan was simply a banker with several million dollars and enjoying the ordinary profits of a banker. Suddenly the great industrial boom came along and he took advantage of it to promote several enormous companies, and participated in the profits of promotion by

having big stock assigned to him for his services in the underwriting. Taking these stocks at the then selling value and without considering any liabilities attached, he was piling up his millions at an amazing rate. But these conditions could not continue indefinitely. He could not find a steel trust to organize every day in the year.

Rockefeller's income, on the other hand, is not the result of promoting industrial enterprises and taking a share



A VOLUNTARY HANDICAP.

Uncle Sam—"Rum idea of our friend, Mr. Bull's—entering a foot-race in a sack, eh?"

Germany—"Yes, his friends persuaded him he'd stand a better chance!"

St. James Gazette (London).

of the stock for such promotion. It is derived from his ownership of stock in the Standard Oil Trust in particular and of many other stocks in general. Possibly for one single year Morgan's profits were as large as Rockefeller's income, though even this is doubtful; but this year Rockefeller's income will be practically the same as it was last year, whereas Morgan will have lost a great part of the profits he made the previous year. In addition to loss of profits through the shrinkage of stock values, Morgan is of course encountering more or less liabilities from his transactions which may seriously embarrass

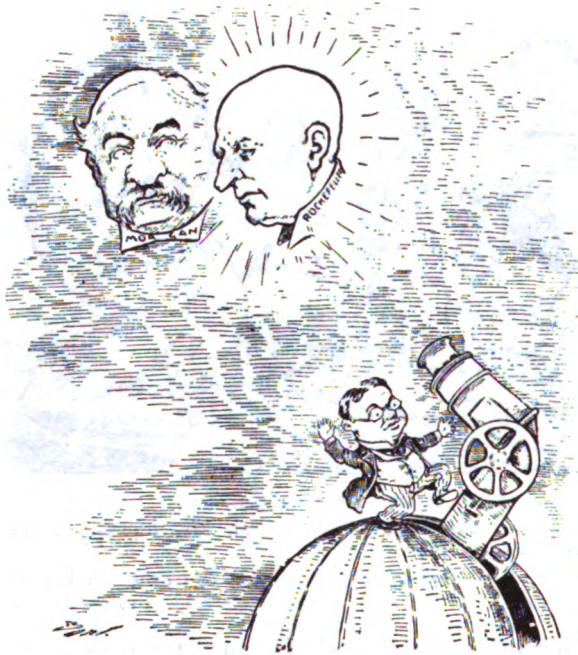
him. There is no doubt at all that Morgan has been of great value to Rockefeller in helping forward the consolidation of the world's industries; and whether Morgan himself finally gains or loses by the part he takes in the matter, there is no question that Rockefeller has been immensely benefitted by the impetus that Morgan and his associates have given toward concentration.

Rockefeller, with his income, the largest in the world, naturally wishes to

MONOPOLY A NECESSITY.

The series of interesting articles upon Mr. Rockefeller is still running in McClure's Magazine. The author is Miss Tarbell, and her story certainly shows great ability in the gathering of information. It would seem, however, that if Miss Tarbell could understand better that Mr. Rockefeller was forced by unavoidable circumstances to pursue his path of consolidation, she would write a more sympathetic article and one in which the philosophy would be more apparent. No causality permeates her story. She does not correlate her facts, as she might easily do by making the predominating note the necessity of things.

If a leak be found in a Mississippi River levee it becomes imperative that it be stopped at once, for every drop of water that goes through increases the opening, until finally the crevice becomes so great that nothing can prevent the ruin of the fertile fields that lie beyond the levee. No sacrifice is too great for the planters to make to prevent such a leak, and nothing is considered a greater crime than to weaken the levee. During periods of flood, patrols walk up and down on the levee, armed with rifles, to shoot down any pilot who runs his steamboat so near to the levee that the wash from the



An Eclipse in the Financial Heavens.

—Minneapolis Journal.

invest his money in systematized industries, and if he can get some one else to do the systematization for him he is so much the gainer; and this is what Mr. Morgan has been so kindly doing for Mr. Rockefeller.

The story of the intense antagonism between Morgan and Rockefeller is a harmless fable.

They are too valuable to each other to seriously quarrel.

boat damages it.

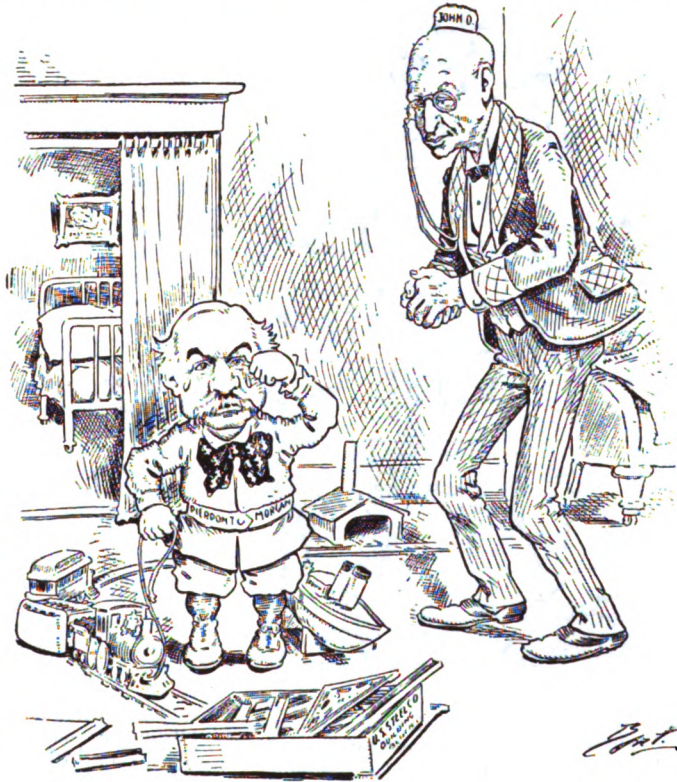
Competition in a business like the oil business, or in fact, any business furnishing a commodity of which price is the determining factor in finding a market, is just as dangerous to the stability of that business as a break in the levee is to a plantation on the banks of the Mississippi. If competition is not stopped at once, it grows worse and worse, until finally the business is

swamped. For instance, here is Mr. Rockefeller with a monopoly of the oil business. A small refiner, say, like Mr. George Rice of Marietta, competes with him. Mr. Rice, in order to sell his oil, sells it at a little lower price than Mr. Rockefeller sells his. Mr. Rockefeller holds up the price, so that Mr. Rice can make money, even if he must take a cent per gallon less than Mr. Rockefeller gets. Then Mr. Rice

uses the profits that he so makes in enlarging his refinery and next month he sells still more oil and again uses the profits for still further enlargements. Meanwhile, it must be understood that Mr. Rockefeller has more refineries than enough to supply the market. He sees his own refineries standing idle because he has closed them to prevent the lowering of price by the production of too much oil. Mr. Rice takes advantage of this situation to produce more and more oil. Rockefeller holds up the umbrella to protect Rice. His profit is the result of Mr. Rockefeller's restricting production. What would happen if Mr. Rockefeller allowed the thing to go on? Mr. Rice would finally have just as large a plant as Mr. Rockefeller and the market would soon be flooded, and both would go down in a common sea of bankruptcy through the ruinous prices made as the result of this over-production.

We justify a man going to any extreme to preserve his own life and that of his family. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. A man's business is his support in life, and if you take that

away you take away his life. It may seem absurd to talk about such a small competitor as Mr. Rice taking away the life of the Standard Oil Trust; but a little mole may start a hole in the levee which will develop into a crevasse allowing the Mississippi to sweep away a whole county. Hence, when we hear tales of the Standard Oil Trust having gone to the utmost extreme in order to



MORGAN THINKS NOT.

Grandpa Rockefeller—"Come, Pierpont, Don't You Think It's About Time for You to Retire?"
—Minneapolis Journal.

exterminate competitors, even to blowing up their oil refineries with dynamite, we need not be astonished at the heroic measures employed. It is simply a question of self-preservation. When the trades unions resort to every possible means, legal or illegal, to prevent even one "scab" doing work in competition with the union, they are pursuing exactly the same policy. They know that if one scab is allowed to work, more scabs will come in, and finally there will be enough

at work to break up the union. The number of non-union men employed in

but it presents just the same kind of danger that Mr. Rice's small capital against the enormous capital of the Standard Oil Company does, if allowed to exist in competition with it.

This necessity for the extermination of competitors in the capitalistic world is going to be brought very clearly before us during the next year, when profits and interest approach the vanishing point, coincident with the disappearance of prosperity. The necessity for monopoly is going to be infinitely more apparent in the near future than it has ever been in the past. This will apply to the trades unionists as well as to the capitalists, and all possible means to secure it will probably be used by both sides.



AMERICAN CIRCUS.

The great ship pyramid built upon the "syndicated ocean" seems as if it might fall.
—Kladderadatsch (Berlin).

a shop may be insignificant as compared with the number of union men,

Ian Maclaren claims that Christianity is abandoning individualism and adopting collectivism.

"There was a day," he says, "when a preacher could appeal to his hearer, and awaken his heart to praise because God had saved him, while thousands had been left to perish; but today the hearer would firmly suspend his praise for his own salvation till he knew what was going to become of other people. Dying people of, say, 1850 were solely concerned with the question of what would become of themselves on the other side; dying men of today forget themselves in thinking what is to become of their wives and children. Appeals to the individual to escape hell with its sufferings, to make sure of heaven for its joy, have very little effect. The tract which asks a by no means unimportant question, 'Whither are you going?' is an anachronism; but any appeal for the service of others will secure willing and sympathetic attention."

BOOK REVIEWS

LIFE OF WM. EWART GLADSTONE. By John Morley. (3 vols.) Published by Macmillan Co. Price \$10.50.

These volumes give a stately picture of the man whom Huxley called "the greatest intellect of his time." Gladstone was so closely identified with the history of England for sixty years that his life related in detail, as it is here, must be practically a history of the period. To give a short synopsis of this history would be of little use; I shall, therefore, refer only to a few points that are of special interest, first to Americans and second to Socialists.

The chief effect upon me of reading these volumes is one of gratified surprise at finding that throughout his life Gladstone was sincere, that his public utterances were in harmony with his private utterances. So accustomed are we in America to flummery and deception in political life, that we soon learn mournfully to expect that most political oratory is humbug, that platforms are meant only to delude and that self seeking is the controlling influence in all political life. It may be that there is more disinterested service in America than our cynical newspapers lead us to think; yet the career of no politician here displays to the enquiring student as much nobility, integrity and sincerity, as were manifested throughout his life by Gladstone. Further, one is surprised to find that the great Whig noblemen, with whom he chiefly worked, were also in the main guided by intellectual conviction. For instance, when he introduced his first budget to a cabinet consisting almost entirely of lords and dukes, they were hostile to his proposal to continue the hated income tax; yet after three hours of strenuous argument against their personal and class interests, he brought conviction home to these aristocratic rulers.

When Civil Service Reform was introduced into the bureaus of the imperial government, it was with the consent and through the efforts of a cabinet composed entirely of people whose families and relatives were battenng upon public office. But without outside pressure, by administrative act, these scions of noble houses, simply under the compulsion of a desire to serve the public well, cut off the supplies from the public trough at which their own people were being fed.

Gladstone's own Titanic labors for the dis-establishment of the Irish church, for the extension of the suffrage, for the abolition of Protective duties, for Home Rule and a score of other things, were evidently undertaken with a sterling

disregard for the effect of his advocacy upon his own popularity. Much of this work, especially that upon the finances, Morley says was consciously undertaken to secure a wider diffusion of material goods amongst the working classes.

The book gives new light upon the working of the cabinet system. The cabinet is a committee of the House of Commons which practically rules the Empire. It meets in secret, no record of its proceedings is kept, and etiquette requires that no minister shall utter outside any word of what has been said at the meetings. But these volumes show that between the ministers letters and memoranda constantly pass; that discussion at the meetings is fierce and plain spoken; that the chief minister keeps the sovereign informed by private letter of the main currents of cabinet opinion; and, most remarkable of all, that the strongest argument generally prevails.

When the British wage-earners have the sense to send socialistic persons in a majority to the House of Commons, the way to the adoption of socialistic measures will be easier than it would be in a country where cabinets and caucuses have been taught to scoff at argument that is not crystallized into dollars.

The complexity and difficulty connected with any great law that aims to alter conditions in a modern state are also illustrated in these volumes. Those of us socialists who look for constitutional, step-by-step progress, must be rather appalled as we see the sort of concentrated, intellectual labor, and the strenuous fighting which Gladstone displayed in passing any great measure. If only like the conjurer, we could say, "Hey, Presto!", and make a gorgeous transformation in a day, how much easier it would be!

Gladstone was of course no socialist. At the end of his life he viewed with disapproval the transfer of the best intelligence of young Oxford from the church and politics to "that vague thing called social reform"; not, however, from any hostility to the objects of the social reformers, but because he thought their efforts were not scientific and well directed. He believed that the efforts of the church in the regeneration of the individual, aided by detailed, carefully wrought-out acts of parliament would best help the wage-earners.

It was only at the end of Mr. Gladstone's life that the socialist movement in England became strong enough to attract official notice. Gladstone was at that time so absorbed in the Irish question that he paid no attention to the rising movement. Trained as he was in the old school

of Economics, springing as he did from high Toryism, and penetrated as he was with theological ideas, it was impossible for him, even in his long life, to advance so far along the road to Radicalism as to reach the vision of Socialism; but let it be remembered to his honor that he became the greatest Liberal of his age, and established that political democracy, which is the essential preliminary of social democracy.

Altogether, the study of Gladstone's life is a refreshment to anybody who has been in the thick of the American fight, and is disheartened at the slowness of progress. Here was a man in whose life-time the political face of Europe was changed; improvements, therefore, do come. Here was an idealist who realized many of his dreams; our dreams may therefore be realized. Here was a leader of the finest parts whom the great crowd delighted to follow; we may find successful leaders also. There is no need for anyone to despair.

JOHN MARTIN.

BI-SOCIALISM. By Oliver R. Trowbridge. Moody Publishing Co., New York, \$1.50.

This is a book written by a man well informed as to economics from the classical standpoint and who tries to find a solution for the social problem by some other plan than that involving the abolition of the competitive wage system. He would have a kind of hybrid socialism; hence the title bi-socialism. His idea is to have public ownership of the principal public utilities and then to have a tax upon land values sufficient to absorb the landlord's unearned increment. It will be seen that in reality the scheme is simply Henry Georgeism brought down to date with all modern improvements, with the single exception of the substitution of co-operation for competition.

His chief indictment of socialism, which by the way, he christens "omni-socialism," is that its co-operation would be compulsory from the cradle to the grave. This may be true, but we do not see that compulsory competition would be any better. Co-operation is a law of nature and we cannot avoid it, nor would we wish to avoid it.

JOHN BURT. By Frederick Upham Adams. Published by Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia, \$1.50.

Mr. Adams' book makes one feel as if he had been looking at an old fashioned melo-drama rather than reading a modern novel. It is the old story over again of the poor young man in love with the banker's daughter and finding his rival in the rich young villain who is finally bankrupted and shot in the last chapter.

The aforesaid villain is a tough lot, however, for he is also shot in the first chapter as well as the last, and is drunk through all the chapters, but nevertheless keeps up his usual health right along.

The hero leaving home finds no trouble in making a fortune at gold mining in California in a few months and then with the proceeds becoming the Napoleon of Wall Street, all before he is

thirty, and in the present day, too. Mr. Adams is an optimist. Everybody in the book makes money except those who have money to start with, and these seem to find it impossible to keep it.

The book is a stirring one notwithstanding its many crudities.

ROBERT MORRIS, Patriot and Financier. By Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer, Ph. D. With portraits and other illustrations. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This biography of Robert Morris is based for the most part upon the manuscript volumes of the Morris papers, which have been recently acquired by the Library of Congress from the estate of Gen. John Meredith Read, and which have themselves had a curious history; they were rescued by Gen. Read from a rubbish heap in a small French town, after mysteriously disappearing from this country. The most important of these papers are those which throw light upon the period when Morris held the office of Superintendent of Finance. It is to this period, in duration somewhat more than three years, that Dr. Oberholtzer devotes about one-half of his book, since it was the most important part of Morris's public life.

Early in 1781 Congress appointed Morris Superintendent of Finance. The finances of the Government were in a deplorable condition. Congress was virtually bankrupt, and this was the period when the currency was used to paper rooms and to light fires. It was imperative that the Treasury Board should be superseded by an individual of business responsibility, and for this position Morris was the logical candidate. The financier was at once called on to manage the Yorktown campaign, and it is certain that the success of that campaign depended largely on his able financiering.

The establishment of a National bank was regarded by Morris, as it was later by Hamilton, as a matter of the greatest importance. "I am determined" said Morris, "that the bank shall be well supported until it can support itself, and then it will support us." The bank proved of the greatest utility, and Morris afterward said that without it the business of the Office of Finance could not have been performed.

His plans in regard to a mint and silver monometallism did not succeed, and the stability of the Government's credit depended mainly on his own notes and those of the bank. Morris continued in the Office of Finance till November, 1784, when he was succeeded by a board. He was tired of the fault found with his administration, and determined to resign as soon as he could settle the financial problems involved in the disbandment of the army.

In the latter part of his life Morris became involved in great financial reverses; he speculated wildly and was reduced to bankruptcy. His confinement in a debtors' prison was the depth of his humiliation. The passage of an opportune law, however, enabled Morris to leave prison. This was in 1801. Five years later the great financier died.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

TO FRIENDS OF WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

Subscription postal cards, each good for a year's subscription to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, are sold to all applicants at rate of 50 cents per card; cards good for a six months subscription, 25 cents. Remit cash with order to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d street, New York.

Port Chester, N.Y., Nov. 12, 1903.

Dear Mr. Wilshire,—

At a meeting of Local Port Chester, held on Nov. 7th, 1903, I was instructed to express the appreciation of the members of the above Local for the assistance you rendered us in speaking in Port Chester on Nov. 2, 1903. It may be of interest to you to know that our vote was increased 100 per cent. at the recent election. Kindly extend to Mr. Huggins also our recognition of his efforts, and say that we have sold several cards. With best wishes, I remain,

HENRY L. MOREAU, Sec.

Why not send for some of our "sub" cards? Cash should preferably accompany the order, but we are willing to supply them on credit to responsible parties.

Enid, Okla., Nov. 7, 1903.

I having arrived safely home from a visit east and after meeting your honor in Cincinnati at Workman's Hall, while there on a certain Tuesday evening, I would like to remind you, if you please, that you said you were coming to Oklahoma to give us a talk on socialism. Now we of Okla. want this not to be not in jest but in earnest. We want you! I have felt the pulse of the Socialists in this country and I have spoken and said to them that the moment that you, H. Gaylord Wilshire, touched the button of date to me that I was going to get to every locality in Okla. the news of your coming, and make all necessary arrangements for you personally and otherwise that were possible. The next thing in order will be a reply from you for which we wait. We must have a place in Enid to buy Wilshire's Magazine. It used to be here. Why not now? Try Parker's Book Store and the Owl Drug Store, they will sell them.

I am yours till the Co-operative Commonwealth. CLIFF CONWAY, S.L.S.P., Enid, Okla.

Bradensboro, Fla., Nov. 21, 1903.

Wilshire's is one of the magazines that I cannot do without.

W. C. BERG.

Do not forget to write to our advertisers. By spending two cents on a stamp you may help us two dollars worth. Some advertisers think our readers don't read advertisements. Please fool 'em.

Laramie, Wyo., Nov. 21, 1903.

I have not received my Wilshire for November. Please forward same immediately, as I must have the magazine and have had to borrow one from my neighbors. Life is a dreary waste without it.

H. V. S. GROESBECK.

Georgetown, British Guiana, South America.
30th Oct., 1903.

Permit me to thank you for your most useful and interesting magazine, "Wilshire's," which we agree is the best that enters our home and is the first that gets in my hands every month. For this I am your debtor. I will not like to be without "Wilshire's" for even one month. Again thanking you and wishing "Wilshire's" every success.

HENRY JOS. DE SILVA.

Gloversville, N.Y., Nov. 23, 1903.

Through neglect I have not renewed my subscription until this late date. You will also find the name of a new subscriber herewith enclosed. I let him read my magazine and he was converted.

A. C. McINTOSH.

Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 18, 1903.

Your postal notifying me of the expiration of my subscription is received. I cannot afford to be deprived of the stimulus of your monthly visit; therefore I enclose 50c. for renewal.

WM. H. KNIGHT.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 13, 1903.

Enclosed please find \$1.00 for two subscriptions. I have been very well pleased with your magazine and shall try and get you some more names.

F. C. BORDNER.



This is the picture of H. L. Matthews who is actively engaged in canvassing the state of California for Wilshire's. He has already covered the greater part of the Pacific Coast upon his wheel and has made a great success of his work.

effective in the world. Next summer I shall be on the road with a travelling wagon, built for propaganda purposes, and shall boom "Wilshire's" in every town in this region.

I am trying to make a collection of small negatives, suitable for the making of lantern slides, to be used with projection apparatus as an aid in socialist lecture courses. I would be glad to get names and addresses of amateur and professional photographers everywhere who can furnish negatives for the preparation of such slides. Views of children at work in cotton mills, coal mines, etc., habitations of the poor,

until after we elect our socialist president. If you would turn missionary and come to N.C. and preach socialism you would get lots of subscribers. If the amount of work had been done in the South that has been done in the North the South would be ahead of the North, on socialist lines, and the reports from the organizers confirm my position, and, Wilshire, you would make no mistake to visit the South; the sooner the better. S. A. HAUSER.

We have a lot of back numbers of Wilshire's Magazine which we will send out free of charge,

in lots of from 10 to 100, to anyone undertaking to distribute them where it might develop new subscribers.

Nordhoff, Calif., Nov. 15th, 1903.

I owe you a debt of gratitude for the splendid spirit and vital matter of your interesting and helpful magazine. It is the one clean cut, brave, whole-hearted and broad-handed magazine, of national scope and international principle that dares come out boldly and consistently for the practical Humane Brotherhood and actual "government of the people by the people and for the people."

All others, that I know of, (of any such comparative circulation) either dawdle, or temporize, or wholly sell out and down to despicable moral cowardice and greed. God bless you and speed The International Commonwealth of Practical Humanity and Essential Christianity. Yours.

JNO. WARD STIMSON.

We are offering three gold watches, one to each of the three agents who send us the largest remittances for subscriptions or cards before the first of next March. Particulars will be found on one of our advertising pages.

These watches are made by the Waltham Co. and are guaranteed good time keepers. One will prove a good souvenir of desirable work done for the cause.

We hope our friends will appreciate the importance of everyone turning to and helping us get subscribers. We are not publishing a magazine that is so like the other magazines that it will develop readers in the ordinary way. Wilshire's Magazine is essentially a periodical for the propagation of Socialism. Socialism is the sole reason of its existence. It needs the co-operation of all Socialists to maintain its existence.

We have never passed the hat around among our friends. This is not because we do not need their help, but simply because we feel that it is bad policy to remind them every ten minutes of what is their plain duty. Some people seem to think they are doing their whole duty when they give up merely their time to the reading of Socialist literature. This is not enough. They should also get the other fellow to read it. It may seem hard work, and embarrassing work too, for those who have never done any soliciting, to ask a friend to take a Wilshire Subscription Card. But after all is it not worth embarrassing yourself to help gain a heaven for all upon earth? And remember, if there were not other people quite as sensitive as you are, and mayhap a great deal more so, who are giving up their lives to the spread of Socialist literature then such periodicals as Wilshire's would cease to exist. Wilshire's Magazine confessedly lives solely by the voluntary and unpaid labor of its friends in drilling up new subscribers for it. You have very probably less reason than many others who are working for it for not putting your shoulder to the wheel. Send us a two-dollar bill for some assorted subscription cards. We know the best assortment to begin with. Try our judgment.

Seattle, Wash., Aug. 18, 1903.

Wilshire's Magazine is without a doubt the best educator and arouser of the ignorant and dormant minds of the so-called business man and also those of culture and refinement. You certainly deserve great credit for the enterprise manifested in the publication of this one of the few great journals aiming to transform this system of Greed and Gold to a more righteous system under which men, women and children will be emancipated from all forms of servitude. God speed the day. Hopefully yours,

D. H. HAWKES.

A New System of Book Publishing.

Mr. Howard Wilford Bell is publishing books on what he calls the unit system, and we herewith put in a good word for his new system. It is thoroughly in line with the socialist idea of justice in business. He charges for his books exactly according to what you get. So much per page with so much added for binding according to the kind of binding you elect to take.

The size of the print and the kind of paper, and both are excellent by the way, are the same in all the books he publishes. The binding is paper, cloth or leather, according as you choose and are willing to pay for.

We can especially recommend to our readers his edition of Lincoln's Letters and Addresses which can be had in paper binding for 21 cents, postage 5 cents extra. Address, Howard Wilford Bell, 259 Fifth Ave., N.Y. We will send Lincoln's Addresses postpaid and free to anyone remitting us three dollars in payment for six of our yearly subscription cards.

New York, Nov. 17, 1903.

For enclosed check kindly send magazine to this address, one year.

Mr. Golstein left the October number with me and I find it interesting enough to desire more in the same line.

M. R. RICHARD, M.D.

Springfield, O., Nov. 17, 1903.

My subscription expires with the December number. Enclosed find a post office money order for one dollar, for which keep me on the list for another pleasant year of Wilshire's.

R. A. HUEBNER.

On one of our advertising pages will be found a list of good books we are offering free to people sending us in money for subscription cards. We hope to see our readers take advantage of this unusually good opportunity of getting the best Socialist books free of cost. The cards will be sent on credit if so desired.

New Brunswick Socialists who read "Wilshire's Magazine" are requested to correspond with the Organizer of Fredericton (N.B.) Socialist League, concerning the prospects of further organization in that province. Address,

HENRY HARVEY STUART, Hope Hill, N.B.

OUR PRIZE WINNERS

It will be seen that the automobile has been carried off by Mrs. G. H. Lockwood, of Girard, Kansas. Those who know the lady and her husband will recognize that the machine could not have fallen into better hands for the propagation of socialism. They are indefatigable. We congratulate them upon the result of their good work.

The ten-acre ranch was won by the Montana Trades and Labor Union. The ranch is well set to Muir and Early Crawford peaches, and will afford a fine basket of fruit for the families of every member of the Union for the rest of their lives, and then for their heirs thereafter.

There is also plenty of land, too, for the



MR. G. H. LOCKWOOD



MRS. G. H. LOCKWOOD

After the automobile, the chief interest probably centered in guessing who would carry off the two California ranches. The ranches being put down in the list as the 8th and 9th prizes, the winning of them had somewhat more of the element of chance than was found in the higher prizes.

Union to divide up the ranch, so that every member may boast of a winter place in sunny Southern California.

They might do better, however, by making it community property, and dedicating it as a winter picnic park for the Union.

The eight-acre ranch went to D. H.

Hawkes, of Seattle, Washington. He, late him upon being able to pass the too, is an earnest worker in the cause, rest of his life under the shade of his and we feel sure that all will congratu- own vine and fig tree.

CAPITAL PRIZE WINNERS.

NO. OF PRIZE.	NAME.	RESIDENCE.	NO. OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.	PRIZE.	VALUE.
1	Lockwood, G. H. Mrs.	Girard, Kan.	1315	Tonneau Automobile	\$1,400.00
2	VanRensselaer, Jas. T.	Los Angeles, Cal.	1200	Grand Upright Piano	600.00
3	Galvin, Dr. Geo. W.	Boston, Mass.	1010	" "	600.00
4	Matthews, H. L.	Santa Barbara, Cal.	359	Harvard Up. Cab. Grand Piano	350.00
5	McLaren, J. A.	Ontario, Canada	340	Angelus	270.00
6	Fellows, Alfred	Los Angeles, Cal.	300	Symphony Organ	250.00
7	Lodge, Paul	New York City, N. Y.	220	" "	250.00
8	Montana State Trades Labor Union	Butte, Mont.	200	10-Acre Fruit Ranch	
9	Hawkes, D. H.	Renton, Wash.	154	8- " "	
10*	Anonymous	Toledo, Ohio	144	Large Oil-Painted Tapestry	200.00
11	McReynolds, J. E.	New York City, N. Y.	128	Hoosier Club Billiard Table	115.00
12	Patterson, Claude A.	Des Moines, Ia.	120	Com. Library and Billiard Table	85.00
13	Ramage, C. E.	Pomona, Cal	108	" " " "	85.00
14	Emery, Dr. C. A.	Toledo, Ohio	104	" " " "	85.00
15	Herron, Prof. G. D.	New York City, N. Y.	100	American Typewriter	40.00
16	Greaves, J. W.	Hollinwood, England	80	Columbia Graphophone	30.00
17	Anderson, Louis J.	Rich Hill, Mo.	78	" "	30.00
18	Husom, H. P.	Ada, Minn.	66	" "	30.00
19	Hartman, Jos. S.	Camden, N. J.	65	" "	30.00
20	Glickert, John	Cincinnati, O.	60	" "	30.00
21	Hull, E. D.	Waterbury, Conn.	57	" "	30.00
22	Mincher, J. F.	Middleton, O.	51	" "	30.00
23	Berger, Meta	Milwaukee, Wis.	51	" "	30.00
24	Aydelott, W. T.	Bradford, Tenn.	50	Al-Vista Panoramic Camera	30.00
25	Odom, John	Quincy, Mass.	50	" "	30.00
26	Lephardt, Chas.	Baltimore, Md.	46	" "	30.00
27	Irving, Dan	Burnley, England	45	" "	30.00
28	Eger, R. J.	Bay City, Mich.	40	" "	30.00
29	Breman, J. T.	Anaconda, Mont.	40	" "	30.00
30	Chapman, W. E.	New York City, N. Y.	40	" "	30.00
31	Shane, T.	Toledo, Ohio	40	" "	30.00
32	Webster, W. L.	Cleveland, Ohio	40	" "	30.00
33	Wright, H. N.	Passaic, N. J.	39	" "	30.00
34	Burry, F. W.	Toronto, Canada	34	" "	30.00
35	Keevan, W. H.	Sharon Hill, Pa.	33	" "	30.00
36	Davis, W. H.	Buena Vista, Cal.	32	" "	30.00
37	Tubbs, H. V.	Girard, Kansas	32	" "	30.00
38	West, Dr. L.	Monett, Mo.	32	" "	30.00
39	Wogan, Robt	Beaver Falls, Pa.	32	" "	30.00
40	McNicol, Nicol	St. Thomas, Canada	30	" "	30.00
41	Zimmerman, F. A.	McMechen, W. Va.	30	" "	30.00
42	Edwards, P. E.	Neosho, Mo.	28	" "	30.00
43	Stuart, Allen W.	Independence, Mo.	28	" "	30.00
44	Happ, C. W.	Rockford, Ill	28	" "	30.00
45	Jahn, Jos	Wheeling, W. Va.	26	" "	30.00
46	Rahne, Herman	Staunton, Ill.	25	" "	30.00
47	Woodruff, E. A.	Pasadena, Cal.	25	" "	30.00
48a	Jurgens, Paul (see note)	Haledon, N. J.	24	Violin (See note)	
48b	Stephan, Albt.	Williamsport, Pa.	24	" "	
48c	O'Leary, Wm.	New Castle, Pa.	24	" "	100.00
48d	Spencer, Herb.	Emporia, Kan.	24	" "	
49	Bush, A	Stratford, Eng	23	Bicycle	25.00
50	Sutherland, J. C.	Evansville, Ind.	23	" "	25.00
51	Gilbert, Mrs. Julie	Spokane, Wash.	22	" "	25.00
52	Hornung, Wm.	Chicago, Ill.	22	" "	25.00
53	Lyman, C. W.	Azusa, Cal.	22	" "	25.00
54	Cesky, C.	Baltimore, Md.	22	" "	25.00
55	Stuart, J. E.	Riverside, Cal.	22	" "	25.00
56	Fry, Ernest A.	St. Johns, Kan.	22	" "	25.00

* This prize winner has requested, for good reasons, that his name be not published.

57	Roe, A. O.	Moline, Ill.	22	Bicycle	25.00
58	Lamb, C. J. M.	Dryden, Mich.	22	"	25.00
59	Davis, W. P.	Birmingham, Ala.	21	Fine Gold Filled Watch	25.00
60	McAllister, Mrs. M. J.	Pine Grove, W. Va.	21	"	25.00
61	Parsons, W. E.	Grass Valley, Cal.	21	"	25.00
62	Rector, J. M.	Monarch, Mont.	21	"	25.00
63	Becker, J. A.	Sheridan, Wyo.	21	"	25.00
64	Christiansen, Geo.	Alameda, Cal.	21	"	25.00
65	Elver, O. L.	Bourne, Oregon	21	"	25.00
66	Elken, H.	Wakefield, England	21	"	25.00
67	Gorman, Mary	San Francisco, Cal.	21	"	25.00
68	Hoffman, Carl	Roseburg, Oregon	21	"	25.00
69	Huggins, Walter	Chicago, Ill.	20	Fine Decorat'd China Dinner Set	15.00
70	Isaac, Albert E.	New Decatur, Ala.	20	" " " " " "	15.00
71	Langdon, W. E.	Aurora, Cal.	20	" " " " " "	15.00
72	Herbison, L. J.	Chicago, Ill.	20	" " " " " "	15.00
73	Geobel, J. P.	Chicago, Ill.	20	" " " " " "	15.00
74	Edwards, Wm.	Duquesne, Pa.	18	" " " " " "	15.00
75	Maahs, Fred.	Sheboygan, Wis.	18	" " " " " "	15.00
76	Marshall, Wm.	Mammoth, Utah	18	" " " " " "	15.00
77	Caulfield, John	Chicago, Ill.	18	" " " " " "	15.00
78	Cattrell, John	Richmond, Va.	18	" " " " " "	15.00

NOTE: Four contestants have tied for the 48th prize—a violin. In accordance with the terms of the contest, "in case of a tie, the value of the prize will be divided equally among the winners." We have offered each an Al-Vista \$30 Camera in lieu of his one-quarter of a \$100 violin, and we think our offer will be accepted. If not, then we must resort to the axe.

CONSOLATION PRIZE WINNERS.

Anderson, John	Grand Forks, N.D.	Erickson, Mrs. Emma	Wilcox, Ariz.
Ashley, E. H.	Ithaca, Mich.	Ficks, Chas. D.	Madison, Wis.
Aukenbrock, J. F.	Indianapolis, Ind.	Finley, G. M.	Henrietta, Tex.
Bailey, W. J.	Inkster, N. D.	Ford, A. M.	New Haven, Conn.
Bassett, H.	Fargo, N. D.	Fortin, Louis J.	Vallejo, Cal.
Benetta, John	San Francisco, Cal.	George, Frank F.	Fraser, Ida.
Bishop, R. J.	Mt. Vernon, Ind.	Gingerich, John H.	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Blenko, W.	Kokoma, Ind.	Gillespie, L. D.	Almena, Kan.
Branyen, W. H.	Sycamore, O.	Goodwin, Herbert	E. Liverpool, O.
Briggs, A. E.	Elk Grove, Cal.	Green, Mathew	Imperial, Cal.
Brown, Wilson M.	San Antonio, Tex.	Grimes, G. F.	St. James, Newfoundland
Broking, A. H.	Waldron, Ark.	Grossheim, F. J.	Lynn, Mass.
Brubaker, A. W.	Omaha, Neb.	Grigsby, A. O.	Topeka, Kan.
Budt, Chas.	St. Louis, Mo.	Hales, Albert	Portsmouth, O.
Butler, J. J.	Scholten, Mo.	Hansen, Wm.	Wheaton, Ill.
Buchanan, W. W.	Nat. Military Home, Kan.	Harold, Chas.	Chicago, Ill.
Chambers, H. P.	Prairie City, Ore.	Haskell, J. D.	Abilene, Ill.
Chandler, W. E.	Cambridgeport, Mass.	Haywood, Geo.	Chicago, Ill.
Clifford, C. P.	Los Angeles, Cal.	Hatheway, W. F.	St. John, N.B.
Cochran, F. W.	E. Weymouth, Mass.	Hauskins, A.	Gainesville, Tex.
Cohon, C. E.	Emmetsburg, Ia.	Heim, A. L.	Boonville, Ind.
Coates, S. G.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Hibbard, A. A.	Reno, Nevada
Cobb, J. S.	Northampton, Mass.	Hofstad, J. P.	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Connor, Wibb.	Pocahontas, Ark.	Hoffman, Chas.	Bristol, Conn.
Cowens, T. H.	Sandusky, O.	Hohn, A. J.	Stewart Sta., Pa.
Coslett, Gomer	Cedar City, Utah	Hultz, C. E.	Lake Linden, Mich.
Cossitt, H. H.	Council, Ida.	Huck, L. C.	Holdredge, Neb.
Cordrey, H.	Prairie Depot, O.	Inman, Ira S.	Stillwater, Okla.
Crawford, H. P.	Hopedale, Mass.	Jaworski, K. S.	Coatesville, Pa.
Dawson, E.	Andover, Mass.	Jackman, R. H.	Indianapolis, Ind.
Davis, W. H.	Haverhill, Mass.	Jenny, Thos.	Russelville, Ore.
Deuser, Mrs. F. E.	Rockport, Mo.	Johnson, G. M.	Pine Bluff, Ark.
Dietrich	Liberal, Mo.	Jones, A. R.	Mutual, Okla.
Dittman, Wm. C.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Jones, Edwin	Vancouver, Wash.
Dow, L. F.	Grand Forks, N. D.	Kelley, C. L.	Oakendale, Wash.
Doyle, L. H.	Moline, Ill.	Kersey, Jeff.	Amarillo, Tex.
Ebers, Jos.	McDonald, Kan.	Lamay, Thos.	Concordia, Kan.
Elliott, Wallace S.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Lee, W. N.	Modesto, Cal.

Linn, C. E.	Wrenshall, Minn.	Run, Jacob	Chanute, Kan.
Linn, Arthur G.	Lind, Wash.	Schneider, Chas. F.	Ocala, Fla.
Latzin, H.	San Francisco, Cal.	Schlert, Fred.	Oneida, N.Y.
Loomis, A. J.	Blaine, Wash.	Schnepple, Geo.	San Francisco, Cal.
Martin, A. M.	Grundyville, Tex.	Schmeiler, A. S.	New York, N.Y.
Miller, L. A.	Los Angeles, Cal.	Singleton, Geo. E.	Brighton, England
Miller, Earl.	Tecumseh, Kan.	Singlehurst, W. B.	St. Petersburg, Fla.
Miller, Chas.	Washington, D.C.	Slusser, W. B.	Cleveland, O.
Moyer, Woods	Williamsport, Pa.	Slinn, A. G.	Northampton, England
Metcalf, W. P.	Albuquerque, N.M.	Smith, H. S.	Lancashire, England
McArthur, D. M.	West Derry, N.H.	Snyder, J. A.	Wichita, Kan.
McDonough, Thos	Lawrenceburg, Ind.	Snook, J. A.	Elkhart, Ind.
McEwen	Stockton, Cal.	Soden, W. T.	Wynne, Ark.
McFadden	Milbank, So. Da.	Spence, H. E.	Burrough, Cal.
McKee, Harry M.	San Diego, Cal.	Stark, J. L.	Louisville, Ky.
Nash, E. C.	Santa Ana, Cal.	Stegmair, Otto.	Elizabeth, N.J.
Noian Jas. A.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Stark, John F.	Silver King, Idaho
Nolan, Ph. J.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Strosnider, Walter	St. Louis, Mo.
Oxley, W. E.	Cleo, Okla.	Sweeney, B. J.	Wichita, Kan.
Page, L. J.	McPherson, Ark.	Sweet, S. J.	Hardy, Neb.
Parcel, Wm. N.	North Platte, Neb.	Sweeting, C.	London, England
Pettit, W. J.	Houston, Tex.	Taylor, W. R.	Huntington, W. Va.
Pearce, E. L.	Plantsville, Conn.	Tepper, F.	Lawrence, Mass.
Pettigrew, C. M.	Palma Sola, Fla.	Thomas, S. J.	Berlin, Wis.
Phillips, L. T.	Nashville, Ill.	Vaughn, W. T.	Louisville, Ky.
Pollard	Ferry, Cheshire, England	Vidrine, Eraste	New Orleans, La.
Platner, C. M.	Maywood, Neb.	Watson, A.	Manchester, England
Ramburg, Gust.	Battle Lake, Minn.	Weybright, J. C.	Plymouth, Cal.
Rachlin, Dr. Wm	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Williamson, Jas.	Ontario, Canada
Repoygle	Toledo, O.	Wingert, Warren	Pottstown, Pa.
Richter, Henry	Cleveland, O.	Witney, Chas. W. F.	Santa Cruz, Cal.
Roecker, Wm	Chilton, Wis.	Willis, T. Y.	Clarinda, Ia.
Ross, David	Kirkcaldy, Scotland	Wiswell, Thos. C.	Chicago, Ill.
Rost, Jules	Sacramento, Cal.	Wright, H. H.	Passaic, N.J.
Russell, John	Fitchburg, Mass.	Yingst, John	Harrisburg, Pa.
Russell, B.	Reading, England	Young, J. C.	Fergus Falls, Minn.

FUN AND PHILOSOPHY

Why He Voted for the General

Major-Gen. Isaac Catlin tells a story of one of his political campaigns. "I voted for you," said a workman the day after election in Brooklyn, where the General figured as a candidate for a country office. "I didn't intend to at first, but one afternoon you were going by my house and you patted my goat, Billy, and guv him an apple, and, says I, if the General's so socialable as all that he must have my vote."—Philadelphia Telegraph.

The tidal wave of deeper souls
Into our inmost being rolls,
And lifts us unawares
Out of all meaner cares.

—Longfellow.

All love at first, like gen'rous wine,
Ferments and frets until 'tis fine ;
But when 'tis settled on the lee,
And from the impurer matter free,
Becomes the richer still the older,
And proves the pleasanter the colder.

—Butler.

Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell ; fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death ; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them.—William Morris.

"Can you give me a room and bath?" asked the travel-stained guest who had just registered.
"I can give you a room, sir," replied the new hotel clerk, "but you'll have to bathe yourself."
—Chicago News.

What is said to be the most costly book in the world has lately been given by the Ameer of Afganistan to the Shah. It is a copy of the Koran, bound in solid gold and set with pearls, rubies and diamonds. It is said to have cost \$400,000.

Caution

The sharp-tongue heiress eyed the lordling long and earnestly.

"Why is it," she asked, "that titles in your country have such distressing encumbrances?"

"Perhaps," he retorted, "it's to even up for the character of the load that wealth has to carry in your country."

And the possibility of one international match ended forthwith.—Chicago Post.

The Postoffice Turnstile

How hard to get through is that postoffice turnstile,

As swiftly and slyly it chases your feet ;
It goes round and round in a rotary churn-style,
And catches the one who's a bit indiscreet.

You've got to dodge in when you see a crack open,

And keep on the move till you're in or outside,
Just figure its speed and keep on a-loping'.

You'll know what I mean if you ever have tried
That postoffice turnstile, that treacherous turnstile,

That fills up the entrance once easy and wide.
—Baltimore American.

Two Views

"What your town needs most," said the travelling man, "is a hotel with all the comforts of home."

"Not much," replied the housekeeper. "A home with all the comforts of a hotel is what most of us want."—Philadelphia Press.

I would exhort you to refuse the offered shelter, and to scorn the base repose, to accept, if the choice be forced upon you, commotion before stagnation, the leap of the torrent before the stillness of the swamp.—Tyndall.

And whether you climb up the mountain or go down the hill to the valley, whether you journey to the end of the world or merely walk round your house, none but yourself shall you meet on the highway of fate.—Maeterlinck.

Teacher : "Can you tell where the Mississippi River rises, Johnnie?"

Johnnie : "Along its entire length, ma'am."
Cleveland Plain Dealer.

A father took his little boy to church with him recently for the first time. Instructing the lad about his behaviour, he wound up by telling him to do just as he did.

When the contribution box was passed, papa dropped in a coin. Tommy saw his father's hand go into the box, and, remembering the advice, put his hand in also. When the box had passed by, the lad whispered loud enough to be heard all around,

"Say, papa, I got a sixpence ; how much did you get?"

WISHIRE'S

FEBRUARY

WALLACE'S GREAT
BOOK

WALL STREET
JOURNAL TURNS
MORALIST

"THE TRAMP"
BY JACK LONDON



Anti-Jewish Riots in
Russia. *Isador Ladoff.*

A German Picture.
- Sadie F. Ainter.

Carcassonne. *- From the French.*

125 East 23'd Street. New York.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

February, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
WALLACE'S GREAT BOOK	Editorial 63
THE TRAMP	Jack London 70
WALL STREET JOURNAL TURNS MORALIST	Editorial 72
HERBERT SPENCER	Editorial 75
THE ANTI-JEWISH RIOTS IN RUSSIA	Isador Ladoff 79
HEARST A SLOW PROPHET	Editorial 83
JOHN TURNER	Editorial 84
CARCASSONE (Poem).....	From the French of Gustave Nadaud 86
AN INGENIOUS SCULPTURING MACHINE.....	Selected 88
A GERMAN PICTURE	Sadie V. Ainter 92
THE IROQUOIS TRAGEDY	Editorial 94
AMERICA SUFFOCATING WITH WEALTH	Editorial 97
CURRENT EVENTS, with Cartoons.....	99
WHAT WE WENT UP AGAINST.....	Editorial 102
EDITORIAL NOTES	133
BOOK REVIEWS	134
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER	108

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is published monthly and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at Fifty Cents a year. To Great Britain 2/6 a year.

Remittances should be made by postal or express orders.

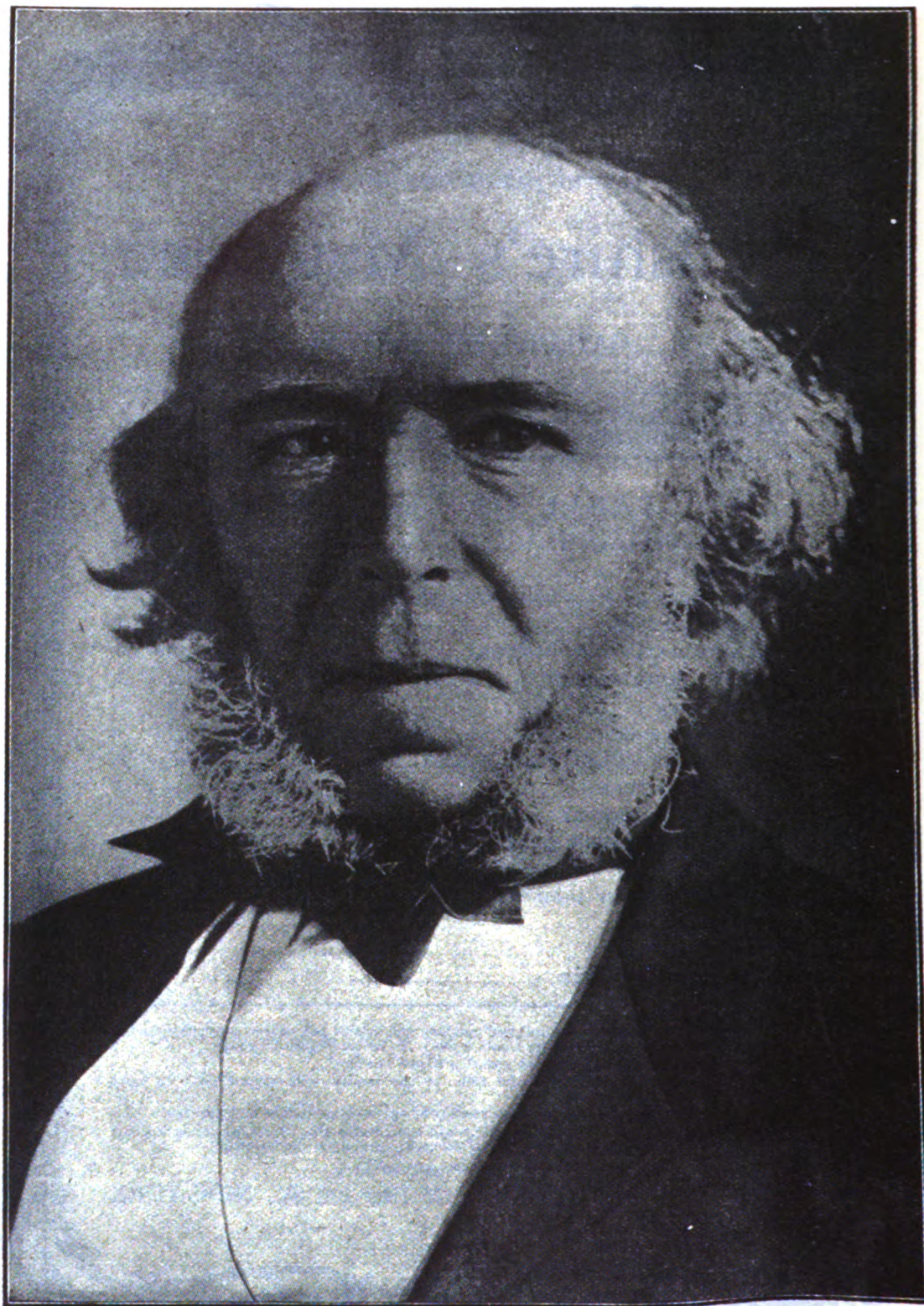
Subscriptions received after the 25th of the month will commence with next month's issue.

When notifying us of change of address always give old as well as new address.

When renewing subscriptions please state specifically that the remittance is for a renewal. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



THE LATE HERBERT SPENCER

(see page 12)

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 2.

TORONTO, FEBRUARY, 1904

Fifty Cents Per Year

WALLACE'S GREAT BOOK

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

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

However, strange as it may seem, the more a man studies socialism the more he finally comes to understand and sympathize with many orthodox religious ideas that in an early period of his evolution of thought he scorned. For instance, he finds men talking the Golden Rule and practising Cut Your Neighbor's Throat, and when he finds

that the practice is necessary to preserve existence, while the theory means suicide, he says that this preaching a Golden Rule that can never be practised is the limit of absurdity. Later on he becomes a socialist and finds that the theory would work all right if we only had a socialistic world to practice it in, and when he sees we should have such a world, and moreover that we must eventually have such a world, he commences to have more respect for the Golden Rule than he did when he regarded it as an impossibility either now or at any time in the future.

Before he understands socialism he scoffs at thanking God for daily bread, when he doesn't get the bread, and he will blame God for not giving him bread. Later on he sees that it is man's fault and not God's that he goes hungry, and also he understands that he himself is one of the very men who have been supporting a system which makes men go hungry when God has done his part in providing plenty for all.

And so on, from day to day, he gets to realize that after all there is a much

better basis for certain religious theories than he had at one time thought possible, although he also knows that his reason for increasing respect for such theories does not in the least justify the blind believers in religious dogma who accept things upon faith rather than reason.

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

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

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

life did exist upon them, for otherwise why should they have been created.

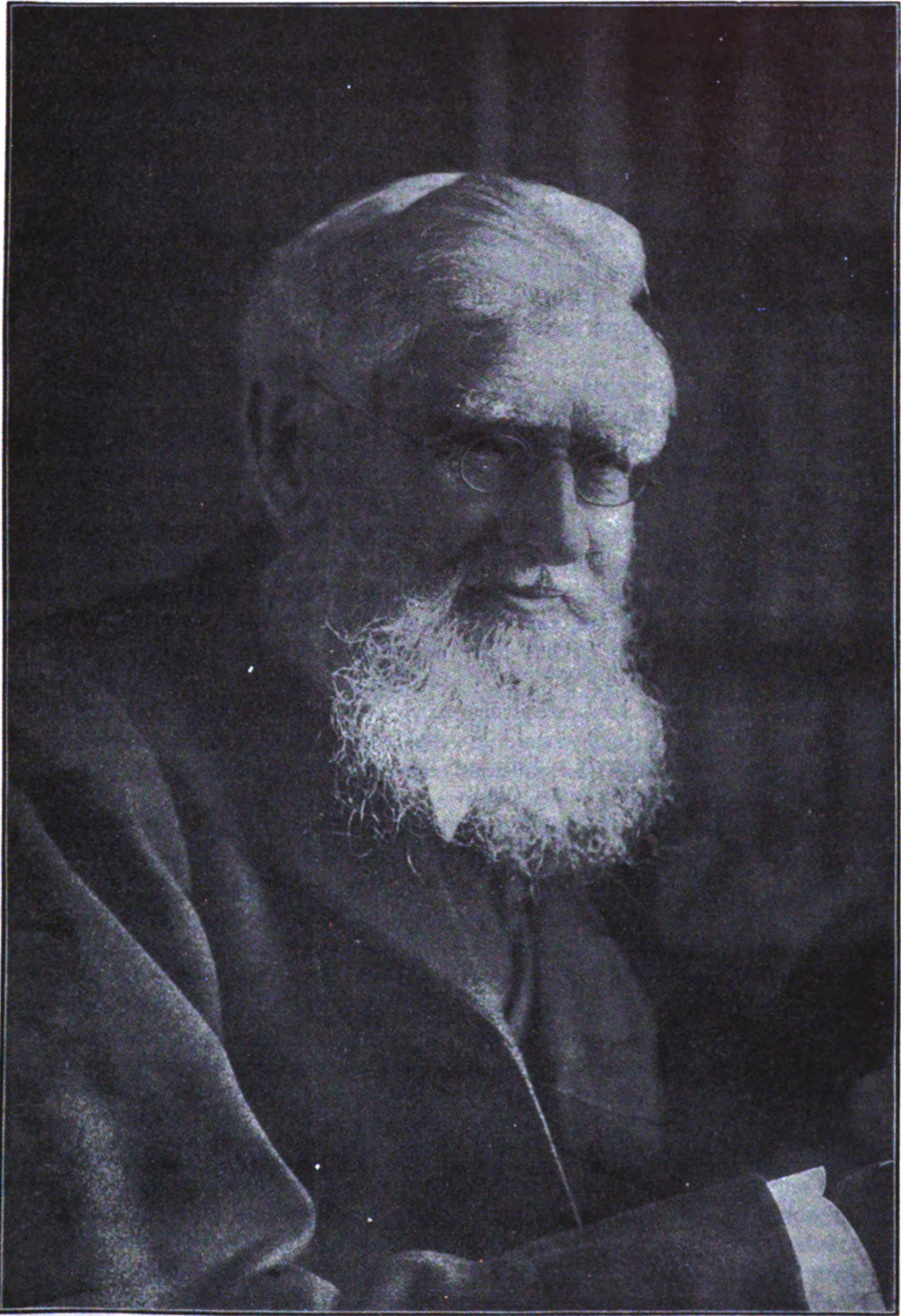
The next step in reasoning from the "most likely" was to the "without doubt," and from that to the "unquestionably" was a small step.

And all these steps were much the more easily taken by men like myself who—I confess it to my shame—were naturally disposed to adopt any theory which would still further discredit the orthodox religious view that the earth was the centre of things and that man was the only thing worth while on the earth.

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

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

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



ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE

one, and has been specially favorable—perhaps absolutely essential—to life-development on the Earth.

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

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

When a little child looks out on the Earth he at first thinks it infinite. He looks upon it as unorganized and unrelated. Only with increasing age and understanding can he ever realize that it is finite and organized.

So when Rockefeller as a lad went into the oil business it seemed to him that there was infinite scope for the extension of the oil business. That the oil business would ever be so organized and extended until it was only limited by its taking in all the Earth was quite beyond the wildest of his speculations, and yet it has all occurred within his own lifetime, and it was he himself who was largely responsible for hastening the result. The logic of events was his best instructor in the philosophy of the oil business. Just as the oil business extended its conscious organization, so have other businesses extended theirs, until today it is only one of many businesses that are probably on the road to a world-wide sphere of operation. Now, it is apparent that Mr. Rockefeller can never have complete knowledge and control of the oil business until he has a world organization of the oil business. To

know it he must know its limitations. Similarly we cannot understand the universe unless we know its limitations.

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

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

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

Suppose we do introduce socialism and abolish poverty? This can be done easily enough, but why should we wish to do it? It's no answer to say that we do it to increase the stock of human happiness, for then I will ask why should anyone wish to increase human happiness. The reason one wishes to increase human happiness is fundamentally a selfish one; it is to increase his own happiness by becoming a cell in a healthier organization of human society than that which now exists. If your finger is crushed the cells in your injured finger are not more anxious to become well again than are the uninjured cells in your uninjured finger to have them made well. There is no single uninjured cell in your whole body that is not as much interested in having the injured cells made whole as if it itself were injured. Now, why is this? Simply that the body is an organism and a very self-conscious organism. It knows that for the whole to be well, the parts must be well. There are some insects which are organized well enough physically, but whose nerve centres are so badly correlated that they have little or no

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

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

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

All this is axiomatic and has been said, and better said, many times before, but that the individual is merely a cell in human society is more quickly recognized than that he is merely a cell in a much greater organism, that of the

universe itself. We are the result of evolutionary development in adapting ourselves to our environment. That we have adapted ourselves to live on the land instead of the water is one of the commonplaces of evolution. It is obvious that we are land animals and that we need land to live upon.

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

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

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

successively suffered a painless amputation of the various members of your body. First you lose a hand, then a foot, then an ear, and so on until "you" finally are reduced to a trunkless head; would you consider life worth living?

Professor Wallace suggests that it is quite possible that the remotest star is just as necessary to our physical life as is the minute quantity of carbonic acid gas in our atmosphere. The only difference maybe being that in one case we know that one is a necessity and with the other we may yet have to find it out. He puts the suggestion purely upon the physical basis, whereas I extend the possibility to the star not only being a physical but a spiritual necessity. It is possible that the spiritual and physical are the same.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Socialism as a movement towards the harmonious organization of human society is, then, but one step toward the greatest of all ends; the harmonious organization of the universe.

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

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

His second proposition is somewhat analogous to his sixth, practically, and depends upon the acceptance of the first. If the Earth is near the centre of the universe then we must first conceive of the universe as finite, for it is not possible to conceive a centre to infinity. Where there are no bounds, there can

be no centre. The Earth is at the approximate centre of the universe is Wallace's theory, and he supports it with the dicta of most of the heavy-weights among the astronomers. In fact, Wallace throughout the book disarms the criticism that he is no astronomer by frankly admitting that he himself has no right to speak authoritatively upon astronomical subjects, and that, therefore, whatever he may state upon such subjects in corroboration of his statements he invariably quotes astronomers whose reputation gives them a right to be considered. However, notwithstanding all his care, the critics who disagree with his conclusions, and hardly any of them agree, have quite ignored his authorities for his astronomical statements, and have taken them as originating with Wallace himself.

Wallace's fourth proposition that the Earth is the only planet in our solar system that is inhabitable is easy of demonstration. This, in fact, is accepted as a fact by practically all astronomers with the exception of my friend Professor Lowell, who clings tenaciously to his theory that Mars is inhabited. Its small size, it being but one ninth the size of the Earth, means, however, that the atmosphere, if Mars has any at all, other than carbonic acid gas, must be so rare that the planet cannot retain its heat by night, and, therefore, its surface temperature, during the greater part of the twenty-four hours, is below the freezing point, and this, of course, is hardly favorable to life.

Wallace further points out by what a set of curious coincidences the Earth

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

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

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

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

THE TRAMP

JACK LONDON

MR. Francis O'Neil, General Superintendent of Police, Chicago, speaking of the tramp, says:* "Despite the most stringent police regulations, a great city will have a certain number of homeless vagrants to shelter through the winter." "*Despite*"—mark the word—a confession of organized helplessness as against unorganized necessity. If police regulations are stringent and yet fail, then that which makes them fail, namely, the tramp, must have still more stringent reasons for succeeding. This being so, it should be of interest to enquire into these reasons, to attempt to discover why the nameless and homeless vagrant sets at naught the right arm of the corporate power of our great cities, why all that is weak and worthless is stronger than all that is strong and of value.

Mr. O'Neil is a man of wide experience on the subject of tramps. He may be called a specialist. As he says of himself: "As an old-time desk sergeant and police captain I have had almost unlimited opportunity to study and analyze this class of floating population which seeks the city in winter and scatters abroad through the country in the spring." He then continues: "This experience reiterated the lesson that the vast majority of these wanderers are of the class with whom a life of vagrancy is a chosen means of living without

work." Not only is it to be inferred from this that there is a large class in society which lives without work, for Mr. O'Neil's testimony further shows that this class is *forced* to live without work.

As he says: "I have been astonished at the multitude of those who have unfortunately engaged in occupations which practically force them to become loafers for at least a third of the year. And it is from this class that the tramps are largely recruited. I recall a certain winter when it seemed to me that a large portion of the inhabitants of Chicago belonged to this army of unfortunates. I was stationed at a police station not far from where an ice harvest was ready for the cutters. The ice company advertised for helpers, and the very night this call appeared in the newspapers our station was packed with homeless men who asked shelter in order to be at hand for the morning's work. Every foot of floor space was given over to these lodgers and scores were still unaccommodated."

And again: "And it must be confessed that the man who is willing to do honest labor for food and shelter is a rare specimen in this vast army of shabby and tattered wanderers who seek the warmth of the city with the coming of the first snow." Taking into consideration the crowd of honest laborers that swamped Mr. O'Neil's station house on the way to the ice-cutting, it is patent,

*The Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 23, 1901.

if all tramps were looking for honest labor instead of a small minority, that the honest laborers would have a far harder task finding something honest to do for food and shelter. If the opinion of the honest laborers who swamped Mr. O'Neil's station house were asked, one could rest confident that each and every man would express a preference for fewer honest laborers on the morrow when he asked the ice-foreman for a job.

And finally, Mr. O'Neil says: "The humane and generous treatment which this city has accorded the great army of homeless unfortunates has made it the victim of wholesale imposition, and this well-intended policy of kindness has resulted in making Chicago the winter Mecca of a vast and undesirable floating population." That is to say, because of her kindness, Chicago had more than her fair share of tramps; because she was humane and generous she suffered wholesale imposition. From this we must conclude that it does not do to be *humane* and *generous* to our fellow men . . . when they are tramps. Mr. O'Neil is right, and that this is no sophism it is the intention of this article, among other things, to prove.

In a general way we may draw the following inferences from the remarks of Mr. O'Neil: (1) The tramp is stronger than organized society and cannot be put down. (2) The tramp is "shabby," "tattered," "homeless," "unfortunate." (3) There are a "vast" number of tramps. (4) Very few tramps are willing to do honest work. (5) Those tramps who are willing to do honest work have to hunt very hard to find it. (6) The tramp is undesirable.

To this latter let the contention be appended that the tramp is only *personally* undesirable; that he is *negatively* desirable; that the function he performs in society is a negative function; and

that he is the by-product of economic necessity.

It is very easy to demonstrate that there are more men than there is work for men. For instance, what would happen tomorrow if one hundred thousand tramps should become suddenly inspired with an overmastering desire for work? It is a fair question. "Go to work," is preached to the tramp every day of his life. The judge on the bench, the pedestrian in the street, the housewife at the kitchen door, all unite in advising him to go to work. So, what would happen tomorrow if one hundred thousand tramps acted upon this advice and strenuously and indomitably sought work? Why, by the end of the week one hundred thousand workers, their places taken by the tramps, would receive their time and be "hitting the road" for a job.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox unwittingly and uncomfortably demonstrated the disparity between men and work. She made a casual reference, in a newspaper column she conducts, to the difficulty two business men found in obtaining good employees. The first morning mail brought her seventy-five applications for the position, and at the end of two weeks over two hundred people had applied.

Still more strikingly was the same proposition demonstrated this past summer in San Francisco. A sympathetic strike called out a whole federation of trades unions. Thousands of men, in many branches of trade, quit work—draymen, sand teamsters, porters and packers, longshoremen, stevedores, warehousemen, stationary engineers, sailors, marine firemen, stewards, sea cooks, and so forth and so forth, an interminable list. It was a strike of large proportions. Every Pacific coast shipping city was involved, and the entire coasting service, from San Diego to Puget Sound, was virtually tied up. The time was

considered auspicious. The Philippines and Alaska had drained the Pacific coast of surplus labor. It was summertime, when the agricultural demand for laborers was at its height, and when the cities were bare of their floating populations. And yet there remained a body of surplus labor sufficient to take the places of the strikers. No matter what occupation, sea cook or stationary engineer, sand teamster or warehouseman, in every case there was an idle worker ready to do the work. And not only ready but anxious. They fought for a chance to work. Men were killed, hundreds of heads were broken, the hospitals were filled with injured men, and thousands of assaults were committed. And still surplus laborers, "scabs," came forward to replace the strikers.

The question arises: *Whence came this second army of workers to replace the first army?* One thing is certain: the trades unions did not scab on one

another. Another thing is certain: no industry on the Pacific slope was crippled in the slightest degree by its workers being drawn away to fill the places of the strikers. A third thing is certain: the agricultural workers did not flock to the cities to replace the strikers. In this last instance it is worth while to note that the agricultural laborers wailed to high heaven when a few of the strikers went into the country to compete with them in unskilled employments. So there is no accounting for this second army of workers. It simply was. It was there all the time, a surplus labor army in that year of Our Lord, 1903, a year adjudged most prosperous in the annals of the United States.

And this particular strike is analogous to all other strikes. Always, no matter what or where the strike, or how far-reaching, always have the tools dropped by one set of men been taken up by another set of men.

(To be continued.)

WALL STREET JOURNAL TURNS MORALIST

I BELIEVE in playing a game fair or not at all. If you enter into a contest, certain rules of play have been agreed upon beforehand, and you find yourself getting beaten, if you have any sand, you will stick by your agreement and take your medicine. You must either do that or play the baby act and ask for a modification of the rules to fit your special case.

If you want to play, stick to the rules.

If you do not want to play then say so, ask for a new deal and a new set of rules.

Now we Americans a long time ago entered upon a game of competition in

money-making. We fixed upon certain rules at the beginning of the game, and now we have no right to whine about Rockefeller and Morgan beating us at our own game and with our own rules, and at the same time insist upon going on with the game.

The general rule of the game was competition to a finish; let the best man win; the fellow who could quote the lowest price should have the market. Let bankruptcy engulf the high price man.

I, myself, am perfectly consistent in my attitude. Let others be the same.

I say that Rockefeller and Morgan



WALL STREET, NEW YORK, LOOKING EAST, TOWARD TRINITY CHURCH.

and Gates and Hill and that gang, with their immense bank accounts, can get away with the rest of us poor small fry in this competitive game, and that I for one have had enough of it. I am licked, I confess it; and I have sense enough to throw up the sponge.

I call for a new deal and new rules.

I want the earth made subject to a re-division and I wish new rules made that will forever prevent its ownership being again alienated from the common ownership of the people.

I say that when the government owns the capital of this country just as it owns our national parks and our post office, that then will be established an everlasting equality of all wealth; and never until this is done will men be content, for before that time justice will not be done.

Now if we should try and think up some one person who would be typical of the man who is satisfied with the existing order of things and upon whose lips is the cry: "Let well enough alone, Stand pat," we would most likely have thought that we should find him in the editor of the *Wall Street Journal*.

But if we did, then we have another think coming, for this is the cry-baby talk I find in his morning's (Dec. 16) editorial:

BUSINESS AND THE LAW.

We observe that several papers which have reprinted and commented upon the little anecdote printed in this column some time ago, dealing with two factories and the method by which a capitalist proposed to acquire the prosperous factory, have apparently misunderstood the general drift of our remarks thereupon. We printed the story mainly to point out that the law permitted the doing of a great many things in the way of business, which were, in a moral sense, noth-

ing better than highway robbery. We did not, as one or two of our more ingenuous, if hasty, commentators assumed, at all venture to justify such acts.

To speak plainly, we see no essential difference between the taking of a competitor's business away from him by extreme competition, that is, by competition not warranted on any other motive, and the forcible abstraction of portable property from one man by another man stronger than himself. We do not regard it as morally defensible, for example, for a man to establish himself alongside someone else and proceed to take away the business of that someone else, using for that purpose the brute force of money spent in selling at a loss, any more than we should regard it as morally defensible for him to accomplish the same purpose by brute force of arms. The purpose is immoral. It involves the taking away of that which belongs to someone else by other than fair competition. Of course, such a process is as common as can be in the business world, and is perfectly legal. The Standard Oil Company was charged with this kind of thing at practically all stages of its existence. Apparently no Standard Oil representative has ever felt it necessary to deny the charge.

The fact of the matter is that the conventions of the business world, expressed in the law, have simply replaced the exercise of mere brute force, leaving the article of the decalogue against stealing expressed only so far as the stealing is accomplished by actual physical force or by absolute fraud. Beyond this the moral law finds no expression in the law of business.

Now, I have often read such tommyrot before, but usually in such periodicals as the *Christian Herald* or the *Salvation Army War Cry*. To find it in the *Wall Street Journal* is too funny for words.

The *Journal* believes in competition all right, as long as you do not compete

in order to take away the other fellows' business by selling below cost. He wants a fight but insists on no broken heads. Pray, what right has the *Journal* to tell me how I am to spend my money and how I am to fix my selling price? And anyway how is he to determine what my "cost" price is? I may be selling at a price which renders me a profit but which would mean a loss to my competitor. I may have a superior process, I may own the sources of supply, I may own my own property while he must pay rent, I may have a much bigger plant; and so simply because I have more money, can afford to sell for less, and my selling for less of necessity captures my competitor's business.

Now, why do I have a bigger capital? Why, in fact, do I have any capital at all? Do I own capital for the purpose of fulfilling the moral law?

Not at all. I own capital to make money with and for that purpose only.

It is true that it is not so very many

years ago when men were wont to think of the moral law and the business law as much the same thing. It is a comparatively modern view this, of the *Wall Street Journal's*, that a man owning the superior capital and taking away another man's capital is *morally* in the same class as a highwayman, but financially eligible to be a member of young Mr. Rockefeller's Bible class.

If we are to have private capital and competition, then let us have it and play the game according to rule. Let the big man devour the little man; he has a right to his prey. It's too late altogether for the *Wall Street Journal*, speaking for the smaller capitalists who are being driven to cover by the superior capital of Rockefeller, to cry "quarter." There is no quarter. It is war to the knife and the knife to the hilt. I cry not for quarter. There can be no quarter under capitalism and competition. I demand justice, and justice can come only with socialism.

HERBERT SPENCER

WE are all too apt to think that when a man does not agree with us that there are reasons other than pure which cause the difference of opinion, and that this is a fault to which we socialists are prone is readily admitted.

But we have more cause than most people. It is not to the interest of a man of property or position to agree with us, and since the economic basis of socialism is so plain and simple we have a good reason to question either the brains

or the honesty of a man who disagrees with us. Suppose you claim the right and title to four apples, and four only. Now suppose that by actual count I show you that you really possess five apples. I then say you have an apple to which you have no right. Then if you say you fail to understand either my mathematics or my ethics I have a right to question your sanity, or if not your sanity your honesty.

Socialism to a socialist is like unto

this problem of the four apples in its simplicity, and it is always hard for us to understand that it is not all just as plain to others as it is to us.

Now Herbert Spencer was always a conundrum to us socialists. Here was a man, one of the foremost thinkers of the day, and a man who bowed the knee to neither priest nor millionaire nor king. A man who preceded Darwin in his adherence to the theory of evolution. A man who at one time was heading straight for socialism. He was apparently logically bound to apply his theory of social evolution to the social organization of man as well as to his individual organization. If man was developing, then so was society. He had said that the "cardinal trait in all advancing organizations is the development of the regulative apparatus," but when the trust appeared as the great regulator of industry, and a fulfilment of his prophecy, he refused to recognize it as a fulfilment, but persisted in looking at it through the blind and prejudiced eyes of an American politician. He called the trust an unnatural phenomenon which should be suppressed by the police powers of the state. Then when some fifty years ago he went so far as to demand the nationalization of land as a necessary concomitant of his theories of exact and equal justice, he later on recanted his demand, lamely excusing himself by saying that it was "simpler" to leave the existing owners in possession than to take the trouble of expropriating them.

Of course, in a way, he was right. That is if we are to leave private capital except land in the hands of private owners and continue with our present competitive system, then it's hardly worth while to upset things for the little good that land nationalization would do.

But by leaving things as they are we give up all our ideas of exact justice, and for a man holding the high ethical standard held by Herbert Spencer his recantation was incongruous and inexplicable.

The man was a great disappointment; but this is not saying that he has not performed a great and monumental work for humanity. He made many good bricks, and even if they do not go to construct the building he designed, they have come into good use constructing our socialist house of the future.

The following, by H. Marriott Watson, is taken from the London *Morning Post*:

THE APPRECIATION.

Born in Derby, which is considered to be the very centre and heart of England, in the year 1820, Mr. Herbert Spencer was representative and typical of England and the English qualities of mind and character. It was as if in producing him this country put forth the essence of her own intellectual life. The Englishman is marked by a certain lymphatic hardness or coldness of temperament; he has the tenacity which that very defect breeds; and he has, above all, a sense of responsibility that does not fail. This is the rude foundation of our national character. Conceive this elaborated and illumined by a remarkable intelligence, and it is possible to get some notion of the force which Herbert Spencer represented. We are commonly open to the criticism of foreigners for one fault or another, but it is chiefly our self-confidence and our imperturbability that they can neither understand nor admire. Yet it is these qualities that have carried us so far, and will carry us farther still. In no sphere of life or intellectual labor does this fact appear so sharply as in the region of philosophical thought. Herbert Spencer is but the heir of many ages of profound and patient English philosophy. It emerges into bright light with Bacon and Newton; it is continued with Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and others of the Eighteenth Century. The Mills, Hamilton, and many another carry on the torch during the early part of the Nineteenth Century; and the last, and in some respects the greatest, of the line is Herbert Spencer.

A DICTUM OF TAINÉ'S.

Taine, a typical Frenchman, with an admirable taste and an eye for a theory, made an attempt to discriminate between the respective schools of philosophy in Germany, France and England, and summed up comfortably, thus: "The first leads us to consider

nature as an assemblage of facts, the second as a system of laws; the exclusive employment of the first is English, that of the second German. If there is a place between these two nations it is ours." That was written a good many years ago; but now, despite the influence of Kant and Hegel, and later of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, and despite the professions of Auguste Comte, a dwindling force in these days, the English school is well on its way to triumphant victory. The reason of this is that the whole of the civilized world is swinging round to that point of view which was adopted three hundred years ago by Francis Bacon and which has been handed down from generation to generation of thinkers. It is the calm and patient school of experimentalism, of sensationalism, of induction, of observation; it is, in a word, the school of philosophy, which rests its conclusions on pure science. The conversion of the world to that faith will probably prove the greatest service that this country has accomplished for mankind.

SPENCER'S EARLY LIFE.

Herbert Spencer, whose name will always be indissolubly connected with this triumph of scientific philosophy, was destined, like many another great man, for a profession which he abandoned. Like so many great figures in the nation, also, he came out of the middle class, which keeps the blood of England healthy and virile. His father was a schoolmaster and his uncle an Anglican clergyman with a turn for philanthropy. At twenty-five he had given up engineering and decided to devote himself to letters, and, after some experience of journalism on the *Civil Engineers and Architects' Journal*, published some letters in the *Nonconformist* in 1842 on "The Proper Sphere of Government." Subsequently, until 1853, he acted as sub-editor of the *Economist*. His first book was published in 1851, and was entitled "Social Statics; or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed." During this time he was a frequent contributor to various periodicals, notably the *Westminster Review*. It was in the last year of his connection with the *Economist* that he issued his first book of importance, and that was of such importance that from it flowed over forty years of laborious work and the library which compasses the great system of Synthetic Philosophy. That book was "Principles of Psychology," and in it was foreshadowed the application of evolution as the solution of the riddle of organic life. It is instructive to recall that this volume appeared four years earlier than Darwin's "Origin of Species." Great minds were synchronising strangely on the same subject. Simultaneously with Darwin's epoch-making work Mr. A. R. Wallace was working his ideas to the same conclusion in the Malay Archipelago; and Spencer had anticipated the general theory by four years.

HIS GREAT LIFE WORK.

In the year 1860 Spencer issued his programme for a series of works in elaboration of his system of Synthetic Philosophy, and set himself down steadily to pursue the work of a lifetime. In 1862 the first volume of the system was published, "First Principles," and it was followed at intervals by "The Principles of Biology," in 1864, "The Principles of Psychology" in 1872, "The Principles of Sociology" in 1876-1885, "The Principles of Ethics," 1879-1893. With the last-named his philosophy was rounded off, and the task he had set himself for life, and had never thought he would live to finish, was completed. For Mr. Spencer was throughout his life a victim to ill-health, which took the form at times of insomnia, and materially interfered with his work. That was not confined to his System, for a number of valuable treatises stand to his name in addition, such as "The Man versus the State," an argument for Individualism; various books of essays, which were published at different times, including those in 1891; "The Study of Sociology," a book on "Education," and several volumes of "Descriptive Sociology," which constituted the data he made use of in writing his "Principles of Sociology." These volumes were compiled by various hands, but were arranged and edited by the master. For many years Mr. Spencer lived in London, but the past ten years he had resided in Brighton.

THE SYNTHETIC SYSTEM.

Spencer's claim to the ear of the world and to immortality will rest indubitably on the Synthetic Philosophy. That was the first attempt on the part of anyone to interpret the universe in terms of the Evolutionary theory. And it remains the only full and adequate attempt. He began by making a common platform, so to speak, on which science and religion might sit hand in hand. Both science and religion had a "united belief in an Absolute that transcends not only human knowledge but human conception." Leaving this reconciliation behind him, he then proceeded to lay down the limits within which human knowledge must be confined. He defined the Knowable from the Unknowable, and announced his intention of dealing with the first-named-alone. The way thus clear, he tackled the great mass of material represented by the phenomena of the universe. In his "Principles of Biology" he dealt with the particular application of the evolutionary theory to physical life, and he continued his arguments and investigations in the sphere of the mind in "The Principles of Psychology"; and in the sphere of society, the highest aggregate of organic life, in "The Principles of Sociology." In these last named volumes there fell to be treated all that relates to the life of the community, all that is comprised in laws, religions and ceremonies, with the single exception of that last emanation of social life—Ethics, for which a separate volume was

reserved. With the "Ethics" the crown of his work was attained by the philosopher.

FORMULA OF EVOLUTION.

Spencer's philosophy may be regarded as the definite codification of scientific thought after the Darwinian revolution. It marks a new modern period, an epoch, that is, which is more modern than the age of the Renaissance, and is almost quite as disparate from its predecessors in intellectual accomplishment at any rate. Amid all the intricate and close thinking which he did in the forty years of building up his system he probably did no finer piece of work than that involved in "First Principles." In that book he aimed at obtaining the highest possible generalization of natural law, having regard to the universe as the emanation of that Unknown Power which he discussed, so far as the Absolute could be discussed in life and the nature of things. In the interchangeability of radium and helium it may be possible for the sanguine to see the key to deeper revelations, so that all organic and inorganic life, all phenomena that is, shall be renderable in terms of waves, of ether, of some integral and primeval substance or force moving according to the formula which Spencer set down forty odd years ago.

INDIVIDUALISM IN ETHICS.

The attempt to obtain the secret of the universe Spencer definitely abandoned at the outset of his career, and he fell back on the more practical task of building up the fabric of the Knowable. The five senses are the avenues through which we obtain our knowledge, and if these were increased fourfold it would only mean that knowledge was increased fourfold, and not that we were definitely nearer the knowledge of the Absolute. As far as it is possible to conceive the situation, not until these senses became infinite could we compass the infinite, and know the Infinite—a realization from which is deducible an exalted view of religion. These foundations of philosophy have no significant bearing on everyday life, as lived by our contemporaries, but Spencer's deliberate pursuit of his end soon brought him into grips with practical polemics. Naturally it was the "Ethics" that challenged most attention, for in the "Ethics" he works out the highest laws and sanctions applicable to a civilized community. Many years before its publication he had formulated the main theory on which his argument rests, which, stated briefly, is this—that in her evolutionary processes Nature must not be interrupted or balked. Now this theory, being followed to its conclusion, is obviously at once the banner of Individualism and the knell of Socialism, if the double figure may be permitted. The result was that Mr. Spencer devoted a good deal of his time in opposition to the growing Socialistic tendencies of modern life.

"MAN VERSUS THE STATE."

In "Man versus the State" he pleaded with

dignified indignation for relief from the coming tyranny. The same principle runs through the "Ethics," and qualifies and affects his conclusions as to justice, altruism, duty, and the rest. The theory, however, would seem not to be justified by the facts, for it excludes from the operations of evolution the desires, aspirations and ideals of man himself. All these things are part and parcel of the phenomena which constitute the universe, and which are the subject-body of Evolution. Consequently it is impossible to conceive of an interference with Evolution, since we know of nothing that does not belong to Evolution. The imposition of laws and rules which would seem to be interfering with Nature is the act of Nature, since communities that frame laws are part of Nature. Thus, whether Socialism be desirable or not, it is clear that any attempt to bring about Socialistic conditions is not to be condemned on the score that it is an impertinent interference with Nature. Nature moves largely, and will include Socialism and Individualism as she pleases; and Socialism, as it is known to us, will wither away, merely because it is incongruous with the spirit and temper and appetites of humanity. So far as the principle goes it has been admitted throughout the ages. Taxation is a form a communism, and the only logical conclusion of a definite opposition to the authority of the State is the Individualism advocated by Mr. Auberon Herbert, with voluntary taxation, no vaccination or quarantine, and cities destitute of sewers and the decencies of organized life. Mr. Spencer himself was too clear-headed not to see that the relations of the State to the individual must fluctuate, which renders his plea for the untrammelled working of Evolution more unaccountable. He says: "In proportion as societies endanger one another less, the need for subordinating individual lives to the general life decreases; and with approach to a peaceful state the general life, having from the beginning had furtherance of individual lives as its ultimate purpose, comes to have this as its proximate purpose."

A LEGACY TO HUMANITY.

I have dwelt on this aspect of Spencer's philosophy because it seems to me of extreme importance as evidencing the material flaw in his code. Otherwise that code offers to intelligent moderns a library by which life and conduct may be shaped in accordance with the highest canons of Nature. The simplicity of his conclusions is in striking contrast with the results of German philosophy, and to read Spencer after coming from Kant is like emerging into open air from the confines of a fog. It is all the difference, in fact, between metaphysics and philosophy. Spencer made no pretensions to literary graces; but his style has a certain dignity and austerity of language which is becoming to its purpose. It is unemotional; it has no light and color; it is pedestrian; but it suffices for

its purpose—as in that well-known conclusion to the treatise on the Unknowable in "First Principles." "Not as adventitious, therefore, will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter, knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world—knowing that if he can affect the change he aims at—well; if not well also; although not so well." Surely it is impossible to deny some charm of style to that noble passage.

Herbert Spencer lived all his life in retirement. He passed his years in the service of mankind, and never ventured forth into the light of publicity. Systematically he declined all honors, which came at last to be showered on him, mainly, alas, by foreign Governments. A private citizen in his study, he moved not with Kings, Principalities, and Powers, but it is safe to say that his name will be remembered with respect when many of them are forgotten. His books have been translated into every civilized language, even into

Chinese, and there is no man living who has exercised so profound an influence on modern life. With Spencer and Darwin surely this country has paid her debt to modern civilization. No other country has two such figures to show. Spencer is one of the great names of the world, and belongs to the same gallery as Aristotle and Bacon. His title to immortality is sure, for, whatever modifications future discoveries may make in his scheme, he will remain the man who, with fifty years of arduous and patient work, framed a philosophy which must be the basis of all philosophies to come.

NOTE.—A little book entitled Economics of Herbert Spencer, by W. C. Owen, will give great satisfaction to those who wish a condensed, complete exposition of Spencer's economic theories, together with a brilliant and searching socialist criticism. We can supply the book at 25 cents, post paid.

THE ANTI-JEWISH RIOTS IN RUSSIA

ISADOR LADOFF

"Brich aus in lauten Klagen
Du altes Maertyrer-Lied!"

—H. HEINE.

These initial lines of the pathetic poem, *Der Rabbi von Bacharach*, involuntarily suggested themselves to us in reading of the recent anti-Jewish atrocities in Russia. Indeed, those who are familiar with medieval history can not but see in the so-called Pogroms a survival of medievalism (read Professor Schleider's *Die Romantische des Martyriums der Juden im Mittelalter*). Jewish history is but a martyrology. Space does not permit the analysis of causes why Jews, more than any people on earth, suffer from "man's inhumanity to man." To state the main cause of Jewish martyrdom will suffice. That cause is the physical and political weakness of the Hebrew race compared with other races. During ages when Might not only constitutes a substratum for conception of Right, but when Might is largely identified with Right, the physically and politically weak must suffer. The Jew is not, as a rule, an athlete.

He has neither army nor navy to command the respect of so-called "civilized" nations. As long as fists, bayonets, poniards, rifles and cannon are considered as the proper means of regulating international relations, Jews will be forced to remain a martyr-people, and the doleful song of *The Rabbi of Bacharach* will be heard again and again, in its endless heart-rending variations. So long as brute force alone entitles a people to the respect of another people, Jews will be despised and looked down upon as an inferior race. Indeed, highly civilized and cultured Christian Europe teems with Jew-baiters, called by the more or less euphonious names of Anti-Semites, Nationalist, Christian-Socialists, etc. There is no outspoken Anti-Jewish movement in the United States as yet. However there are grave symptoms pointing to the fact that the disgrace of race-prejudice and race-hatred is developing rapidly even in this "land of the brave and the free." This race-hatred is, for instance, accentuated by the fact that many

fashionable hotels exclude "Jews and Negroes," along with consumptives. This may seem but trivial. And yet social ostracism must be as much hurtful to the refined feelings of the cultured man and woman as the brutal assault of ruffians to their Russian victims. Moreover, the cold contempt with which the American gentile pronounces the word "Hebrew," trying to spare the feelings of his Jewish friends, is in reality more offensive to the last, than is open hostility of an outspoken European Anti-Semite. These general remarks will enable us to see the anti-Jewish riots or "Pogroms" in their true light. In Russia, more than in any other European country, Might is Right. The ruling class in Russia is the bureaucracy, the class of officials called "Chinooniks." The Czar is only a figure-head and the State Church (Orthodox-Greek) a mere phantom. However, the shaky throne of the Czar and the worm-eaten altar of the Church, are craftily utilized by the class of "Chinooniks," with the purpose of perpetuating its power over the country. The ruling class thinks that it has little to fear from the ignorant, medieval peasantry. What the bureaucracy is mortally afraid of is the growing middle and proletarian classes in industrial centres. So far these two classes were represented chiefly by non-orthodox-Greek elements: Germans, Jews, Poles, Finns, etc. These elements are spiritually more or less in touch with enlightened Western Europe, and therefore are considered by the bureaucracy as politically untrustworthy. Hence their persecution by the Russian government. The Russian government seems to be bent on the extermination of the Jews especially, because it thinks that it can be done with impunity. The anti-Jewish riots are the result of a cold-blooded political move on the part of the Russian government. To accuse the Russian people in general of crimes committed by irresponsible hired brigands and assassins; crimes sanctioned by the most corrupt government on earth, would be both unjust and absurd. As a matter of fact, the Russian people, the peasants especially, are singularly free from race or religious prejudice. The Russian

peasant, in the simplicity of his mind, divides all humanity into two classes: villagers (Krestjanin) and city-folk (barin). All "city-folk" are strangers to him, Jew and gentile alike.

Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador at Washington, D. C., tried to create the impression that Jews are disliked in Russia on account of their disinclination to agricultural pursuits and of their occupation as money-lenders. These statements of the Russian Macchiavelli are simply false. In the first instance, the laws of the country prohibit Jews from owning land in the agricultural districts, but do not allow them even to reside outside of towns of certain districts comprising the so-called "pale of Jewish settlement." How Jews could engage in agriculture without having land must remain a diplomatic enigma, the key to the solution of which is probably hidden in the safe of the astute Count. The other accusation, namely, that Jews are professional money-lenders, is likewise contrary to facts. The masses of the Jewish population in the "pale of settlement" are exceedingly poor. That the Russian peasant, thanks to extortionate taxation by the government, is externally in the clutches of usurers is true enough. But these usurers are exclusively rich orthodox-Greek merchants or peasants (kulaki). Anti-Jewish feeling is artificially created by the Russian bureaucracy in towns and cities in order to direct the popular dissatisfaction with the prevailing political and economic conditions against the traditional scape-goat of history. This is an old trick. "Antisemitism is the Socialism of fools," said August Bebel. However, the fools get wise in time. It is an established fact that Anti-Semitism was and is yet in some parts of Germany a forerunner of a vigorous Social-Democratic movement. The Russian government is sadly mistaken if it thinks that it can for any great length of time deflect against the Jews the revolutionary sentiments of the people. The day of doom for the Russian absolutism is near at hand. The conscious proletariat is growing stronger in Russia every day. This proletarian movement does not distinguish between

Jew, Gentile, Finn, Pole, Slav, German or Negro. It recognizes but two classes: **parasites and useful members of society.**

The recognition of the fact that the humanization of the nations among which Jews live is the surest way of improving the condition of Jews, is the reason why every progressive political or social-economic movement finds the most hearty and generous support among these people. That Heine and Boerne were the leaders of "Young Germany" was not an accident simply. Neither was it by any means an accident that Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle, the founders of the modern proletarian movement, were Jews. The broad humanitarian principles of Socialism, its deep ethical value, could not fail to impress the foremost representatives of the martyr-people as a new gospel of true salvation from the thralldom of brute force, as the dawn of a glorious era of real human brotherhood and equality, as the realization of the prophecies of Hebrew antiquity.

Is it to be wondered at that Jews play an important part in the socialist movement in Russia? Representing the proletarian type among nations, Jews naturally sympathise with the international proletarian movement.

This is the real cause of the enmity of the Russian government towards the Jews.

The Governor of Mohileff, His Excellency von Klingenberg, in his speech to a Jewish deputation, said recently, after the anti-Jewish riot in Homel: "Jews are impertinent. They have no respect for the authority of the government. *Jews are politically untrustworthy. They spread revolutionary ideas among the ignorant masses.*" Mr. Devitt, special envoy of a great American daily paper, member of the English parliament, states in his recently published book about the condition of Jews in Russia:

"The Jews, being so dreadfully ruled and oppressed by the Russian official class, represent a greater danger to the Russian despotic government, than anti-Semitism to Russian Jews. All Russian officials with whom I had a chance to talk, openly admitted it. The few cities

where Jews are allowed to live, are over-filled with artisans and traders to such an extent, that it is impossible for them to move. They have no connection whatever with the country population. And besides, the Jews grow in numbers in proportion as their lot grows harder. They are too poor to be able to emigrate. To move from one place to another within the Empire is prohibited to them. They are not allowed to go to look for work in villages or towns outside the "pale of Jewish settlement." It is likewise prohibited to start new industrial enterprises. What is left for them to do? Their desperate condition does not make the Jews loyal to the government. When Governor Klingenberg, in his above-mentioned speech, accused Jews of not educating their children in the spirit of loyalty to the government, one of the members of the deputation he addressed accused the government of demoralizing the citizens. The Central Committee of the Jewish Socialistic "Bund" of Kovno, issued a proclamation inviting all the proletarians to unite in their struggle against the despotic sway of the Czar. The proclamation ends with the following appeal: "All Jews ought to be always armed, as the inhabitants of Kaukasus, with poniards, swords and revolvers. The existing conditions force us to relinquish our traditional aversion to arms. It is our duty to be always prepared against the attacks of the murderous police and hoodlums executing the anti-Jewish riots. We ought to keep in mind that the sinister, wild and greedy hoodlums are backed up by the government. In compliance with the decision of the Fifth Congress of the Bund, the Social-Democratic Committee of Kovno is prepared to organize armed squads of workingmen to be ready to appear on the streets wherever and whenever the hoodlums may show themselves. We appeal to all honest Gentiles and loyal Jews to join these squads. Let us force Plehve and the Romanoffs, with arms in our hands, to stop the anti-Jewish riots."

The attitude of the enlightened Gentile proletarians towards the anti-Jewish riots may be judged from the

speech of Basil Chenko, a socialist condemned to death, but "pardoned" to life-long imprisonment at hard labor in a penitentiary, for participation in an anti-government demonstration in Rostoff. Addressing the court in Taganrog in October, 1903, he said: "I happened to read in a patriot booklet the statement that the Russian workmen are being induced to take part in the revolutionary movement by Jews hired by the English Government. This baseness of the Russian Government aroused my indignation. Who does not understand this falsehood? Now, I declare, here in court, the accusation that Jews are hired by the English Government to revolutionize the Russian people as mean and false. I, as all gentiles who know Jews, consider them as our brothers. Our common exploiters and oppressors are our common enemies, they may be Jews or gentiles. The despot government tries to prejudice us against Jews in order to divert our attention from our actual enemies. However, we proletarians, Jews and gentiles alike, know that our worst enemies are you (representatives of the Russian Government), with your Kosaks, gendarmes and all other paraphernalia of despotism." (London Times, Oct. 8th, 1903)

This attitude towards the anti-Jewish policy of the government is reflected in the radical Russian press.

The paper, "Osvoboshdenje," for instance, expresses the following opinion about the policy of the Russian Government: "A series of formidable exceptional legal restrictions against Jews did not satisfy the Russian Government. It was thought to be necessary to create the impression that in persecuting Jews the government has at heart the cause of the Orthodox-Greek subjects of the Czar. When the Russian Government first started its crusade against Jews, the Jewbaiters bragged that they will make the Jews fry themselves in their own fat. However, conditions shaped themselves so that the brutal threat was more than fulfilled. Owing to barbaric special legislation the poverty of the Jewish masses reached in Russia frightful proportions. At the same time they were not allowed to organize themselves for

self-help. During the last ten years the government refused to legalise self-help organizations among gentiles, in which Jews could possibly participate. Even charity organizations among Jews are not legal. Jewish children are practically excluded from all schools and institutions of learning open to gentiles. At the same time it is very difficult to procure a permission to start a school for Jews only. The revolutionary movement was not only not checked by this policy of the government, but gained in power and extension. Anti-government agitation reached dimensions never heard of before in Russia. Confronted with a serious danger the government pushed to the front as the would-be savior of the fatherland, Von Plehve. This "man of destiny" did not find any better means to save "the Throne and Altar" than reviving the anti-Jewish riots instigated about twenty years ago by Count Ignatiff. Von Plehve proved himself to be a bloodthirsty but dense official, who was unable to read the signs of the times. The anti-Jewish riots had the effect of giving a new impetus to the revolutionary movement. This movement demonstrated its vigor in Baku, Tiflis, Kieff, Odessa and many other cities, just after the Kishineff massacre. The Russian absolutism is in its agonies. Such injections as anti-Jewish riots cannot do it any good. The verdict of God, the verdict of the people will soon reach Von Plehve and his hellish henchmen. The spirit of the young Jewish generation in Russia is shown in the following communication to the Berlin "Vorwaerts" from Oshu (government Mohileff) dated October 8th: "A crowd of about one thousand young Jews attacked a detachment of armed soldiers conveying a party of Jews arrested for arming themselves in defense against rioters. It was a fearful struggle. In the detachment were Kosaks on horseback, and they used their arms freely against the assailants."

The struggle of the Russian Jews against the Czar's government is a heroic one. It is the struggle between David and Goliath. Who will conquer? History will answer the question in favor of

the eternal people with its marvelous vitality and power of endurance. During the thousands of years of reliable history world-empires have crumbled into dust and ashes, nations with mighty civilizations have been wiped from the face of the earth, but the persecuted, downtrodden and despised Jew has survived. Nay, persecution seems to develop in this people latent powers of adaptation to apparently most unfavorable conditions of life and strife.

The Jews make up but a small minority among the hundreds of millions of the "White Czar's" subjects. However, a few tiny cells of yeast will leaven up an unlimited quantity of fermentable material. The Jews are the ferment of the Russian Empire. Once the Russian people become leavened up with the revolutionary and creative ideas of Socialism the present regime of the Czar will vanish like a night-mare at the break of dawn.

HEARST A SLOW PROPHET

SOME three years ago, when this magazine was in its early days of infancy, and before the Steel Trust was born, and, in fact, before the world even suspected it was pregnant with such a monster, I wrote an article entitled "The Significance of the Trust." In this article I had the following paragraph:

Rockefeller, with his enormous surplus income, which he is bound to "save" and cannot from the very nature of things find room to invest in his own confessedly overdone oil business, is constantly forced to seek out new industrial fields to conquer. He is the modern Alexander the Great of our industrial field, sighing for more worlds to conquer. He has already taken possession of the electric light and gas plants of New York City. He is fast coming into control of the iron industry. He already owns the Lake Superior mines and the lake transportation service, and his only competitor in the manufacture of iron is Carnegie, who is simply waiting to make terms of surrender. He will soon be in complete control of the railways of the United States. He is about to control the copper mines of the United States. He is in control of the largest banks in New York.

Now, I do not call attention to my success as a prophet for the vain purpose of having people remark "what a

smart fellow is that Wilshire," but in order that my predictions may receive more consideration in the future than they have in the past. We are approaching a most dangerous crisis in the affairs of this nation and almost any tactics are justified to awaken the people to their danger in order that they may intelligently meet it.

But to return to my prophecy, I must first call attention to the fact that it was I alone who predicted the birth of the Steel Trust and Carnegie's retirement more than a year before either event was thought of by the steel manufacturers themselves.

Not only that, but I predicted that the Trust would be dominated by Mr. Rockefeller. The Steel Trust is here. So far I have made good. But Pierpont Morgan was generally supposed to be at its head and, in fact, until the Steel Trust dropped its dividend upon its common stock, and the following item appeared in the *New York American* (Jan. 7),

this has been the popular idea. The *American* thinks the dropping of dividends on the common stock is all part of a scheme of Rockefeller. It says:

"The cut in wages, the extraordinary statement of decreased earnings, the slump in steel stocks on the market, which began last summer, when John D. Rockefeller, the Standard Oil King, started after control, and the passing of the dividend on steel common with a \$90,000,000 surplus in the strong box, show conclusively to those who have made a study of "high finance" that the surface depreciation in securities, earnings and prospects of the big trust are all part of a gigantic scheme to finally land the Billion Dollar Trust completely in the hands of the Standard Oil billionaire."

Whether the cut in dividends is a "scheme" or not I do not profess to know, and as for Hearst's *American* theory it never knows anything until it has happened, so its guesses don't count. The earnings of the Steel Trust have had a big slump and are sure to have a bigger one. That the interest on the preferred stock will be passed next is a

certainly and that the common dividend should be passed now seems to me more like simple, plain business necessity, than any "scheme."

However, the point is that I am the prophet who over three years ago predicted that Mr. Rockefeller would be eventually at the head of the Steel Trust, and that when I made this prediction there was no knowledge on my part, or anyone else's part, that he had a dollar invested in the manufacture of steel, nor did anyone else that I know of think he ever would be interested in steel, let alone that he would control a Steel Trust whose very being was then undreamed of. This article of mine, "The Significance of the Trust," is now published as a tract, and will be sent postpaid upon receipt of a two-cent stamp, or 100 for 75 cents.

Better get some and educate your friends in the art of prophecy.

JOHN TURNER

AFTER the assassination of President McKinley by that poor demented degenerate, who called himself an anarchist, there was an hysterical outcry from the preachers for some sort of a law that would provide a kettle of boiling oil to be always in readiness for anyone who professed himself an anarchist.

It's interesting to note how some men of the cloth, Christ's vicars on earth, and supposedly those who would first preach forgiveness of sins, are always those who

are readiest to punish people for delinquencies. The reason of this phenomenon is not far off. The preacher looks upon sin as solely an exhibition of individual perversity, and therefore has his remedy in individual punishment. That our society is the father of crime is at variance with his creed. The result of all this hysteria was the passage of an absurd law by Congress which puts into the hands of the president the right to deport any foreigner who may come to our sacred land of liberty and disbeli- ves



JOHN TURNER

in organized government. Now nobody has any objection to our laws that provide for the closing of our immigration gates to the entrance of people so physically or mentally incapable as to assuredly become a burden upon us. We are living in a competitive age and are not yet prepared to practice the Golden Rule, either as individuals or as a nation. If a man tries to come to this country who is insane, it is right that we should prevent him. If he has a criminal record we again are right in preventing him coming amongst us. But for us to prevent men from coming here simply because they may disbelieve in one thing or another is at variance with all our ideas of freedom.

If a man avows himself a disbeliever in presidents and proposes to assassinate them on sight we certainly should not only keep him out, but, if we have any such here in our midst, we should lock them up. Such men are simply insane and should be treated as such. But the so-called anarchist law goes much fur-

ther. It punishes a man for "disbelieving."

Mr. John Turner, an Englishman, who came over here to talk to the trade-unionists, was the first man to fall under the ban. President Roosevelt heard that Mr. Turner was sailing around among the trade-unions declaring that he did not believe in organized government and promptly had him clapped into jail by a presidential executive order.

There was no allegation that Turner was preaching violence. He simply had a disbelief in organized government, and this was sufficient to make him an offender against the law.

He is now detained in New York harbor, on Ellis Island, every one is denied access to him except his attorneys, and even when with them he must be attended by a guard.

He is to stay there until the Supreme Court passes upon the constitutionality of the law.

And onward goes the march toward the suppression of free speech and a free press in this, the Land of Liberty.

CARCASSONNE

From the French of Gustave Nadaud.

Translated by Mrs. Sherwood.

How old I am! I'm eighty years!
 I've worked both hard and long!
 Yet patient as my life has been,
 One dearest sight I have not seen.
 It almost seems a wrong—
 A dream I had when life was new:
 Alas, our dreams they come not true:
 I thought to see fair Carcassonne!
 I have not seen fair Carcassonne!

One sees it dimly from the height
Beyond the mountain blue;
Fain would I walk five weary leagues,
(I do not mind the road's fatigues,)
Through morn and evening's dew.
But bitter frosts would fall at night,
And on the grapes that yellow blight;
I could not go to Carcassonne;
I never went to Carcassonne.

They say it is as gay all times
As holidays at home;
The gentles ride in gay attire,
And in the sun each gilded spire
Shoots up like those of Rome.
The bishop the procession leads,
The generals curb their prancing steeds;
Alas! I know not Carcassonne!
Alas! I saw not Carcassonne!

Our Vicar's right; he preaches loud,
And bids us to beware!
He says: "O guard the weakest part,
And most the traitor in the heart,
Against ambition's snare."

Perhaps in autumn I can find
Two sunny days with gentle wind—
I then could go to Carcassonne;
I still could go to Carcassonne.

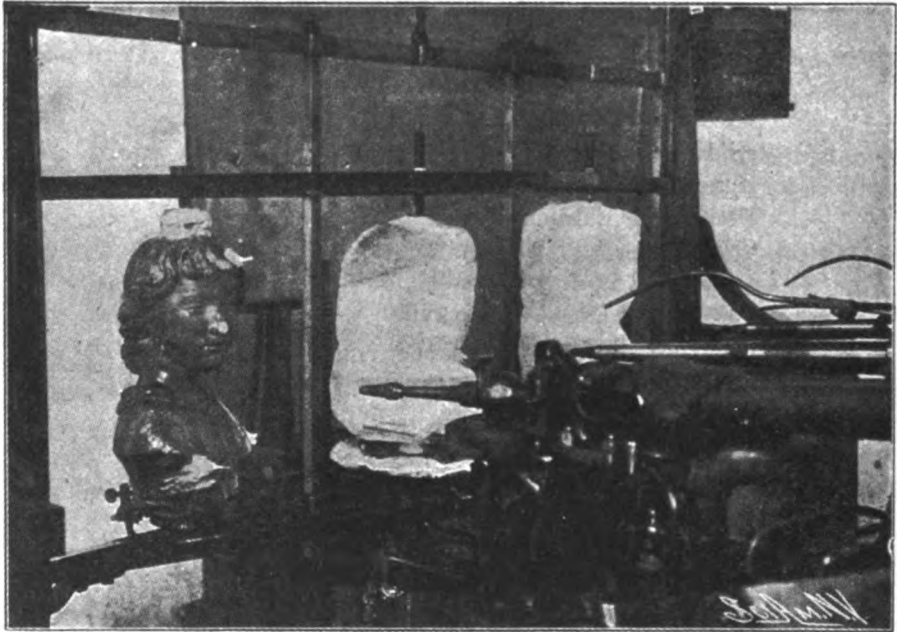
My God and Father! pardon me,
If this my wish offends!
One sees some hope more high than he,
In age as in his infancy,
To which his heart ascends!
My wife, my son, have seen Narbonne,
My grandson went to Perpignan ;
But I have not seen Carcassonne,
But I have not seen Carcassonne!

Thus sighed a peasant, bent with age,
Half dreaming in his chair;
I said: "My friend, come go with me,
Tomorrow, then, thine eyes shall see
Those streets that seem so fair."
That night there came, for passing soul,
The church bell's low and solemn toll!
He never saw gay Carcassonne!
Who had not known a Carcassonne?

AN INGENUOUS SCULPTURING MACHINE

By the London Correspondent of the Scientific American

A MACHINE that is attracting considerable attention in artistic circles in London is a mechanical sculptor. It has been brought over from Italy by its present owners, Mr. W. G. Jones, a sculptor, and Sir. A. Conan Doyle of literary fame. It is after the style of the over the marble, and in this way fashion it according to the selected design. These drills work in sympathy with a dummy pointer. They are driven by belts connected with an overhead shaft driven by a one and a half horsepower engine. There is no reason why the machine



At the Beginning of Work.

pantograph, and by its means a statue can be triplicated in a day, each copy being an exact replica of the original.

The machine, though somewhat large and cumbersome in appearance, is simple in construction, easily driven and manipulated. Briefly, it consists of two revolving drills, which are made to pass

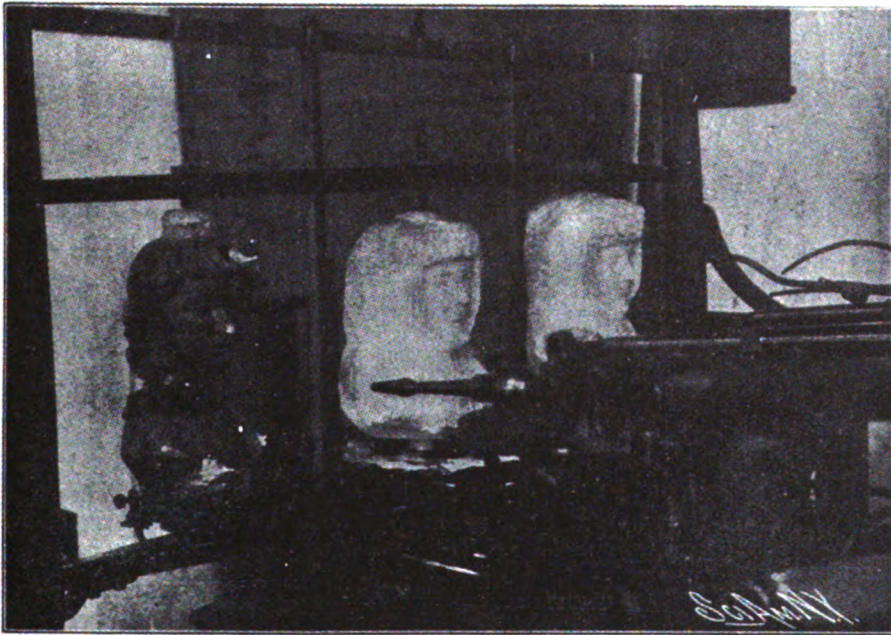
should not be operated by electricity, or, in fact, any other motive power. During the last two months the apparatus has been at work in a shed near the Albert Suspension Bridge, Battersea, London.

When the writer visited the shed, two busts of Homer were being sculptured.

It is essential, of course, for the machine to be supplied with a model. This is bolted to a frame, but so devised that it can be made to turn in any direction, according to the will of the operator. Two blocks of marble are then inserted in the frame, which move in sympathy with the model. Opposite the latter there is a seat, upon which the operator sits and from which he guides the dummy pointer which he passes over the model. Simultaneously with the moving pointer, the two revolving drills or cutters are

perfect duplicate of the model. Mistake in the way of removing too much of the marble is impossible, as the tools operating on the blocks must work in perfect sympathy with the pointer, which, of course, cannot go below the surface. The pointer is of wood and stationary. The drills are of steel and are made to revolve at a fairly high speed. For the more delicate work finer drills are used.

The apparatus, which covers about four square yards of ground, is valued by its owners at \$2,500. As a labor-



After Thirty Minutes' Work.

made to follow a corresponding course over the blocks of marble. They chip the marble away like cheese. To keep the cutters cool a jet of water is thrown upon them, and as they grind into the marble and powder it to dust, it runs down as white as milk in a trough.

Every nook and cranny, every wrinkle or dimple, in the model can thus be repeated in the marble. The machine-made busts are nothing less than a

saving device it has undoubtedly much to commend it. At present, when a sculptor has completed his clay model of a statue which is eventually to be seen in marble, he hands it over to a man known as the "pointer," who by the aid of an instrument of that name drills hundreds of tiny holes of various depths in the block of marble which is to be carved into an exact resemblance of the clay model. As many as 1,500 of these

small holes are often bored for carving one bust. When all the holes have been drilled, a man comes along with a chisel, and it is his laborious task to chip away the marble, guided by the depth of the holes. When he has finished, the sculptor puts in a few touches and the bust or statue is complete. An ordinary bust—that is to say, one standing 2 feet 6 inches in height—takes at least six weeks to finish.

Designs from our greatest sculptors can, a hundred times over, be executed in facsimile with amazing rapidity. The work, too, is done well. After a bust has been machined, as it were, it is rubbed over with sandpaper, when it is ready for the market. For architectural display on buildings this additional labor would not be necessary.

Engineers who have inspected the machine declare that the principle can

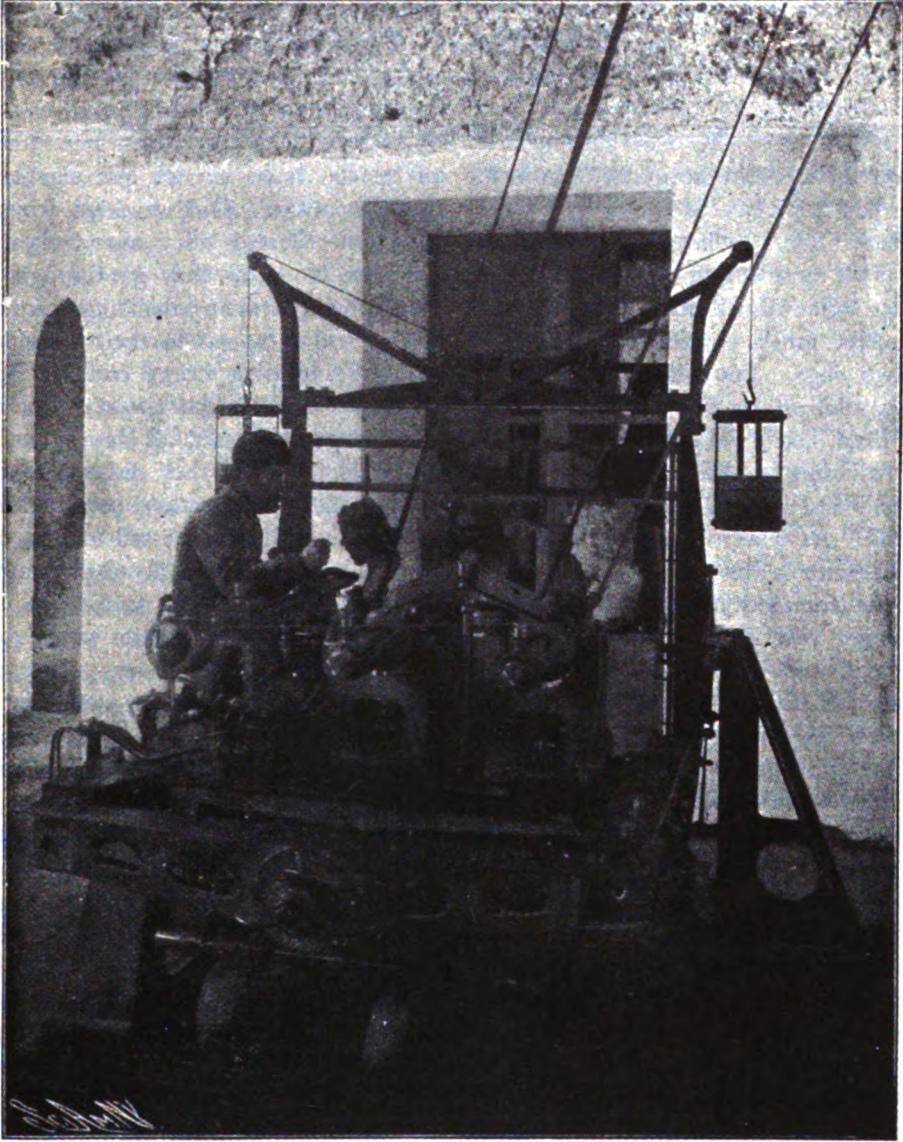


Carving Directly from the Living Model.

The invention under notice is capable of turning out two such busts in a single day of seven or eight hours. As the machine can be operated at very small cost, machine-made statues should become very popular among those unable to pay a fancy price for the hand-made article. It is but fair to point out, however, that only the mechanical side of sculptural art is affected by this invention. The machine is, in fact, merely a slavish reproducer of models previously

be adapted for wood-carving and chasing silver. Indeed, the owners have already been approached by a well-known London firm of silversmiths, for permission to build an experimental apparatus for silver work on similar lines. The machine is the invention of an Italian ex-naval officer, Signor Bontempi. Receiving much opposition from the Italian studios, he sold the patents to a society, formed of a few foreign and a few Italian gentlemen. They took premises

in the vaults of the famous old ruin, distinguishing it from the model was its the Palace Donn' Anna, at the foot of whitenss, the original being quite dark. Posilipo, and set the machine at work. Our illustrations were made directly



A General View of the Sculpturing Machine.

The first statue made was a copy of a Venus in the Naples Museum, which he did so well that the only means of from photographs, with the exception of one which is a drawing reproduced from the *London Illustrated News*.

A GERMAN PICTURE

SADIE V. AINTER

I WISH I could accurately paint for you a picture of Germany's work-woman. She is a beast of burden, and that is the most descriptive thing I can say of her. She draws heavy carts through the streets and is sometimes aided by one or two dogs. But when the cart stops for a moment for the selling of goods, the tired, hard-worked animals (I am now alluding to the dogs) drop to the ground and rest, oblivious to their life of toil. At least, they arise and move ahead with a little renewed strength. But the woman cannot stop for a moment to linger. It is business with her all the day, and at night when she goes home (?) there is more work awaiting her. Nearly always, she has a family, all working; yet whose combined earnings scarcely keep the rags on their backs and bread for their stomachs. To see these women bent with the weight of their loads, with old, hopeless faces, and bedraggled dress—if dress it can be called—is not an exceptional sight. It is the common thing in Germany. Sometimes they are young and brisk; but one can see that already their backs are beginning to bend and their young shoulders to round. Sometimes they are women of maturer years, who, because of their great strength and endurance, are not so woeful in appearance.

But, and oh, the pity of it—sometimes they are *old* women whose hair is white, whose faces, through the long years of harrowing anxiety and the work

of beasts, have almost lost semblance to a human face. Old, wrinkled, crooked, bent and twisted, they are a sight to chill the blood, as they go through the streets with baskets piled high on their backs, and strapped to their shoulders, or dragging their heavy carts. "What a pity," I heard a woman say, "to have those dogs harnessed all day to such a heavy load." But they did not remark that a thing, a creature born to be a woman, was also harnessed to that cart. So it is, no one bothers about the women. It is such a common occurrence. In America, most people do not worry about the newsboys. "They are smart and will make good business men," is the general verdict.

I will grant almost anything to those who believe in adversity to strengthen one's character or to sharpen a man's wits. But I ask those to turn to the sight of an old woman, perhaps a grandmother, who weathered a long life of toil and struggle and want and privation; whose place should be a cosy corner in a warm room in winter, and a seat in the garden or park in the summer. Instead—look at her plying her trade in cold and storm, and in the heat of the summer, on the hard pavements of the city streets; going over the same path each day, doing the same thing she has been doing all her life. For her there is not rest or respite; no "off-duty" or holiday. It is the life of the dog and not of a human being, and the woman

grows less and less human in appearance. Until the day comes at last, when no longer able to stand her life-long torture, she falls in her home or on the street—it makes no difference where—but never, thank God, to rise again.

The shame, the pity and the tragedy of such lives; and this in a country high in art and music, world-famous for its cultivation of the beautiful. I would put this first, I think, in the category of social evils. Though the fact that great numbers of children are crooked, hump-back, deformed to a most appalling extent because poor parents, who have no time for the care of their own families, must rush their own babies out of blessed babyhood, and no matter how it is done—this is an evil that must arrest the attention of the most indifferent on-looker.

There are other scenes in Germany more wretched than in America, due to the feudal and caste system which is greatly extant even today. I won't write of them here. I have ventured to call your attention to the dog life of the poor among Germany's wives, mothers and daughters. Poor—no, that word doesn't describe it. When we say poor, we think of a lack of the world's goods. Many people are almost destitute, still not actually suffering. These poor creatures have *suffered* and *all* their lives; till the human instinct is almost crushed out of them and they become like the beasts whose work they share.

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

But Germany, on the whole slow and plodding, is fast awakening to her deplorable condition. The workers who still have left to them the human power of thought and reason, are becoming

aroused through the stress of their own wants and burdens, and in the growing, spreading socialist vote of this country are expressing their discontent and sense of the miserable injustice under which they labor.

What has all this to do with America? Well, the similarities are numerous. One is that Germany has two classes not greatly different from those in America. Another, that one of the classes is held in bondage and exploited by the other. And another, that here in Germany the oppressed are fighting for their rights through socialism, as they soon will be doing in America.

Of course, it might be added with truth, that these facts are applicable to any "civilized" country. But I have seen only the German and American phases and can write of these with impunity. Now one more word of that especially exploited creature, woman. In America, as in Germany, she is away from the home, in the shop, factory and office. Here she is on the street and field and farm; and I have even seen them taking care of heavy machinery.

What becomes of the neglected home? What is the home influence, and what of the children? If women are forced into the industrial world, because their labor is cheap, who is to be mother? An owner of a great estate, and employer of many farm and field hands, said to me: "Women do better work and get half the pay of the men. And so we hire them for everything except that heaviest work which is utterly impossible for them." Thus it stands in both America and Germany.

Isn't it time to think? And when you have done thinking, vote; and vote right.

THE IROQUOIS TRAGEDY

AND still another crime is fastened to the blood-stained robe of our competitive system. The Iroquois Theatre, in Chicago, just finished at a cost of over a million dollars, burns with a loss of less than \$20,000, fully covered by insurance, and some six hundred lives, of no monetary value and no insurance. The building was supposed to be fire-proof, and it proves itself fire-proof from the investor's standpoint. It was just as fire-proof as an old-fashioned Dutch oven or a modern crematory. That is, the expensive shell was fire-proof, although the cheap interior was kindling wood. Before the days of "fire-proof" buildings, when a theatre burned, it burned "up," now it burns "out." The cheap scenery and the cheaper people do the burning "up."

It's a great money-saving device building these bake-oven theatres, guaranteed to stand fire within that will roast to a turn a thousand women and children, and not show a crack. A few theatre passes distributed judiciously among the city aldermen and the heads of the fire

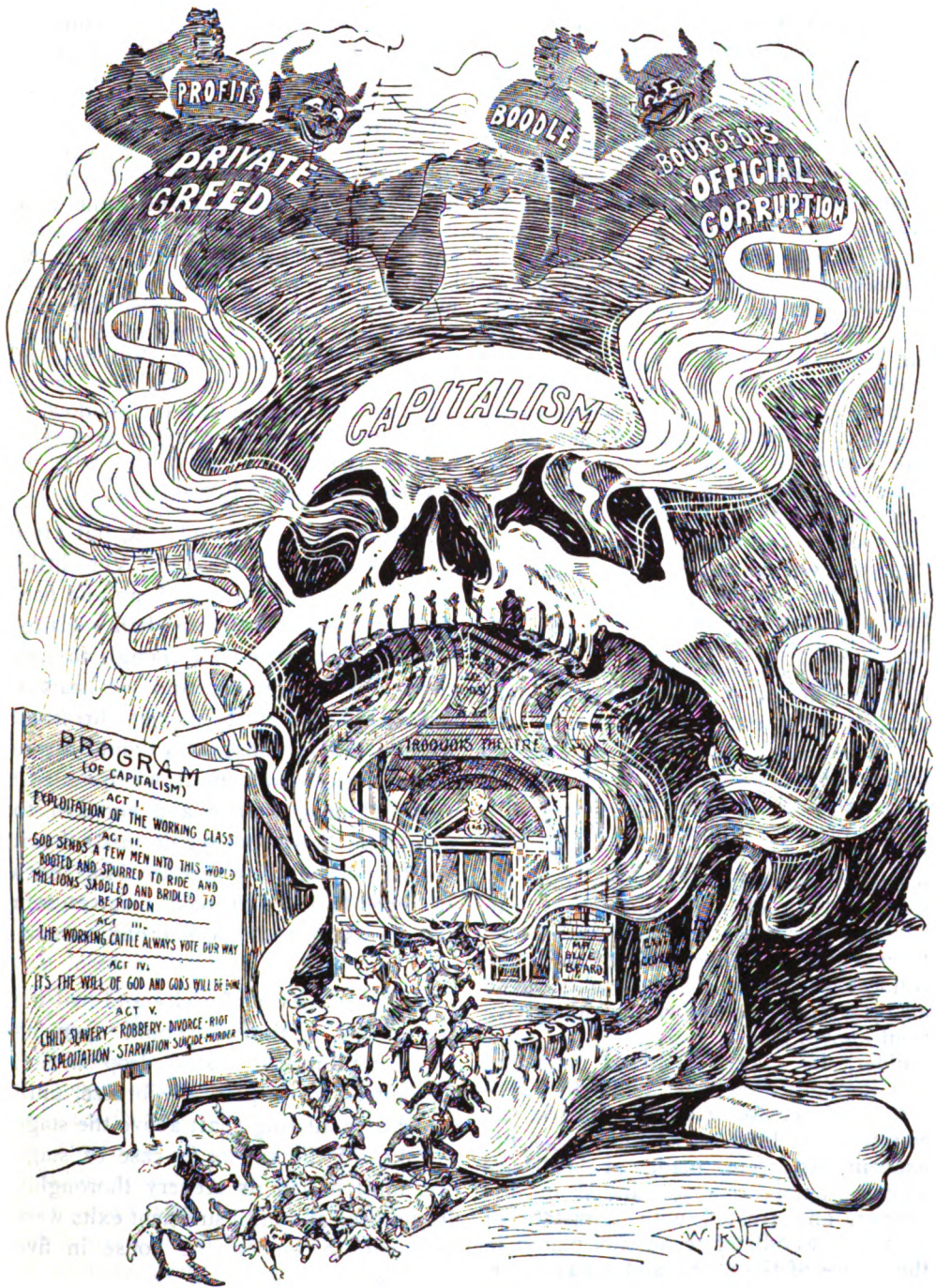
department is much cheaper than providing fire-hose, a steel curtain and adequate exits. However, this is confessedly a radical magazine. We do not hesitate to proclaim that we always stand for the man as against the money bag, therefore, let me quote that confessed organ of capital, the *New York Evening Post*, lest it be thought we exaggerate:

"Without inflammable matter in the theatre there can be no fire. Without fire there can be none of the horrors of burning, suffocation, and mangling which inevitably follow. It is an excellent thing to be careful about fire-proof walls, about strong, wide and plentiful staircases, and the easiest possible means of exit and entrance, but all such considerations are trivial in comparison with the one

essential of preventing the occurrence of fire altogether. Now, the fact that this prevention of the possibility of fire in a theatre is, in these days, perfectly simple, is the damning fact which proves beyond dispute the existence of criminal negligence somewhere in every case of fire in a place of public amusement. On more than one occasion the *Evening Post* has declared that there would be no injustice in a law which



IROQUOIS THEATRE.
Looking east on Randolph Street.



PROGRAM
(OF CAPITALISM)

ACT I.
EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

ACT II.
GOD SENDS A FEW MEN INTO THIS WORLD
BOOTED AND SPURRED TO RIDE AND
MILLIONS SADDLED AND BRIDLED TO
BE RIDDEN

ACT III.
THE WORKING CATTLE ALWAYS VOTE OUR WAY

ACT IV.
IT'S THE WILL OF GOD AND GODS WILL BE DONE

ACT V.
CHILD SLAVERY - ROBBERY - DIVORCE - RIOT
EXPLOITATION - STARVATION SUICIDE MURDER

W. F. R.

would make a manager criminally responsible for the consequences of any such outbreak in his establishment. Of course, this proposition has been denounced as extravagant by persons having theatrical interests, but there is nothing in the least extravagant about it, and until some such regulation is put into force, the country will be shocked from time to time by these so-called accidents.

"What are the plain facts? There is no difficulty whatever in building a theatre of absolutely incombustible material. There is no reason why anything but iron, steel, brick, stone, or concrete should be used in the construction of a theatre, except for the stage, where wood, of course, must be employed; and wood can easily be made as impervious to flame as brick or cement itself. It is just as easy to make everything else in the theatre, the scenery, the ropes, the costumes, and whatever furnishings may be required for the seats or for decorative purposes, capable of resisting fire. In other words, it is only deliberate and wicked recklessness which permits the existence in any theatre of a single article that will burn at a flash.

"Moreover, in these days of electricity and steam there is absolutely no excuse, except the contemptible one of cost, for the presence of fire in any shape within the precincts of a theatre. All the furnaces for heating, all the dynamos for the provision of light and power, can be placed in their own fire-proof structures entirely independent of and disconnected from the theatre proper. And all these facts are known and long have been known by every architect, by every builder, by every theatrical manager, and it might almost be added by every actor and actress of any account in the country. At least twenty-five years ago experiments were made at Wallack's Theatre upon scenery, painted in distemper, and treated with tungstate of soda. A woodland scene was placed in the centre of the stage, and a gas flame, ten or fifteen feet in length, proceeding from the nozzle of an ordinary hose, was directed against it. The scenery

gradually became red-hot where the flame touched it, but only at that point. Presently the red-hot part crumbled away and the flame passed through the hole to the other side without doing any further harm. The scenery did not catch fire at all, in the ordinary sense of the words, the damage being confined simply to the spot to which the fierce flame was applied. At the same time it was demonstrated that cloth, wood and linen could be rendered equally slow-burning by a similar process. Another important point to be remembered in connection with these experiments is that the cost of the necessary chemicals, of which there are several varieties, is insignificant. There is not the shadow of a shade of an excuse for the men who neglect, or for the authorities who do not insist upon this precaution."

All this is good, sound talk, but after all how much good will it do? Very little. As long as human life is cheap and fire-proof scenery is dear we shall see fire-trap theatres. It's well enough to join in the cry for reform, and we heartily endorse every effort in that direction. We are not of those who would argue that we must wait until we burn five hundred more women and children to stir the public up, but we do insist that it is extremely unlikely that anything much will ever be done to make theatres safe as long as there is more profit in making them unsafe.

If I were mayor of a city and had the power, not a theatre should open its doors until it had a steel drop-curtain, guaranteed to drop in any breeze, until it had a ventilating shaft above the stage to take off the smoke in case of stage fire, until it had its scenery thoroughly fire-proofed and until sufficient exits were provided to empty the house in five minutes.

Most cities have pretty fair laws governing theatres, but the trouble is that

the laws are not enforced. For instance, it is illegal to allow people to stand in the aisles, and yet I know many cases where not only are people allowed to crowd in the aisles, but where the managements actually furnish stools for people to sit there.

Many theatres make a rubbish dump of the space below and behind the stage, and a fire once started there is practically impossible of extinction.

In London no new theatres are

allowed to be constructed except upon street corners, as it is not thought possible to provide sufficiently safe exits from an interior site.

When the theatres are owned by the people and plays are given therein not to make profit but in order to afford pleasure and instruction to the people then may we see the day when the theatres will be places of safety instead of money-making death-traps.

AMERICA SUFFOCATING WITH WEALTH

THE particular mission that this magazine has taken upon itself is to show the people of the United States that their capacity to produce has so far outrun their capacity to consume under the limitations of the existing wage system that there is necessarily piling up a huge mass of unconsumed products which will soon cause a cry of "over-production." This will be followed by a tremendous fall in prices, accompanied by a terrible unemployed problem.

"We cannot employ men to make unsalable goods," will say the employers.

We present all the facts in the world to support our contention, but the most ominous fact of all that we present is the blindness of the American Public in failing to see the significance of these facts. And when we say the American Public we wish it to be understood that we include every class, and those of every belief, economic and social as well as religious.

It might be thought by some that inasmuch as we are proposing socialism as the remedy for this impending calamity, that all socialists, or at any rate a great part of them, share with us our belief in the imminence of the collapse of our existing industrial and financial structure.

This we reluctantly confess is not the case. The vast majority of the socialists, as far as we can ascertain, no more believe in the imminence of any unprecedented industrial crisis than do the general public. The socialist theory, as delineated by Marx, it is true, compels them to a pious belief that at some old day and at some old time or other we will necessarily face such a crisis as we ourselves believe is right here now and impending. That it is really now at hand there are few socialists who agree. If Gabriel should blow his trumpet today most men would say, "Hear that big megaphone." We speak of this merely to

show that a belief in the theory of socialism derived from the study of books written fifty years ago, unless fortified by reading understandingly the facts of today, is of little value to a man in interpreting current economic events and their bearing upon socialism.

The people of the United States seem about to plunge into the greatest crisis known in the history of man with practically no warning, not even from the very ones whose object in life should be to give the warning.

In confirmation we give a short resume of the last U. S. census report:

The population in 1903 is estimated at 80,372,000, against 23,191,876 in 1850 and 5,308,483 in 1800. The wealth of the country is stated at \$94,000,000,000 in 1900, and it is declared that presumably \$100,000,000,000 would not be an unreasonable estimate for 1903, while for 1850 the wealth of the country stood at \$7,000,000,000. The per capita wealth is set down at \$1,235 in 1900 and \$307 in 1850, having thus more than quadrupled. The interest-bearing debt in 1903 is \$914,000,000 against \$1,724,000,000 in 1880 and \$2,046,000,000 in 1870. The per capita indebtedness of the country in 1903 is \$11.51, against \$60.46 in 1870.

Gold and gold certificates in circulation in 1903 for the first time exceeded \$1,000,000,000, or, to be exact, \$1,031,000,000, against \$810,000,000 in 1900 and \$232,000,000 in 1880. The total money in circulation in 1903 was \$2,367,000,000, against \$1,429,000,000 in 1890, \$973,000,000 in 1880, \$675,000,000 in 1870, and \$435,000,000 in 1860. Deposits in savings banks in 1903 were \$2,935,000,000, against \$1,524,000,000 in 1890, \$550,000,000 in 1870, and \$149,000,000 in 1860.

The value of manufactures for the census year 1900 is given at \$13,000,000,000, against \$5,333,000,000 in 1880, and less than \$2,000,000,000 in 1860. Railways in operation in 1902 had 203,132 miles of track, against 166,703 in 1890, 93,262 miles in 1880, 52,922 miles in 1870, 30,626 miles in 1860, and 9,021 in 1850.

Coal production increased in nine years from 162,814,977 tons in 1893 to 269,081,049 in 1902. Steel shows an increase from 4,019,995 tons in 1893 to 14,947,250 tons in 1902. In the same nine years exported manufactures increased from \$158,023,118 to \$407,526,159, and total imports from \$866,400,922 to \$1,025,719,237.

The excess of total exports over total imports in 1903 was \$394,422,442. In 1893 the imports exceeded the exports by \$18,735,728.

How anyone, after reading these figures, particularly those comparing 1890 with 1900, can fail to see the overwhelming support they give to our argument we cannot understand.

In 1893 we were in the dregs of despair from an economic standpoint. We seemed to have built everything that was to be built and there was no employment for either labor or capital. The figures show us how much we were mistaken when we compare 1900 with 1890 and notice the enormous amount of capital that has found its way into almost every conceivable trade channel from banking to railways.

Some might say that if it is admitted that in 1893 we were mistaken in thinking capital could not be consumed then may we not be equally mistaken in 1904.

We answer that the conditions are different. In the first place the tremendous augmentation of our capital which has occurred in the last ten years affords a great bar to additional capital being

similarly consumed. The trusts are the tangible evidence of this. The trust is the sign of over-production. That there will be some capital used, that there will be immense sums used, we do not for a moment deny, but that there will be enough capital consumed adequately to employ labor we absolutely refuse to believe, unless a great European war intervenes.

Barring a great war nothing can keep our capitalist system alive for another ten years.

In order for capitalism to live men must die. Men have long died for capitalism in the fetid sweat shop, in the deadly dust of the cotton mill, and the poison of the lead factories. Men have long died of starvation from unemployment, but with all the slaughter of the past it is nothing to what will be necessary for the future if capitalism is to have a longer lease of life, and even with all the slaughtering we shall find the task in vain, for socialism is bound to come in any event. Let no one think we are referring to any slaughter coming as the result of an attempt at forcing a

change from capitalism to socialism. We do not anticipate anything of the sort. It will be unnecessary and impossible. The slaughtering of men on our railways and women and children in our bake-oven Chicago theatres, let alone the slaughter of war, is quite enough without any more slaughter being necessary.

The next great upward move of humanity must not, and shall not, be begun by a sacrifice of life. If anyone wishes to do any sacrificing, let him begin on himself.

But why talk about "sacrifice"—sacrifice of either life or happiness? What we propose is just the opposite. Here is a vast nation—the United States—proven by every form of statistics to be rich beyond measure in every thing that makes for health, happiness and life.

The wealth is the Nation's.

We are the Nation.

Ergo: Let us have what is ours.

Let the Nation Own the Trusts, then "we" will own the Trusts—then "we" will be happy for we will have abolished the great cause of unhappiness, "Poverty."

CURRENT EVENTS

MR. BRYAN RETURNS.

Mr. Bryan has made his European tour. The press reports do not indicate that he has shown the least interest in the tremendous democratic movement now making progress throughout Europe. The reason is not far off. This movement is a socialist movement and an avowedly socialist movement and for

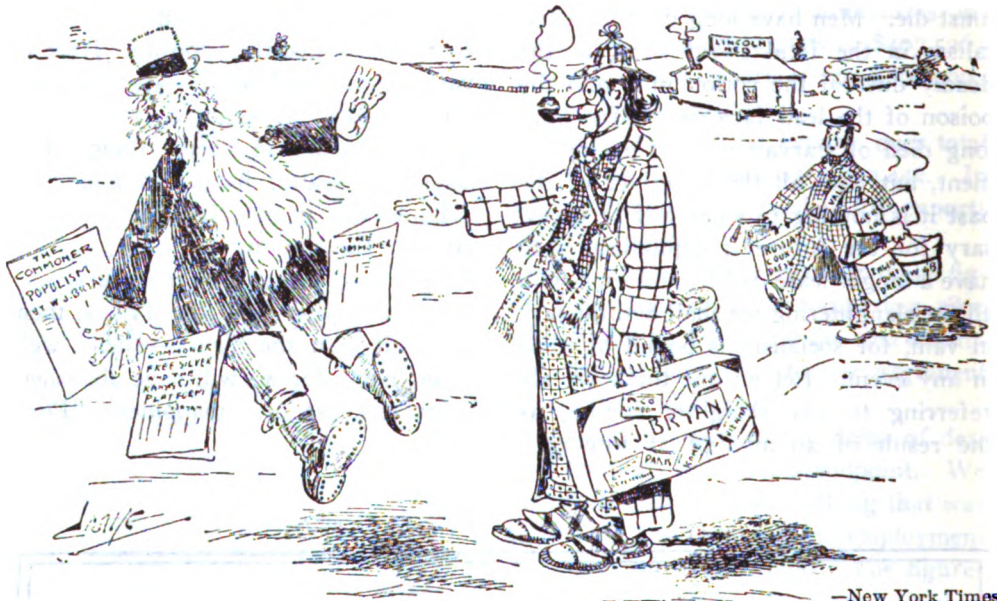
Mr Bryan to mix up with socialists abroad while shunning them at home would be too incongruous. The consequence is that Mr. Bryan goes to Germany, say, and finds it impolitic as well as without interest for him to see and talk with the Bebels, the Kautskys, the Von Vollmars, and others at the head of the great popular political socialist

movement there, and on the other hand the Kaiser finds it uninteresting and impolitic for him to see Mr. Bryan. The net result is that Mr. Bryan fell between two stools, democracy and autocracy, and saw no one who was worth while.

It is reported that Mr. Bryan had a long confab with Tolstoi, and that the great Russian, upon asking him if he were a socialist and having him reply that he was not, fell upon his neck and wept for joy. There is probably some

York, made a very significant remark in connection with Mr. Bryan's declaration to Tolstoi that he was not a socialist. It was to the effect that no matter what Bryan might think he was or might wish to be that the tendency of the Democratic Party toward socialism was so marked that if a man aspired to leadership in that party it would soon become a necessity for him to bend with the socialist current.

So, Mr. Bryan, please bend or if you stand fast, then get ready to climb upon



WHEN THE PRODIGAL RETURNED.

truth in this story for Tolstoi is first an artist and a poseur. He knows little or nothing of economics as applied to present day problems. The problem of the trust and overproduction is as dark a mystery to him as it is to Mr. Bryan. Tolstoi would solve the problem by having men be "good" while Mr. Bryan at one time had it all worked out that the millennium was at hand, whenever we should decide to paint our dollars a silver hue. Senator Tom Platt of New

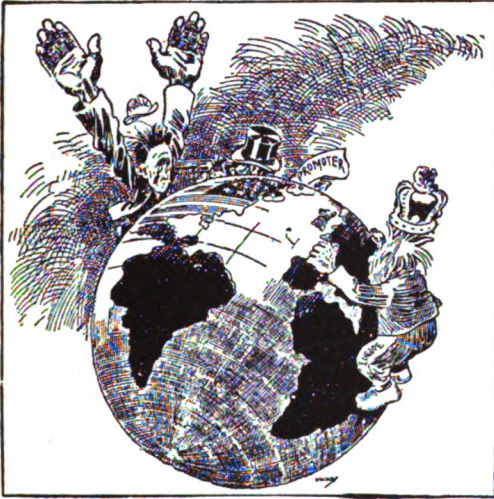
York, made a very significant remark in connection with Mr. Bryan's declaration to Tolstoi that he was not a socialist. It was to the effect that no matter what Bryan might think he was or might wish to be that the tendency of the Democratic Party toward socialism was so marked that if a man aspired to leadership in that party it would soon become a necessity for him to bend with the socialist current.

So, Mr. Bryan, please bend or if you stand fast, then get ready to climb upon Tom Platt's Band Wagon Behind the Elephant.

Parke Godwin died at his residence in New York, January 7th, and in his demise there passed away one of the most forcible figures of the Utopian period of socialism in America. At the time of his death Mr. Godwin was 88 years old, and for a generation or more had been living in retirement. He was one of the militant spirits of that period in the last

century which saw the establishment of various communistic communities in this country, and at one time he was the editor of *The Harbinger*, which was the Brook Farm organ published in New York. Mr. Godwin married the daughter of his intimate friend, William Cullen Bryant, and became a member of the staff of the *New York Evening Post*, with which he was connected for a period exceeding 50 years. A large part of the time he was the editor of the paper. Among his works, aside from the vigorous but ephemeral products of his pen

As we go to press word comes from Trinidad, Colo., that "Mother" Jones, the always staunch and tender friend of the miners, and the eloquent exponent of



—Bradley in the Chicago News

AMERICAN "HIGH" FINANCE.
From a foreign view-point.

published in newspapers, were "Constructive Democracy," "Cyclopedia of Biography," and a volume of essays, "Out of the Past."



—Maybell in Brooklyn Eagle

UNIONISM UNTO DEATH.

their rights, is seriously ill with pneumonia. "Mother" Jones is 64 years old and at the hour of this writing her condition is reported critical.

Jack London, whose powerful story, "The People of the Abyss," was concluded in the January number of *Wilshire's*, and who is at present contributing to this magazine a continued article on "The Tramp," has turned war correspondent. He has gone to the scene of warlike activity in the Orient, where he will represent Mr. Hearst's *New York American*.

WHAT WE WENT UP AGAINST

WHEN this magazine was barred from the United States mails and driven to Canada—some two years ago—we knew we had a hard game to fight, but we confess we did not know the full extent of the muchness that we were up against.

Two years ago people thought our Post Office so honest that when we raised our weak little wail of woe we attracted so little attention that we decided it better to let some other victim, who could not escape to Canada, do the wailing.

Who would have believed at that time that within two years such facts as the following would have developed themselves? We are indebted to the *World's Work* for the resume:

“There are seven postoffice bureaus: the Postmaster-General’s, the four assistants, the Assistant Attorney-General’s, and the Auditor’s. From 1899, when Perry S. Heath was First Assistant Postmaster-General, up to the time when Robert J. Wynne, the present First Assistant, took office and discovered the trail of dishonesty, the following men held the highest places:

Postmaster-General, Emory H. Smith—resigned.

Assistant Attorney General, James N. Tyner—indicted.

Assistant Attorney, Harrison J. Barrett (Tyner’s nephew)—indicted.

Assistant Attorney, D. V. Miller—indicted.

Assistant Attorney G. A. Christiancy—resigned.

First Assistant Postmaster-General, Perry S. Heath—resigned.

First Assistant Postmaster-General, W. M. Johnson—resigned.

Chief Clerk, G. M. Allen.

Chief Clerk, J. M. Masten.

Chief of Salary and Allowance Division, G. W. Beavers—indicted.

Superintendent of Post-Office Supplies, M. W. Lewis—indicted.

Superintendent of Free Delivery Division, A. W. Machen—indicted.

Delivery Division, Superintendent City Delivery, Charles Hedges—indicted.

Superintendent Dead Letter Office, D. P. Leibherdt.

Superintendent Money-Order Division, J. T. Metcalf—indicted.”

The singular part of it all is that Wilshire’s Magazine, the periodical which started the ball rolling, is still barred out of this country and compelled to print in Canada, and mailed from there. Our editorial office remains in New York.

The original ruling made by Mr. Madden is still held by that gentleman to have been a just and legal one. He says he thinks that Wilshire’s Magazine is not at present being run solely to “advertise Wilshire,” but it was when he disbarred it, and that if he, in his benevolence, should ever allow it to once more be printed in the United States, that his permission would only remain

valid as long as it refrained from renewing its "advertising of Wilshire." He declined to give a definite ruling regarding what he means by "advertising Wilshire." This practically means Wilshire's Magazine would live only by grace of Imperial Madden. All this I gathered from a personal interview with Mr. Madden which I had about last December.

In the meantime, we continue to do as we please in Canada, and instead of paying the United States Post Office for carrying our magazine through its mails, we pay the postage to the Canadian Post Office. The Canadian rate is but one-quarter of a cent per pound, as against the United States rate of one cent per pound, and in Canada the pound rate also applies to England as well as her colonies. We can afford our exile as long as Mr. Madden can afford to exile us.

It would be interesting to know why it is that Mr. Madden insists that our

Post Office must raise its rate on magazines from the present pound rate of one cent to four cents. Canada, with a bigger and much more sparsely settled territory, has recently reduced its rate from one-half cent to one-quarter of a cent, or just one-sixteenth the rate Mr. Madden advocates.

Canada is not held up by the railroads to pay exorbitant rates for carrying her mails, nor is her Post Office a nest of grafters as is ours, so naturally she can afford to carry this magazine to England at one-quarter of a cent per pound, while if mailed from New York the postage would be eight cents a pound, or thirty-two times as much. Graft is great.

We wonder why President Roosevelt, whose attention has often been called to the injustice being done to this magazine, does not direct some of Bristow's limelight into our dark corner? We wonder if, because it is a socialist magazine, it is considered a natural prey for grafters?

EDITORIAL NOTES

HOW TO MAKE MONEY.

We are so often told in our youth that we should cultivate the spirit of justice and generosity in our dealings with men, that it shocks us in later life when we enter business to find that if we wish to keep ourselves out of the bankruptcy court the sooner we forget such lessons the better for us.

When the socialist inveighs against modern conditions he is apt to be told that

he exaggerates and that things are not so bad as he states. Here is an item that is so corroborative of our position that it must be given:

Philadelphia, Nov. 6.—Bayard Henry was today appointed receiver for D. Landreth & Sons, seed merchants.

The house is one of the oldest in the country, having been founded in 1784 by David Landreth, who came from England. The business has been conducted by succeeding generations of the same family, and the firm owns extensive seed farms in Bucks County, in Burlington, N. J., and in Lancaster County,

Penn. It also has stores near Bristol and Jamaica, L. I.

J. Levering Jones, counsel for the firm, said today, in explaining the firm's plight: "There have been many changes in business methods in late years, but the firm has pursued old methods. They were kind and thoughtful for the men they employed. When the harvests were over and other employers would have sent their workers off to get through the Winter as they might, the Landreths tided them over the cold season, when there was little or nothing for the men to do.

"It was humane, and the firm felt they could afford it. They were always on the best terms with their workmen, and the latter worked for them for years. When old age finally overtook them the firm did not ruthlessly turn them off, but kept them from want by small pensions.

"There has been a great development in the seed business in Philadelphia in recent years; there has been more and keener competition. With the Landreths pursuing their old methods, business began to shrink. As to the future, liquidation as quickly as possible, owing to the nature of the business, is the best both for the firm and the creditors."

Here were the Landreth's trying to

keep up the old fashioned semi-feudalistic system of caring for their workmen who had become old in their service while their pushing competitors discarded their hearts and ruthlessly fired the old men as soon as they showed any signs of decrepitude and took on younger and more vigorous men at very probably less wages than the old hands were getting.

Such a policy meant lower cost of production. The Landreths had to meet the prices of their competitors and with their increased cost of production owing to their old fashioned benevolence they simply could not do it without selling below cost. This they did and the clipping shows the result, bankruptcy.

Moral: If you would not lose your money then lose your heart; otherwise you will lose both your money and your heart.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ISYL. By Gelett Burgess and Will Irwin. McClure, Phillips & Co. 255 pp. \$1.40.

The Reign of Queen Isyl is a novel of unique construction, being an attempt to combine the advantages of a continuous narrative with that of a series of short stories, which are interpolations coming at the close of each chapter. The main adventure is a briskly told rollicking story whose novelty lies in the fact that while all the situations are absurdly romantic, the whole setting is as absurdly realistic. Such episodes as are commonly found in historical romances or in Arthurian legend are here laid in the most modern of localities—California—and in the most modern times. To make this travesty complete, the authors have written

the tale around the annual flower festival or fiesta of San Jose, with its mimic court and pageantry, introducing a mock spirit of chivalry and mystery by means of pompous officials of this carnival kingdom, together with a satirical use of one of the many western secret fraternities, which here masquerades under the name of the Knights of the Golden Gate.

Strung pendant on the chain of this narrative, are nine short stories, told by different members of the carnival court. Each one is madder than the next, each one is filled with the jubilant enthusiasm of the West, and each one deals of love in a fresh, humorous aspect. There is a tale of Love Strategic, where the heroine gains her mate with all the logistic manoeuvres of a chess player—

of Love Recusant, where a Chinese bride displays her Oriental trickery—of Love Sartorial where the hero adopts the amorous method of the peacock to win his bride—besides Loves Militant, Insidious, Terpsichorean, Loquacious, Juvenile and Politic.

The book is of the West, Western, told in the modern manner, full of slang and humor, and told, it is evident, for the sheer abandoned love of the telling—the authors are indubitably laughing as they spin the yarn. To one unfamiliar with the new West, it is a revelation of open-air gusto and the joy of life; to one who knows his California it is a rather keen satire on the play-day aspect of our American Italy. From the moment when the elected Queen of the Fiesta disappears from the pavilion, to the end, where the substitute Queen Isyl accepts her champion, the tale is alive with mysteries, counterplots and grotesquely impossible revelations.

Were it not for this evident unconsciousness of responsibility on the part of the authors, the novelette itself might easily be accused of being somewhat cheap and popular in its easy, mild, melodramatic thread of incident. But Messrs. Burgess and Irwin have not taken themselves very seriously, nor do they seem to be wished to be taken otherwise than in the spirit of reckless, devil-may-care drollery. The book is mere farce with a love interest of the intensity of a doll's merry emotions. Queen Isyl is, indeed, but a paper doll, dressed in coronation robes, subject to the caprices of her antic creators. The hero, however, has more blood, if more slang. His talk races and hurdles over rhetorical fences with spirit and zest.

But the short tales interspersed throughout are better stuff than the chain they hang from, and glitter like paste jewels on a brass necklace. They are all in a high key of humor, swift and sparkling, each with a definite, clear-cut motive. Of these, "The Demonstrator's Romance, or Love Loquacious,"

is easily the brightest, and of its peculiar charm one may judge from the following excerpts. It begins with this startlingly graphic statement:

"When I first met Susan Handy she was working in a Beauty Concert at the Chicago World's Fair, and I was selling the 'Little Giant Wart and Mole Eradicator' just outside the gates of the Midway Plaisance."

The hero, who is "a Commercial Orator" or sidewalk fakir, seeing Sue in several other capacities, such as one of the Seven Northernland Sisters, and as a "demonstrator" of mackintoshes (where she has to stand in a show window in a rain-coat, under a stream of water) conceives a strong attraction for her. Here is his reason:

"It was the fact *and* circumstance that here was a woman and a good looker at that, who was perfectly happy to sit in a chair for fifteen hours a day without indulging in the art and science of talk!"

After a long pursuit and logical courtship, he succeeds in marrying this paragon, thinking:

"What a great and good thing it would be for me to have a live one like that to do the loving and tender, getting supper for me the way mother used to do it, and nothing about how Mrs. Higgly's chickens were all over the turnip patch, and how many men went by the house that afternoon, the story of every new baby, and how did I like her go-to-meeting gown, and if not why not, and sometimes W and Y."

His subsequent awakening from dreams of bliss is thus told, as the orator describes it, "she lifted up her voice and I had to stand for it."

"Then I discovered that I had married a conversationalist. Wasn't that a package to hand out to a man for a wedding present? She didn't stop except for meals; I know she talked in her sleep. She seemed determined to cover the whole range of subjects that man's experience and wisdom has discovered, and she done it in a way that struck me as being durn fool."

"It is a curious and instructive fact that one female mackerel or codfish lays upwards of a million eggs a day. Sue was that way; for one idea she'd produce about a million words. Gosh! It was awful."

The clever way by which Sue finally brought him to reason and a recognition of her rights

should be left to the reader, for the orator tells it in the manner of a sentimentalist with all the tropes and illustrations to be expected from one who travels with "a combination instrument that would do thirteen different things besides being an ornamental pocket-knife, and containing a small microscopical view of Niagara Falls by moonlight." But his ending is characteristic of the quick turns given to each of these tales.

"Say—what d'ye think? I got a wonder of a youngster! Do you know, that kid could talk when he was five months old!"

The authors of "Queen Isyl" are also collaborators on "The Picaroons," an Arabian Nightly string of San Francisco stories now running in a monthly magazine and soon to be published in book form. Whether these two books indicate a tendency toward a return to the old fashion of publishing volumes of short stories, so long avoided by publishers, is an interesting question. "The Reign of Queen Isyl," however, does present collaboration in its most attractive and probably most possible aspect, for it can scarcely be successfully done in a regular novel. But it would be hard for even a friend of either of the authors of this book to say exactly what portion was Burgess and what Irwin. Mr. Burgess has become known best through his humorous work, and he seems to have secured a partner who has the same gleeful delight in fun for its own sake.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A THIEF.

By Hutchins Hapgood. Published by Fox, Duffield & Co., New York. Price \$1.25.

The Autobiography of a Thief reads like the real thing. The reader is transported for the time being into the very atmosphere of tough-dom, hears its technical language, sees the tricks of the trade, and realizes perhaps for the first time how criminals of this nature are made, and how it is possible for them to exist in the midst of "law and order," and even to flourish under its protection. One

finds one's self surprised and not a little interested to find how very much like other folk these outcasts of society are. The self-same human nature is there, in spite of the absence of the moral sense in regard to property rights.

The story traces the career of a bright boy, born into a stupid but honest family, and as a child brought under the influence of a gang of pickpockets whose skill and adroitness seem to his untutored mind marvelous and wholly admirable. His first heroes are thieves and his earliest aspiration is to become great as they. The circumstances of his life favor this ambition, and he soon becomes an expert pickpocket himself. His progress, thereafter, is rapid. "Night work," the euphonious technical term for burglary, is risky but pays well, and therefore offers the double inducement of profit and adventure; and at the age of twenty, Jim graduates as a first-class burglar. However, he soon had "a fall" and got "into stir," which, being interpreted, means, got arrested and sent to prison, where he learned more wickedness than he had ever dreamed of before. It was in prison that the use of opium became a confirmed habit with him, which it almost cost his life and his reason to break. For our interesting hero does finally "square it," and settles down to an honest life. On his second term in prison, he is crazed with opium and is sent to the criminal madhouse. Surrounded by lunatics, and realizing the awful fate confronting him, he makes up his mind that "graft" doesn't pay in the long run, and comes out "on the square." His own individual reasoning power, and not any help from society, is the redemptive force.

This plain unvarnished tale of a thief's life is a stern and unanswerable arraignment of a state of society which surrounds men and women with environments which of necessity force them into crime and then punishes them for becoming criminals.

M.H.

TOLSTOY AND HIS MESSAGE, by Ernest Crosby. Published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York.

Mr. Ernest Crosby in "Tolstoy and His Message" has undertaken to give us a biography, an "appreciation" of the character and an interpretation of the message of the great Russian.

The "appreciation" lacks the warmth we might expect from such a disciple of Tolstoy as Mr. Crosby is generally supposed to be, for the name Tolstoy is merely used as a text. As Mr. Crosby denies Tolstoy scholarship, and clear understanding of evolution, and a proper historical sense, we can more readily understand why it is Tolstoy's religion rather than his philosophy that engages Mr. Crosby. Tolstoy's philosophy of life and his spiritual awakening arose from his adoption of the teachings of Christ as the law of right living. Mr. Crosby's inquiries into the soundness of the Christian teaching in general and the results of such practice, are interesting and make good reading.

The author sums up the salient points in Tolstoy's philosophy of life as follows: His idea of the failure of man's ordinary life; of the necessity, in the course of nature, of practising self-renunciation, and the resultant realization of immortality.

Although he questions the breadth of Tolstoy's moral and social code, he supports the doctrine of non-resistance in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the belief of Mr. Crosby. It is here that Mr. Crosby shows his strength and enthusiasm. When we read his chapters on non-resistance and Christian teaching in practice, we are convinced that therein lies the reason of the book. Tolstoy has been merely treated a little more exhaustively than the Moravians, the African missionaries, Lloyd Garrison and Lincoln.

Tolstoy is not the only man with a message, and Mr. Crosby is here to prove it.

That our brilliant author is not wanting in the same "dramatic quality" for which he admires Tolstoy, can be seen from the following passage:

"And here we leave this great teacher—great especially in his candor and simplicity. A strange figure this peasant nobleman, this aristocrat, born into the ruling class of an aristocracy, who condemns all government and caste; this veteran of two wars who proscribes all bloodshed, this keen sportsman turned vegetarian, this landlord who follows Henry George, this man of wealth who will have nothing to do with money, this famous novelist who thinks that he wasted his time in writing most of his novels, this rigid moralist, one of whose books at least, the *Kreutzer Sonata*, was placed under the ban of the American Post Office. That same dramatic instinct which made him a great novelist, which impelled Sir Henry Irving to rank his two plays among the best of the past century, and which, as we have seen, has so often led him to find lessons in the active world around him—this same instinct has made of this least theatrical and most self-forgetful of men the dramatic pre-figurement in his own person of a reunited race, set free by love from the shackles of caste and violence. As it was with the prophets of old, so with him, there was a deeper significance in his life, in the tragedy of himself, than in the burden of his spoken message. He is the protagonist today of the drama of the human soul. A stage which can put forward such a protagonist has no reason for despair."

After this sunburst of epigrams, we feel sure that Mr. Crosby himself has missed his vocation. He should write a play.

MARY MACREYNOLDS.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

TO FRIENDS OF WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

Subscription postal cards, each good for a year's subscription to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, are sold to all applicants at rate of 50 cents per card; cards good for a six months subscription, 25 cents. Remit cash with order to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d street, New York.

MR. CHARLES DOBBS ASSOCI-
ATES HIMSELF WITH
WILSHIRE'S.

I have pleasure in announcing that Mr. Charles Dobbs, who has long been connected with the editorial management of the *Louisville Times*, has consented to associate himself with me in the work of editing *Wilshire's Magazine*.

Mr. Dobbs has been recognized as a distinct force among the editorial writers of the newspaper press of the United States, and he is widely known among Socialists by reason of his frequent contributions to the party press.

He is a member of the National Committeemen of the Socialist Party from the State of Kentucky, but it is quite possible that his residence in New York will compel him to resign this important position. I am sure our readers will soon appreciate the advantage that Wilshire's will be receiving from the hand of Mr. Dobbs.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

Please extend my subscription to the year ending Dec. 31, 1904.

I enjoy the magazine more and more and rejoice in and congratulate you upon its brilliant and increasing success.

Wishing you all a prosperous and Happy New Year, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

E. V. DEBS.

Albuquerque, N. Mex., Jan. 10, '04.

I consider Wilshire's the most effective publication of the Socialist cause, and in recommending it to my friends I always feel that I am giving them "the best there is in the shop."

W. P. METCALF.

Pontiac, Ill., Dec. 17th, 1903.

I am this moment in receipt of the beautiful Fountain Pen you sent me, and want to say it is just what I wanted. Besides its usefulness, I shall always think a great deal of it for its associations with you and your great magazine, which I only wish came weekly instead of monthly. I find considerable interest in Socialism here, my newly adopted home. I will certainly increase your subscription list here materially, and shall take great pleasure in doing it.

GEO. HAYWOOD.

Hartford City, Ind., Jan. 1904.

Dear Mr. Wilshire:

The reading of your magazine, and especially the editorials, has afforded me great satisfaction, because of the soundness of their philosophy, and the clearness with which your views are presented. But there seems to be one point in our political economy that you, in common with nearly all the writers on our commercial affairs, seem to have overlooked. The fact, to the writer, appears to be that foreign trade can in no way relieve a condition of 'over-production, because so-called

over-production is over-production only because of the inability of the producers to purchase with their wages as much as they have produced, less the amount that capitalists and non-producers take and consume.

Now, if we export a billion dollars worth of goods, we must receive back not only a billion dollars in foreign products, but enough more that can amount to pay the costs of freight, and a profit on the transaction, else the trade cannot continue. Hence, if trade does continue, there must continue to be more values, estimated by the selling price here, than was shipped abroad, hence, as these shipments in no way increase the purchasing power of the people (which, as human necessities and desires will always equal the ability to supply them; that limit is their purchasing power), hence, foreign commerce will increase by the amount of profits on commerce the amount of goods to be sold in this country. I am unable to see how the export of our products, except to pay dividends on foreign investments in this country (in which case nothing would be returned but paper receipts), can possibly operate to lessen the evils of over-production on the whole, though it may give us for our money some things which we prefer to American products. It cannot increase our purchasing power in relation to the amount of goods to be sold in this country. The balance of trade in our favor can never be greater than result from: 1st, dividends on foreign investments in this country; and, 2nd, the amount expended by Americans in foreign lands; and, 3rd, the cost of foreign husbands for American girls. All of these, of course, are paid for by American products, for which we receive back no imports. And they make up the sum total of the balance of trade in our favor; less, of course, the decrease by the amount of foreign investments withdrawn from this country, if any.

D. S. PRENTICE.

All above is well taken, but I have already stated the same thing myself in this magazine repeatedly. It does no harm to repeat a good lesson, however.—W.

San Jose, Cal., Jan. 7, 1904.

I write to let you know that reading a borrowed copy of your good magazine has made me a Socialist and also given me an object in life.

I am a solicitor and travel to appoint agents for a big Eastern house, and as I have to spend from one week to one month in each town, I think I can help our cause by getting subscriptions for your magazine and talking on the street in the evening to the wage slaves who have no other time to listen or take part in a meeting.

Please send me your terms to agents by return mail and I will do all I can to increase the circulation of your magazine and other Socialist papers.

GEO. L. DONOVAN.

Brownsville, Pa., Dec. 20, 1903.

Our magazine contains more logic to the square inch than anything else that comes from Canada, or from any other country for that matter. And, by the way, our friend Rockefeller is squeezing our other friend, Morgan, pretty hard. It won't be but a short time until there will be only one trust left; And, with you, I will say: Let the Nation Own It.

H. V. KAPPEL.

WILSHIRE'S LEAFLETS.

We have had printed the following series of leaflets, which will be found invaluable for propaganda purposes:

1. Why Workingmen Should be Socialists, 50 cents per 100.
2. The Significance of the Trust, 75c. per 100.
3. The Wilshire-Seligman Debate, \$1.00 per 100.
4. Why Save Men's Souls, 50c. per 100.
5. The Story of the Pelican, illustrated, 75c. per 100.
6. A. B. C. of Socialism, by H. P. Moyer, 75c. per 100.
7. Platform of the Socialist Party, 20c. per 100.

Order by number always. Leaflets are sent post paid at prices quoted.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE,
125 East 23rd St., New York.

Why Workingmen Should be Socialists has become a classic among Socialist pamphlets. It was written twelve years ago, and millions of copies have been published and distributed all over the country.

The Chinaman and the Pelican is a most attractive proposition in the way of a Socialist pamphlet. It is a story which carries its own lesson, without the necessity of having a moral tacked on to it. It is fetchingly illustrated with clever pen-and-ink sketches by a well-known New York artist. You can be sure that the man into whose hands you put it will read it.

The Wilshire-Seligman Debate is undoubtedly the most important debate of this nature that has been published. Debates between Socialists and Single Taxers, and between Socialists and Anarchists are frequent, and reports of some of them have been widely circulated, though neither Single Tax nor Anarchy is a formidable opponent. The Wilshire-Seligman Debate, however, represents the general opposition between the capitalistic school of political economy and the socialist school, and is, therefore, of more general interest and value.

The Significance of the Trust is a concise statement of Wilshire's exposition of the working out of the Marxian theory as applied to present day industrial developments. It is "Wilshire's theory" in a nutshell. It has been translated into half a dozen different languages, and

much discussed by eminent European economists.

The A. B. C. of Socialism, by H. P. Moyer, was published in this series by special request. It is just the thing to give to people who don't know anything about Socialism but want to learn.

Minneapolis, Minn., Jan. 15th, 1904.

Permit me to say that you have the most progressive Socialist magazine in this country.

CICERO C. TALBOTT.

Nat'l Committeeman of Minnesota.

Philadelphia, Dec. 11, 1903.

It is with much pleasure that I acknowledge receipt of the handsome premium, the Laughlin fountain pen, you sent me.

I never once thought that I was entitled to a premium since you made such a concession to me in the price of the Magazine, and you may be sure that I esteem the great favor you have conferred on me in making me the recipient of this valuable premium.

I am going to answer your slogan, "Let the Nation own the Trust," with mine, "Let the people own the world," and may Wilshire's Magazine ever be in front ranks of Socialism to batter down the obstacles to the Co-operative Commonwealth, and I hope to be able to send in many more subscriptions to keep it there.

SAMUEL G. COATES.

Breckenridge, Tex., Dec. 29, '03.

I think your magazine is the best in the U. S. I would not do without it at all. Success to you in your efforts to educate the people.

C. E. MAXWELL.

Walker, Ariz., Jan. 1st, 1904.

I am a new subscriber to your magazine and like it very much. Holding advanced ideas, it is what I want in order to keep in touch with the outside world.

E. H. ROSE.

Green, Kan., Jan. 5, 1904.

Your magazine is such an excellent production that I wish I had time to show it to everyone and solicit subscriptions. You

present the correct idea in economics in a proper manner, without being offensively aggressive.

W. E. DAVIES.

RENEW EARLY BUT NOT TWICE.

If subscribers will kindly notice the date upon their wrappers they will be able to determine when their subscription expires.

If the date does not correspond with what they think is right they will confer a favor by notifying us at once of the discrepancy.

As soon as a renewal is received the date is changed to correspond. It sometimes happens that more than one notice of expiration is received by a subscriber and notices are sometimes received after the renewal has been sent in. This occurs because the notices of renewals are made up a month ahead of time, and if the money or card is received meanwhile there is no method of preventing the notice going out anyway.

Renewals should be made promptly, as otherwise the name is dropped from the list. It not only involves trouble on our part restoring it again, but the subscriber also runs the risk of losing a number and breaking up his file. Quite a number failed to renew in time to get the last November issue, and as the issue is completely exhausted their negligence has lost them the number irredeemably.

We are always glad to fill orders for back numbers when we have them in stock, but we cannot always guarantee that we will have them.

WISHIRE'S

MARCH

THE CANDIDACY OF
W. R. HEARST
WHEN WILL SOCIALISM
COME? (A Debate.)

"THE TRAMP" *By* Jack London

6 6 6

EDITORIAL REVIEW

DEATH OF SENATOR HANNA—
THE BALTIMORE FIRE—ELIHU
ROOT AND THE PRESIDENT—THE
RIGHT TO WORK—THE RUSSO-
JAPANESE WAR—MR. BRYAN'S
"MORAL ISSUE"—PRIVATE GRAFT
vs. GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP—
SHEARING WALL STREET LAMBS
ETC., ETC.

125 East 23d Street. New York.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

March, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL REVIEW	113
THE HEARST CANDIDACY (Illustrated).....Charles Dobbs	122
WANTED: MORE BODIES FOR WILSHIRE.....	127
A BRIDGE NOT OF BEAUTY (Illustrated)	129
THE VOYAGER (Poem)	132
SOCIALISM INEVITABLE: WHAT MARX MEANT (A Debate).....	133
MEANING OF THE COLORADO STRIKE.....Ida Crouch-Hazlett	139
THE TRAMP.....	142
MACHINERY ON THE FARM (Illustrated).....A. M. Simons	145
WILSHIRE DEFIES A GODDESS (Illustrated).....	148
CARTOON AND COMMENT.....	150
BOOK REVIEWS	154
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	157

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is published monthly by Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York, and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at Fifty Cents a year. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.50 (6s.) a year.

Remittances should be made by postal or express orders.

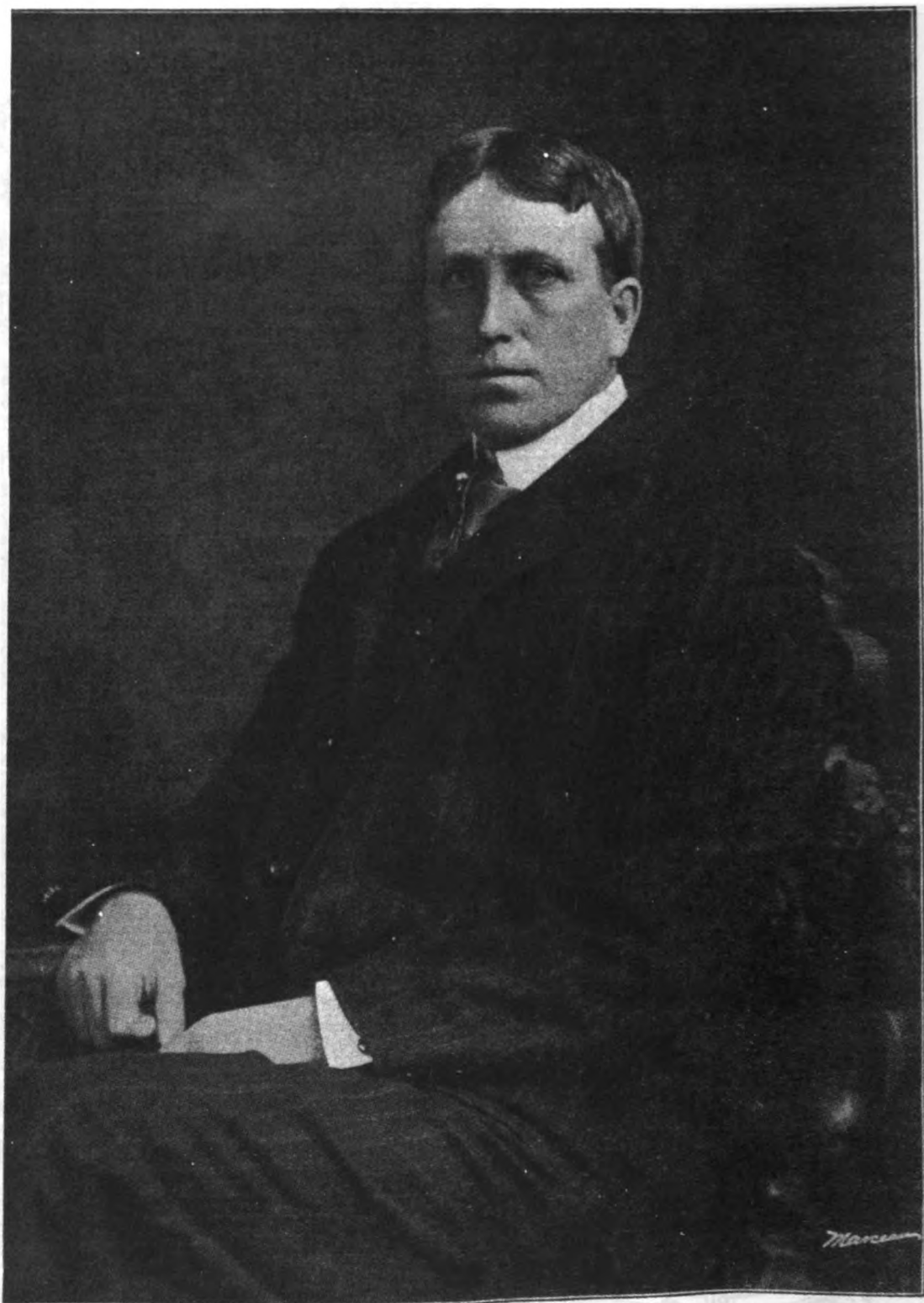
Subscriptions received after the 25th of the month will commence with next month's issue.

When changing address always give the old as well as the new address.

When renewing please state specifically that the remittance is for a renewal. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

[See Page 122

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 3.

TORONTO, MARCH, 1904

Fifty Cents Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

RUSSIA AND JAPAN. HAVE begun the struggle in the Far East for the control of territory likely to afford markets for the surplus products of the two countries. There may be some who

THE WAR IN
THE FAR EAST

marvel at the temerity which impels a little David like Japan to throw down the gage of battle to the Russian Goliath, but an examination of Japan's industrial condition clears up the mystery. For some time ruin has been staring the Japanese capitalists in the face, and the commercial interests have realized the absolute necessity for an extensive new market. War will postpone the industrial crash in the Mikado's realm, and if the Japanese arms are successful in the fight the "Yankees of the Orient" will get a new lease on life. The Japanese, so to speak, were between the Russian devil and the deep sea of industrial ruin, and they decided to take their chances in a fight with the former. If they are licked they will not be in a much worse condition. Some thousands of lives will be sacrificed, but capitalist success is always attained that way, and

the Japanese are sufficiently civilized to find something glorious in the effusion of blood on the altar of capitalism. Russia's economic extremity was not so dire as Japan's, and the Czar was not particularly anxious for war. Expansion, however, toward the East is absolutely necessary for Russia, and her statesmen knew that sooner or later war had to come. All the World Powers are hoping for a slice of the markets that the development of Asia will provide, and as a matter of course all are standing at arms ready to mix in the Russo-Japanese shindy if reasonable opportunity offers. At present England and the United States are content to see if Japan, monkey-like, will pull the chestnuts of trade out of the fire for them. If Russia wins and attempts to cut off the English and American markets, that will naturally "bring on more talk"—and probably fighting.

THE SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE the Union League Club by former Secretary of War, Elihu Root, on the occasion of his return to New York,

bristled with things calculated to make an unsympathetic hearer MORE OR LESS or reader ask more or IMPERTINENT less impertinent questions. For instance, in defending President Roosevelt against the charge that he is "unsafe," he said :

"He is not safe for the men who wish to prosecute selfish schemes for the public's detriment. He is not safe for the men who wish the Government conducted with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good. He is not safe for the men who wish to drag the President of the United States into a corner and make whispered arrangements which they dare not have known by their constituents."

The question that this inspires is that if Roosevelt is regarded as "unsafe" for the reasons set forth, was Roosevelt's predecessor regarded as "safe" because he was willing to conduct the government "with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good?" Of course, Mr. Root would indignantly deny this, but how would he explain that the same men who now fear Roosevelt had the most implicit confidence in Roosevelt's predecessor? Further on in his speech Mr. Root declared :

"There is a better way to protect property, to protect capital, and to protect great enterprises, than by the buying of legislators. There is a better way to deal with labor and keep it from rising into the tumult of unregulated and resistless mobs than by starving it or by buying or corrupting its leaders. There are some things to be thought of besides the speculations of the hour."

The question that here presents itself is whether Mr. Root is willing to stand by this implied admission that the chief end of the government is "to protect capital and to protect great enterprises." Also did he mean, when he spoke of "a better way to protect property," that the eminently respectable Union Leaguers have been in the habit of practising the worse way of "buying legislators" and dealing with labor "by starving it or by buying and corrupting its leaders?" No other inference seems possible, and it is

curious to contemplate the fact that the big majority of the people, to whom Mr. Root refers when he speaks of "labor," are content to have their government conducted by men who regard the people as a mere mob to be placated. In its entirety Mr. Root's speech provided striking evidence to support the Socialist contention that the State is now, as it always has been since the division of society into classes, the instrument of the dominant economic faction.

HANNA AT THE TIME of his death was a man just becoming properly understood. He first became a national figure upon his unexpected break into politics as manager of the first McKinley campaign against Bryan. As the intellectual head of the capitalist element in the country, he was immediately made the scapegoat of all that is bad in the capitalist system. Even a good many level-headed Socialists were carried away by the general outcry and the Davenport dollar-mark coat cartoons. Although Hanna's theory of the gold standard was entirely sound from the Socialist standpoint, while Bryan's was utterly absurd, yet such was the feeling against the established order of things that Hanna was condemned by some Socialists for advocating exactly what Socialists believed in themselves. We are now referring exclusively to Hanna's theory of money. Of course his general theory of the rightfulness and permanence of the division of society into two parts—one a capitalist class who shall own the Earth, and one a working class who shall be the servants of those owners—is directly opposed to the Socialist theory which looks to the abolition of all classes. Hanna was merely a plain business man, who knew a few elementary rules about the

conduct of business under our competitive system, and he went into politics in order to put these rules into effect. He was a good employer as employers go, and he thought that if all employers could be as just and considerate as he was himself that all would be well, especially so if we kept the Republican Party in power. His Civic Federation, while Utopian from the standpoint of the Socialist, who knows that no possible plan can keep the existing competitive system from breaking down of its own weight, is anything but chimerical from the capitalist point of view, which considers things as they are as permanent. If there were more employers as sensible as Hanna, and fewer as crazy as the Baers and Parrys, the transition from competition to co-operation would undoubtedly be a much gentler process. Hanna was honest in his dealings with men and while he was mistaken in his general theory of the permanence of the existing system of society, yet on the whole we regard his departure from the life of the nation as a distinct loss. He was first of all a business man and as such his policy in life required a certain straight-forward dealing with men that is not found very often with his brethren in Congress, who are mostly of the shifty, lawyer-politician type. The Republican party lost its best pillar in the death of Marcus Hanna.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SOME two hundred millions' worth of property in the great fire in Baltimore will be an immense stimulus to our flagging industries. It will result in a demand for millions of dollars' worth of brick, iron and lumber to rebuild the city, and the demand for these goods will set in motion the

THE BALTIMORE
FIRE AND
EFFECT

investment of capital in machinery built to supply such goods, upon the false theory that the demand made by the fire will keep up for ever. Next to a war there is nothing that so stimulates industry as a big fire. Destruction of existing capital to make room for new capital is what the existing competitive system needs to keep it alive. We have been counting on a great unemployment problem coming on before the next election which would jeopardize the re-election of Roosevelt, but if fire destroys a few more cities and the Russian-Japanese war burns up enough powder and takes away enough men from industrial pursuits, then we may have a postponement of the great industrial cataclysm for, say, sixty days.

AS RAILROAD MAGNATES GO,

Mr. James J. Hill, of the Great Northern Railroad, is about as straight-forward and honest as they make them, and there is no reason why he should not be credited with entire honesty when he makes the following declaration:

MR. HILL'S
HONEST
OPINION

I can see why a canal either via the Panama or Nicaragua route might help the man who has a taste for bananas, because it would probably cheapen bananas in this section of the country, and perhaps other fruits as well. At the same time, as a business proposition, I can't see why it is good sense to build the ditch simply to help out the banana trade.

I do not think the canal will have a very important effect on this section. We have excellent transportation facilities at present, as good probably as any in the world.

What we really want, and what is more important to us than canals, is new markets for our home products, our wheat and oats and rye and barley and our agricultural produce. Within a few years we will be cut off from our neighbor on the north, who is taking a considerable amount of our agricultural surplus. England's preferential tariff policy will add ten cents to every bushel of wheat.

It seems to me that the important thing just now is to find new markets rather than to build canals to help the transportation of bananas. The Chamberlain policy will cost the Northwest \$18,000,000 a year.

The striking thing about all this is the neatness with which Mr. Hill's ideas of governmental policy fit in with his material interests as a railroad man. The canal will provide competition for the transcontinental railroads and this will probably mean a reduction in rates. As Mr. Hill is one of those who believe that the proper basis for rates is "all the traffic will bear," the Isthmian canal naturally strikes him as pure folly, if not a downright crime. In his anti-canal attitude Mr. Hill is only taking the position that practically everyone takes on public questions—that is, they line up according to their real or fancied material interests, the formula being "what is good for me is good for the country." This formula provides opportunity for a wide difference of opinion and difference of opinion is what makes politics as well as horse-racing.

MR. BRYAN IN HIS SPEECH on "The Moral Issue," delivered on the occasion of his recent return to Lincoln, Neb., from Europe, served notice on the country that he proposes this year to repeat his famous Casabianca act, that he will not abandon the burning deck of the Silver Question or recede from his demand that the Kansas City platform be reaffirmed. While remaining loyal to his queer fiscal ideas, Mr. Bryan seems to be gradually losing faith in the efficacy of any statute or policy to relieve hard political and economic conditions. Just now he is saying that "there is only one remedy—an appeal to the moral sense of the country and an awakening of the public conscience." From this it seems reasonable to infer that Mr. Bryan's idea of a future campaign would be a sort of "Glory-be" Methodist revival on a

national scale. The great difficulty, however, in the way of this "awakening the public conscience" is the fact that the public conscience has never been remarkable for unanimity of verdict, and here is no assurance that when it is aroused it will be in favor of the particular kind of doctrine which Mr. Bryan advocates. On the contrary, it is highly probable that if a poll were made of the presumably best exponents of right thinking a very considerable majority would be against Bryan's ideas of what constitutes right. As in the case of Mr. Mr. Jas. J. Hill, referred to elsewhere, people's consciences as a rule are going to be enthusiastically in favor of what puts money in these same people's pockets.

ON NO SUBJECT has there been delivered quite so much flap-doodle as on the so-called "right-to-work." The last deliverance on the subject to which any one paid attention, was that of Jas. M. Beck, ex-Assistant Attorney General of the United States, at the annual dinner of the Holland Society in New York. Mr. Beck in the course of his speech got rid of this burden on his mind:

If I do not misread history, the prosperity of the Dutch people was founded upon a principle which is vitally essential to the progress and happiness of any people, and that is the inalienable right of every man to work for whom he pleases and at what wage he pleases, and to enjoy freely the fruit of his toil. This principle is in some need of vindication in this country and at this hour. Man was brought into the world to work. It is not only his burden, it is his right, and any form of social tyranny which contravenes this right is infinitely mischievous. In vain are written constitutions, with their paper guarantee of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, if the right of the humblest citizen to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow is thus denied.

In the above Mr. Beck reveals the same queer mental twist that characterizes all of those speakers, who, like

himself, are trust attorneys, or in some other way are moved to "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow fawning." There is no record that any of these twisted reasoners have answered the question that why, if it is "the inalienable right of every man to work for whom he pleases and at what wage he pleases," that the constantly increasing army of unemployed is forced to go hungry for the lack of opportunity to exercise this "inalienable right." As Mr. Beck, and those like him, interpret the doctrine of the "inalienable right to work," the theory is sheer nonsense and is simply a perversion of the theoretically admitted right of every man to life, which, of course, he cannot enjoy without work. Mr. Beck, and those of his kind, seem to be very indignant when they talk about somebody being denied the right to work, but of course all their clamor is simply due to the fact that they want unrestricted competition in the labor market. They don't want any labor organization trying to control the labor market because that means Mr. Beck or his employers will have to pay higher wages, whereas if the power of the labor unions is crushed, the capitalists can get labor on their own terms and conditions. That is the whole milk in the coconut.

EX-CONGRESSMAN LOUD, of California, the agent of the Express Companies in Congress, and well known for his activity against any improvement of the postal service, has been appointed by President Roosevelt American delegate to the World's Postal Congress which convenes in Rome the 21st of this month. Probably no appointment has ever shown Roosevelt in a clearer light as a miserable poseur than this. Loud has never hesitated to declare that he

was bitterly opposed to any expansion of the functions of the Post Office, as he considered that all such moves were inimical to capital invested in the Express Companies, and that, anyway, he was on principle opposed to the government doing anything that could be done by private enterprise. If there is one outspoken enemy of progress in our postal service it is Loud, and it was largely on account of his attitude in this matter, together with his suspiciously close connection with the Southern Pacific Railway and the Express Companies, that roused the people of California to defeat him as a Republican in a district heavily Republican by returning a Democrat. But the President has seen that Loud shall not be out of a job. Loud gets \$7,500 for misrepresenting us at the congress at Rome. The last time an appropriation was made for this purpose Congress appropriated only \$5,000, and that was to cover expenses of two delegates. Loud gets the whole \$7,500, there being but one delegate. Probably Congress decided that there were no two men in the United States who could misrepresent the people as well as Loud can do it alone. If we wished to send a sample man to make Europe think we are a nation of fools and corrupt scoundrels, then Roosevelt picked out the right man when he appointed Loud. The Postal Congress League, an organization made up of the principal publishers and business men of the United States, and of which Col. Pope, of the Pope Manufacturing Co., is president, met in New York last month and protested to Roosevelt regarding the appointment of Loud. It is too ridiculous to send to Europe to represent us on postal matters one who wishes the Post Office abolished and its functions performed by the private Express Companies. The President might as well

ACTS LOUD
AS WORDS

have appointed Senator Platt, President of the American Express Co., as delegate.

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING that a capitalist does not invest his savings in a business enterprise unless he considers the chance of making a profit exceedingly good. When we hear of

WHY THE LAMBS
GO TO THE
SHEARERS

great losses on the stock exchange we may be sure that the losers, when they went into the enterprises, thought they were good and fairly safe. To invest money in an *absolutely* safe security means that the return is so small that your capital must be very large for the income to be of much moment to you. Hence it is that the small investors to whom a good return is very important are attracted by the bait of a high interest, and gulp down all sorts of wildcat stocks that promise big dividends. We had a good instance of this in the rush for the public to buy Steel Trust common stock because it was paying 4 per cent. on par, making it a 10 per cent. investment buying at 40. When the demand in steel fell off and diminishing profits compelled the passing of the dividend, the same small fry that only a few months ago had been tumbling over themselves to buy at forty became panic stricken and tumbled the other way just as fast, if not faster, to sell out at twelve. However, the report of the English Board of Trade shows that during the year 1902 no less than 1,629 companies became insolvent, involving a total loss to the vendors, public subscribers and creditors, of £64,270,454 (\$321,352,270). For the last ten years the sum so lost is appalling, reaching £362,553,699 (\$1,812,768,495). So the American investor is not the only man who puts his money into losing ventures. The story we hear in New York and

London is repeated in the bourse of every capital in Europe. The reason at the bottom of it all is simply that the opportunities to the small investor for safe and profitable investment are rapidly closing, and he is forced to either take great risks or to invest in securities where the dividends are so small that the inducement to save has vanished. The big investor also finds a closing market, but he does not "save" to get dividends. He saves because he has nothing else to do with his surplus income. He spends all he can, but he has an irreducible surplus which he must "save" notwithstanding all his extravagance.

ONE OF THE STOCK ARGUMENTS

against government ownership is that it means the death of competition and generally the destruction of all incentive for men to cut each other's throats. From time to time there have been agitations started for the government to build its own ships and make its armor plate but always this parrot cry of the benefit of competition has killed off the movement, although it has been pretty well known that it is the armor plate mill people who defeat government ownership, rather than fear that the public will lose the benefits of competition. In this connection the testimony given by Mr. Charles Schwab in the Ship Building Swindle is of interest. In testifying about armor plate contracts he said that the Bethlehem and Carnegie Companies did practically all that business for the Government. It was four or five years ago that the Government fixed what was known as the "maximum price," above which the companies were not to charge. When the

PRIVATE GRAFT
VS. PUBLIC
OWNERSHIP

authorities wanted armor the two concerns put in proposals.

Q.—Competing proposals? A.—Not exactly. It was understood that all the Government armor plate was to be divided equally.

Q.—From whom did you understand that? A.—From the Secretary of the Navy.

Q.—Which Secretary? A.—From Secretary Herbert, and also Secretary Whitney, when he was there.

Asked if it was true that the Government, despite the understanding, insisted upon "bids" being submitted, Mr. Schwab replied:

"I know that the Government asked the Carnegie and Bethlehem people to build these two plants. The Government understood that only the Government would be a customer of the plants, and so the work was to be divided.

Q.—Regardless of price? A.—The price was to be settled.

Q.—Don't you know that the Government expected these firms to compete? A.—I know that the Government did not.

Q.—In short, when the Government asked them to submit proposals for armor plate it expected them to get together and bid the maximum price? A.—That is so. At least it was so when I had direct connection with the matter, and I assume it is so still.

This testimony is a complete give away of the theory that private ownership makes for cheapness by reason of the competition between opposition plants. The two plants simply combine, hold up Uncle Sam by demanding all the traffic will bear, and then divide the swag equally between them. When thieves fall out honest men take their innings—sometimes. In this case the thieves have fallen out, but that Uncle Sam will profit thereby is doubtful. Uncle Sam is not any too honest himself, anyway, when Panamas lie around loose. Schwab's testimony is such an eye opener to the Roosevelt administration that Government ownership of the armor plate plants should be a leading plank in their platform, but so far we do not hear a single peep for it. The following from the

Los Angeles Express, a good Republican paper, is suggestive:

In view of disclosures recently made regarding the methods of steel magnates, the government no longer has excuse for fostering individual initiative in the industry; the results have shown a growth of individual rascality and artistic swindling. The time certainly has arrived for government ownership of armor and gun plants, not only as a matter of dollars and cents, but as a means for conserving morality. The individual as a steel magnate has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

There is too much graft in letting private companies make plate for an exorbitant sum, and then letting the politicians shake them down for a heavy campaign contribution for the G.O.P., for us to think that government ownership will ever be a popular cry with "de gang."

SOME MONTHS AGO THE HON.

H. H. ASQUITH, who was a member of the Rosebery Liberal Cabinet in England, made a speech in which he attributed the poverty of the working class largely to drunkenness. It is not often now-a-days that politicians make such an egregious error. The statistics upon the causes of poverty are too plentiful to permit any delusions on this score. Drink does cause a small percentage of poverty unquestionably, something less than 10%, but the main cause of poverty arises from too low wages, and wages are too low owing to the competitive wage system. This *faux pas* of Asquith's gave Hyndman, the great English Socialist, a fine opening and he was not slow in taking advantage of it. Asquith is a lawyer and as such is open to the taking of a fee for defending a case. Mr. Hyndman posted all over England an offer to Mr. Asquith of a hundred guinea fee if he would prove the truth of his statement. Asquith is reported as being very angry at

WHY WE
GET DRUNK

Hyndman's calling him to time in such a pointed manner—so very angry, in fact, that he refuses to take Hyndman's fee. Too bad that anger causes a man to lose wages, it is almost as bad as whiskey. But even if drink were to blame for poverty, the conditions that lead to a man becoming a slave to drink are inherent in the existing competitive system. Private property and competition make this Earth a Hell, and whiskey is the only key for many into heaven. It's a very false heaven, quite true, but even a false heaven may be better than a real hell. As we have asked before, who is the man, were he in Hell, would not prefer being drunk to sober? Some very pious people might think they would not get drunk if they were in hell, but pious people have no right to consider what they might do in an impossible contingency. When anæsthetics first came into vogue pious people objected to their use, particularly to their use by women in labor, inasmuch as it was an unfair attempt at escaping pain imposed by the law of God. However, if God allows pain, He also allows whiskey and chloroform, and very probably when pain is abolished the drugs which deaden pain will go with it. In the meanwhile, however, we must reluctantly confess that the hell we have made on Earth will drive many to drink as long as we continue the hell. The more we investigate man's acts the more conclusive is the proof that his actions are more or less automatic and dependent upon his environment. We would not blame a man for laughing at the most solemn occasion if his feet were being tickled by a feather. There are many cases of men acting with apparent freedom of volition, when in reality their action is no more voluntary than that of a man who laughs when his feet are tickled.

A CORRESPONDENT SENDS us, with the request that we answer it, an address delivered recently before the American Banker's Association by Mr. Willis S. Paine, President of the Consolidated National Bank of New York. SOCIALISM AND PATRIOTISM The particular part of Mr. Paine's address which we are requested to notice is this declaration: "Socialism is the coming danger. I predict it will be to a material degree the 'ism' of the future. If the prediction is well founded, the present 'ism' among those who listen to my words should be patriotism." Since Mr. Hanna a year or so ago set the fashion, a large number of representative capitalists have endeavored to get a reputation as prophets by calling attention to the perfectly obvious fact that Socialism is a growing movement that must be reckoned with. It is usual, too, to sound with the warning note a bugle call to all simon-pure patriots admonishing them (the simon-pure patriots) to rally round the flag of the existing order of things. One's first thought when reading capitalistic appeals to love of country is to recall Dr. Johnson's definition of patriotism as "the last resort of a scoundrel," but it would be harsh and unjust to charge that the alarm sounders and bugle tooters were scoundrels. As a matter of fact, Banker Paine probably believes with entire honesty that the highest duty of true patriotism is to uphold the existing order, rather than to fight for the larger liberty, comfort and happiness which Socialism promises. The trouble, however, with Banker Paine is that he falls into the common error of assuming that his own immediate material interests and the interests of his class are the best interests of the country. That picturesque patriot and

philosopher, Mr. D. M. Parry, says, "patriotism is enlightened self interests." That's good, but the trouble is that Mr. Parry and Banker Paine need enlightenment before they can properly decide what their "enlightened self-interest" is. Just now they see in Socialism a menace to their dividends and profits and as dividends and profits are, in their opinion, the only things worth striving for in this world, they think it is patriotic to stand for the profit system. As they become enlightened, however, they will see that Socialism will give them more of the things really worth having than capitalism. Then they may agree with the really patriotic Dr. Lyman Abbott who, in predicting the inevitability of Socialism, told the Yale students, in effect, that no real patriot could afford to oppose the coming transformation in the economic structure of Society.

WHILE MR. BRYAN IS DENY-

ING the Trust is a natural evolution of industry, the Republicans are trying to adapt themselves as best they can to the new theory by various expedients. If the Trust is here to stay, then we must try to make things comfortable for society and its new bed-fellow. Hence it is that Republican newspapers are logically bound to become more socialistic in their utterances than those of the Bryan type, who would murder their guest rather than prepare a chamber for him. This from the Los Angeles *Evening Express* (Republican) is significant when we consider its source :

CHICAGO'S "DEATH TRUST."

Chicago is now grappling with a peculiar phase of that old dispute regarding public utility and individual initiative. City authorities and the medical profession are considering the establishment of a municipal laboratory for the

preparation of diphtheria anti-toxin, because the manufacturers of that important product recently reached an "understanding" and advanced the price 100 per cent. For this act the combination of biological pharmacists has been given the expressive title, "death trust," and its members are threatened with a practical boycott by physicians.

Most of this trouble arises from the commercialism of professional skill. The preparation of serums for the new therapy involves high technical knowledge, a considerable outlay for laboratory facilities, and, above all, large expenditure for that peculiar superintendence and vigilance which are necessary to safeguard substances which may be toxic. After the development of the discovery of diphtheria serum by Behring, Aronson, Roux and others, private laboratories for its production were rapidly established in this country, and several municipalities also entered upon its production. As a consequence the business has experienced that familiar American phenomenon, over-production with reduced prices, for which the usual American remedy of a combine soon was forthcoming.

In this case the consumer with diphtheria germs in his system is made to suffer in a most disagreeable and dangerous fashion. It is proposed to fight the "death trusts" by invoking the principle of government or municipal ownership. *The idea certainly is attractive, and if Chicago goes ahead on the lines suggested a useful precedent will be established for dealing with all trusts; when the price does not suit the consumer the aldermen can be called in to start a rival factory.*

There is every reason to believe that Municipal Socialism will soon be advocated by many who would feel insulted if you called them Socialists. And rightly, for Socialism means the abolition of the competitive wage system. Municipal Socialism is a step in that direction, but so small a one that few see it.

SOME MEN WOULD NOT LIKE

to be told that they have no more sense than a cow, and some cows would be insulted if they were told they had no more sense than this cow in Oklahoma :

THE CONSERVATIVE COW The force of habit was very forcibly illustrated by an incident recently at our pumping station of the water-works. A tank standing just outside the building is kept full of water for the accommodation of passersby and the neighborhood stock. A cow accustomed to drink at this tank came for her morning drink. The valley was covered with water

and stood within two or three inches of the top of the tank, but the cow went over the waste of waters to the tank. Twice she stuck in the mud and appeared to be in danger of drowning but by perseverance she finally reached the objective point. After drinking long and copiously she turned about and slowly made her way to land, apparently satisfied that she had done the only available thing to find water.—Enid (O.T.) Eagle.

But while we smile at the fool cow who thought she could not drink except out of the tank, although the whole country was flooded with water, we Americans are just as big fools. Here is our country flooded with wealth, over-production everywhere, and we have been so accustomed to drinking out of a certain trough

that we never think of being able to drink out of the river of life. When the old trough is empty we think we must die although the trough floats in a sea of fresh water. How would you teach that Oklahoma cow to drink out of a new tank? How would you teach the American voting cattle to drink out of the river of Socialism when their wage trough of capitalism runs dry? WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is trying to do some teaching, but when our voters have no more sense than an Oklahoma cow it's hard pulling.

THE HEARST CANDIDACY

CHARLES DOBBS

THOUGH Socialists, who keep a sharp eye on all political and industrial developments, have been aware of it for a year or more past, the fact that William Randolph Hearst is an active candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency did not become generally known until the recent meeting of the Democratic National Committee in Washington. At this meeting it developed that Mr. Hearst had not only built up a shouting organization, but that he had behind him also a part of the Democratic party machinery. This wing of the National Committee, with a contingent of the Hearst shouters in the background, made a fight for Chicago as the place for holding the National Convention. This sudden uncovering of the Hearst batteries threw Senator Gorman into something of a panic and to

have St. Louis selected over Chicago as the convention city called forth all the Maryland man's resourcefulness. That Gorman was responsible for the defeat of Chicago and the consequent disarrangement of the Hearst plans was admitted with expressions of resentment by the Hearst boomers in Washington. And if further evidence of Hearst's soreness is needed the persistent hostility of the Hearst newspapers toward the Maryland man since the committee meeting provides it in abundance. No opportunity for discrediting Gorman is overlooked by Hearst, and on the question of ratifying the Panama Canal treaty the Hearst papers have boldly attacked the anti-ratification attitude taken by the Maryland senator.

RADICALS VS. CONSERVATIVES.

The Hearst-Gorman hostility, however, is based on something deeper and

more vital than their rival personal ambitions. Gorman undeniably is the representative of what Bryan accurately describes as "the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party." This wing is made up of that element which would like to displace the Republican party as the special guardian of the "business interests of the country." This element bolted Bryan in 1896 and in 1900 used the knife with the same effectiveness, if less clamor, than in 1896. Lately they have apparently reasoned that Bryan, having led the party twice "through a slaughter house to an open grave" would step down and out in his effort to make a winning fight on the "dollar vs. man" issue. Acting on this assumption, they started to work quietly to re-organize the party. Cleveland was dragged from his tomb at Princeton, Watterson began to see visions of a "revived" and "respectable" Democracy, and all along the line the Bourbons showed signs of activity, and with placid smiles came forth to resume the leadership which a rebellious and unreasoning following had refused to heed during two campaigns.

THE BOURBON PROGRAMME.

"Chastened by defeat, the party will now listen to us," reflected the Bourbons. So they went ahead planning for the future, "playing politics" according to the old rules of the game. The hoary old issues of tariff reform and "a government

economically administered" were dug up from the grave and the "taxpayer" was once more assured that he was the flower of civilization, the hope of the republic and the one altogether lovely. Gorman, thanks to the disfranchisement of the Maryland blacks, came back to Washington, and on account of his reputation as a master strategist in "practical politics" was chosen to be the Democratic leader of the Senate. Somehow or other, however, the old fox seemed to have lost his cunning, for at the very first opportunity he got squarely in the way and tried to butt destiny off the track. He lined up against the President's Panama policy, but the Democratic house leader, John Sharp Williams, declined to stand with him, and protests against any policy likely to delay the digging of the canal began to pour in from the South.



SENATOR ARTHUR PUE GORMAN

GORMAN'S SERIOUS BLUNDER.

It was a serious blunder for Gorman, and his mistake gave the radicals renewed courage. They seemed to have been quietly watching to see if the conservative element, personified in Gorman, could provide a winning issue, and when he failed on the Panama question they found their voices. Now they are as defiant and arrogant as ever. Bryan has served notice that the spirit of 1896 must be reckoned with at St. Louis in July and Hearst is more than likely to be the figure around which the Bryan following

will rally. It must not be inferred, however, that the failure of Gorman's leadership on the canal issue has completely taken the heart out of the conservative Democrats. There is unquestionably a feeling of intense irritation among the Democratic members of the Senate and House at Washington over Bryan's dictatorial attitude, and they will not give up the fight against the Bryan spirit until they are compelled to. What would happen in the event they should nominate a conservative man or a conservative platform it is not necessary here to discuss. As a general proposition, however, it may be laid down that for a custodian and guardian of the "business interests" the capitalists are very well satisfied with the Republican party, and they are not likely to make a change, however much they may fear the freakishness of the Rough Rider in the White House.



JUDGE ALTON B. PARKER

PROGRESS OF HEARST BOOM.

Prior to the Democratic National Committee meeting the Hearst campaign had been something of a still hunt. He had modestly admitted in all his papers that he would make an ideal Democratic candidate and that "the great common people," with him as President, could go to sleep with no fear of the "criminal trusts," but few of the politicians took him seriously. All this while, however, he had his agents at work organizing

Hearst clubs, employing Hearst shouters and showing all the Democratic politicians, who would listen, the advantages of having a candidate who not only had the "bar" for campaign expenses, but the line of policies to attract the labor vote. Since the committee meeting the Hearst papers have daily printed columns showing the growth of the Hearst sentiment and matter of great variety designed to help the Hearst boom. Now he is seriously discussed as a man to be reckoned with at St. Louis.

BASIS OF HIS CANDIDACY.

The Hearst candidacy is based on two hypotheses. The first is that there is a great social unrest, incoherent as yet, but ready to manifest itself in a complete overthrow of the capitalist system if necessary. The second is that there is a purchasable vote of sufficient magnitude to constitute

the balance of power.

This social unrest usually finds its expression in demands for measures loosely defined as "socialistic" and is chiefly noticeable among the labor element. To become the mouthpiece of this discontented element has been the persistent purpose of the Hearst syndicate of papers. Just how clearly Mr. Hearst himself perceives the cause of discontent it is difficult to say, but among his editorial writers there are unquestionably men who can and do clearly at times

reveal the sore spot with a twist of their pens. They do it so cleverly that none can deny the truth of the things they reveal, but it is in the indictment of capitalism that their cleverness ends. They use the Socialist arguments to establish the Socialist premises, but they always stop short of the inevitable conclusions. It is as if the work of Mr. Hearst's editorial writers was always submitted in advance of publication to Mr. Hearst's political strategists, these strategists seeing to it that everything is twisted to the end of advancing Mr. Hearst's political ambition. An example of this is provided in a striking editorial advocating independent political action by the working class. This editorial first appeared in the *New York Evening Journal* early in January, and was reprinted in the other Hearst papers. The following few paragraphs indicate the tone of the editorial:

We are glad to see that the suggestion that unions of workmen should be a political force, as well as an economic force, seems to arouse the interest and the approval of those working men and leaders who can think.

Could anything be more stupid than general indifference on the part of any great body of men to united political action?

What is the ballot for? Is it not to realize the ideals and the wishes of the voters?

Is there any sense in talking and "resolving" and discussing, as united bodies, and then going and voting as separate individuals?

When anything comes up that ought to be changed in our government, what do the unions do?

They pass resolutions—very fine and eloquent resolutions—saying that such and such a thing ought not to be or such and such a thing ought to be.

But why not vote to make it so?

It was all very well for workmen to pass resolutions, or hand up humble petitions two hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago—when they had no votes.

In those days resolutions, petitions and such things were their only hope. But now, besides passing resolutions as unions, they can vote as unions. Why should they not do it?

Some conservative men will tell you that politics should not be dragged into the labor

unions. Certainly not. Labor union matters should be run as labor union matters.

But that is no reason why labor union men should not be dragged into politics.

They ought to be dragged in, and as union men, working all together.

It is pleasing to see that the abler labor leaders feel the need of united action of a political kind.

Some labor leaders will be found conscientiously opposed to any united action.

But as a general rule the leader who opposes union labor in politics is a man who wants to keep labor union influence for himself, and, if possible, deliver it.

The man of real power and ability in the labor movement will greet the political party warmly. He will feel conscious of his ability to meet all comers in competition. He will feel strong enough to take his share in a national fight, and not limit himself and his field to the small conferences on minor union details.

All this has been said repeatedly and been said better by Socialists, but when the Socialists have said it they have put forward a definite end toward which the working class should go. When the Hearst papers say it the working class is given no suggestion as to the use of its political power except to vote for Mr. Hearst because he is supposed to be "the workingman's friend." An examination of his policies shows nothing calculated to advance the working class interests, or any gleam of a hint that involuntary poverty, under the present methods of wealth production, is an anachronism and a crime. The ordinary reader of a Hearst newspaper, however, does not stop to consider this. This ordinary reader knows that something is radically wrong when poverty exists in the midst of plenty, and he knows in a general way that it is all due to the fact that the wealth producer doesn't get what he should have.

It is a human failing to admire extravagantly the man who puts into definite form what we have felt vaguely, and it is because Hearst has had the

shrewdness to say what a constantly growing number of people are thinking, that he is able in a measure to make of himself the leader of the element which on general principles is for the working-man as against the capitalist. This element doesn't require any definite promises. It will shout itself hoarse for a phrase. In 1896 it went wild with enthusiasm because Bryan melodramatically declared that no effete Eastern plutocrat should press down on the brow of labor a crown of thorns. Bryan didn't know then anything about what's hurting labor and he seemingly knows no more now, but it took millions of money and unlimited bulldozing of workers by employers to keep the radical element from making Bryan president.

MAKING A STATESMAN.

With his observation of the fact that the radical element can be won with a meaningless shibboleth like "Down with the Criminal Trusts," Hearst has also noticed that persistent newspaper puffing and the judicious expenditure of money can work wonders in the matter of hanging a reputation for statesmanship on any old sort of a peg. Every newspaper man knows that public life is full of counterfeits who have been made famous by a paid party press, and as Hearst has helped make other statesmen he may naturally have concluded that having the machinery he might as well make a statesman out of himself. The winning of an exalted office like the presidency is attended by greater difficulties than the work of making a statesman, but Hearst has seen the place bought and provided he can get the nomination there is no reason to doubt he will pour out millions to gratify his ambition. He has shrewd men on his personal staff and they are making a systematic attempt to enlist in their cause by one inducement or another the men of influence in every section of the country.

A SUDDEN CONSERVATISM.

Since it has been admitted that he has a chance for the Democratic nomination, Mr. Hearst has shown a disposition

to be somewhat more guarded in his radicalism and more Delphic in his deliverances. His *Chicago Tribune* interview, given out shortly after the National Committee meeting, reveals this. The chief note, however, of the interview is the declaration that—

The universal tendency of today is toward industrial combination and organization. The great issue of the day, therefore, is the regulation and control of that tendency to organization—in other words, the trust issue.

The Hearst method of "regulation and control" of the trusts is tariff reduction, which is also the remedy of the "plutocratic wing of the Democratic party." In a measure it is also the method of Roosevelt and the tariff revision Republicans. Hence Hearst can not lay claim to the idea as his own, conceding for the moment that it has in it virtue enough to make anyone desire to claim it. In regard to the other methods of "regulation and control" Hearst is at one with Roosevelt, who is doing probably all a capitalist president could do along the line of prosecuting combinations. Being at one with Roosevelt in theory the only thing for Hearst in the event of his nomination, would be to claim he could enforce the laws more effectively than the White House incumbent. The people, however, could hardly be depended on to work up much enthusiasm over whether Roosevelt or Hearst was the more vigorous and capable executive. Upon the proposal that the people control the trusts by owning them, Hearst is now as silent as the grave though his papers have shamelessly coquetted with this issue in the past.

THE ATTITUDE OF TAMMANY.

To the student of practical politics the attitude of Tammany Hall toward Hearst is interesting. No helping hand so far has been held out to him but, of course, in the event of his nomination Tammany would be for him if given satisfactory assurances of participation in the distribution of the spoils of office. As Mr. Hearst is already a Tammany congressman there is no reason to doubt that he

would give the necessary assurances. Leader Murphy of Tammany is amusing himself by declaring that he is for Grover Cleveland and others of the Wig-wam leaders express preferences for other men, Senator McCarren devoting his time to booming Judge Parker for the Democratic nomination. Tammany knows that the Democratic candidate will need New York and need it badly to win, and the Wig-wam leaders are evidently gracefully perching on the fence waiting to jump in which ever direction they see the best chances for themselves.

SOCIALISTS NOT ALARMED.

Even in his most radical moments Mr. Hearst has not been able to make

any appeal to the Socialists, because they have been convinced of his essential cowardice and dishonesty in declining to follow to their logical conclusion the premises he has used in explaining the causes of economic disturbances and political corruption. Of course, his nomination would unquestionably attract to his standard a large number of those who are generally denominated as "socialistic" in their tendencies. This would naturally cut into the Socialist vote, but most of the exponents of collectivism in this country declare that they are not particularly concerned in getting Socialist votes before the men who are voting the ticket know what they are voting for and why.

WANTED: MORE BODIES FOR WILSHIRE

A MAN often wishes he had two or three bodies that he might be at more than one place at the same time. I am sure that with a fellow who thirsts for office and notoriety at any cost—as, of course, all Socialists do by nature—this feeling becomes more pronounced when he has a chance of running for office in two nations at the same time. I would like to contest Yale-Cariboo, and I would like to run again for Congress in California, and nothing would be more fun than standing for parliament in England once more. My reminiscences of my Canadian campaign are most pleasant, but I am mortal. Editing this magazine seems to tie me pretty well to New York, and, therefore, I must forego the pleasures of the chase, the chase for Socialist votes, except I be allowed to chase with editorials for a

net. The foregoing is an introduction to the following letter and my answer thereto:

Greenwood, British Columbia,

Jan. 4th, 1904.

Dear Mr. Wilshire,—

You know the great strides the Socialist Party of B. C. has made in the political arena in the past year. In the recent provincial contest we elected two members to the legislature, and in the ridings of Grand Forks and Greenwood, we came within an ace of electing two more, besides polling a very heavy vote in several other ridings. In forty-two constituencies we had eleven Socialists running, elected two of them, and it is very encouraging to note that only two lost their deposits, and these were in the cities of Vancouver and Victoria. In Greenwood riding the Socialist candidate, Ernest Mills, came within eight votes of winning, being defeated by a combination of the two old parties; while in Grand Forks' riding the Socialist was a close second, the Liberal candidate losing his deposit. Out of a total for the province of 43,000, the Socialist vote was 3,900, or 9 per

cent. This, as you are aware, puts British Columbia ahead of any province or state in North America.

In view of these facts, the Socialist Party of B. C. has decided to nominate candidates for the coming federal elections, wherever in the province there is the slightest hope of winning, and we feel sure that our efforts will be crowned with success. The Socialist Locals in the Constituency of Yale-Cariboo have requested me to write you in their behalf, and ascertain if you would contest this constituency in our interests for the coming Dominion elections. Yale-Cariboo is a very large constituency as it embraces eight provincial ridings, and is 500 miles long by 250 wide, a large part of which can only be reached by stage route. We feel sure that a good vote could be polled in every part of the constituency. We are very anxious to give you the nomination and will do everything possible to elect you, and if you feel that you have time to take hold of this and conduct a personal campaign, we would be pleased to hear from you at as early a date as possible, so that when we hold our convention we will be in a position to know what to do.

Your wide and varied experience and knowledge of the people of the West will stand you in good stead. You and WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE are well known in B. C. and have made scores of votes. I might state that I personally believe that you can win out, and if you do you will have the honor of being the first Socialist representative in the Dominion House of Commons. Hoping to hear from you at an early date, I await your reply.

Yours for the Great Cause,
CHARLES W. WILSON,
Secretary.

—
New York, January 11, 1904.

Chas. W. Wilson, Esq.,
Secretary Greenwood Local No. 9, Socialist
Party of B. C.,
Greenwood, British Columbia.

Dear Mr. Wilson,—

Your letter of January 4th at hand and I certainly feel honored to receive the offer of

the nomination for the constituency of Yale-Cariboo, but it will be impossible for me to get away from New York for any extensive period to contest such an election, and am reluctantly compelled to decline the nomination.

It is most encouraging to hear how well you are doing in British Columbia, and I can assure you that America has its eyes upon you and wishes you the future success which is absolutely inevitable. It certainly speaks well for the solidarity of the Socialist movement on the North American continent that local prejudices are so completely eliminated that Socialists in British Columbia, subjects of the British Crown, should be willing to nominate me, an American citizen, a man born in the State of Ohio, and who only last year contested a congressional district in the city of New York.

It has been my fortune to have been nominee for legislative honors in California, in New York, in Canada, in England, and now finally in British Columbia, and while to the outside world these various nominations would seem to indicate that the recipient was particularly cosmopolitan in his character, as a matter of fact it is not an indication of any peculiarity of the nominee, but of the cosmopolitan character of the Socialist party, which has the same platform and the same ideals throughout the world. No matter where a Socialist may go in any part of the civilized world, he is always sure to find comrades who are in sympathy with him in his views and who are eager to learn how things are progressing in his own country, and glad to impart to him how things are progressing in theirs. The Socialist of today not only has the theory of the brotherhood of humanity, but also possesses in practice the application of that theory much more fully than any other man has ever experienced before.

With best wishes for the success of whoever may be nominated in my place in the constituency, in Yale-Cariboo, and again expressing my regrets at not being able to accept the honor of your nomination, I am,

Fraternally yours,

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

A BRIDGE NOT OF BEAUTY

THE new East River bridge, connecting New York and Brooklyn, is big even if it is not a thing of beauty. It is the biggest suspension bridge in the world. The total cost, with land for approaches, was about \$16,000,000.

The new bridge is forty per cent. wider and one-sixth longer than the older Brooklyn Bridge, and the traffic capacity is more than twice as great; or if 300,000 can be crushed across the old bridge in a day, then nearly two-thirds of a million will be able to swarm across the greater structure. Yet the cost of the new bridge is less by \$3,500,000, and the time of building less by five years. These facts mark the march of engineering knowledge and experience in fifteen years.

The total length of the new bridge is 7,200 feet, a mile and a third of double-decked steel roadways soaring one hundred and thirty-five feet above tide-water, hung from steel towers three hundred and thirty-five feet high. Four trolley tracks, two tracks for elevated trains, two driveways, two footpaths, and a cycle path are laid in the one hundred and eighteen feet of width, three times as wide as a cross street of New York. Twenty thousand tons of dead weight pull at the granite anchorages before a car or passenger crosses, compared with the fifteen thousand tons of material striving to pull the older Brooklyn Bridge up by the roots.

The old Brooklyn bridge was not much

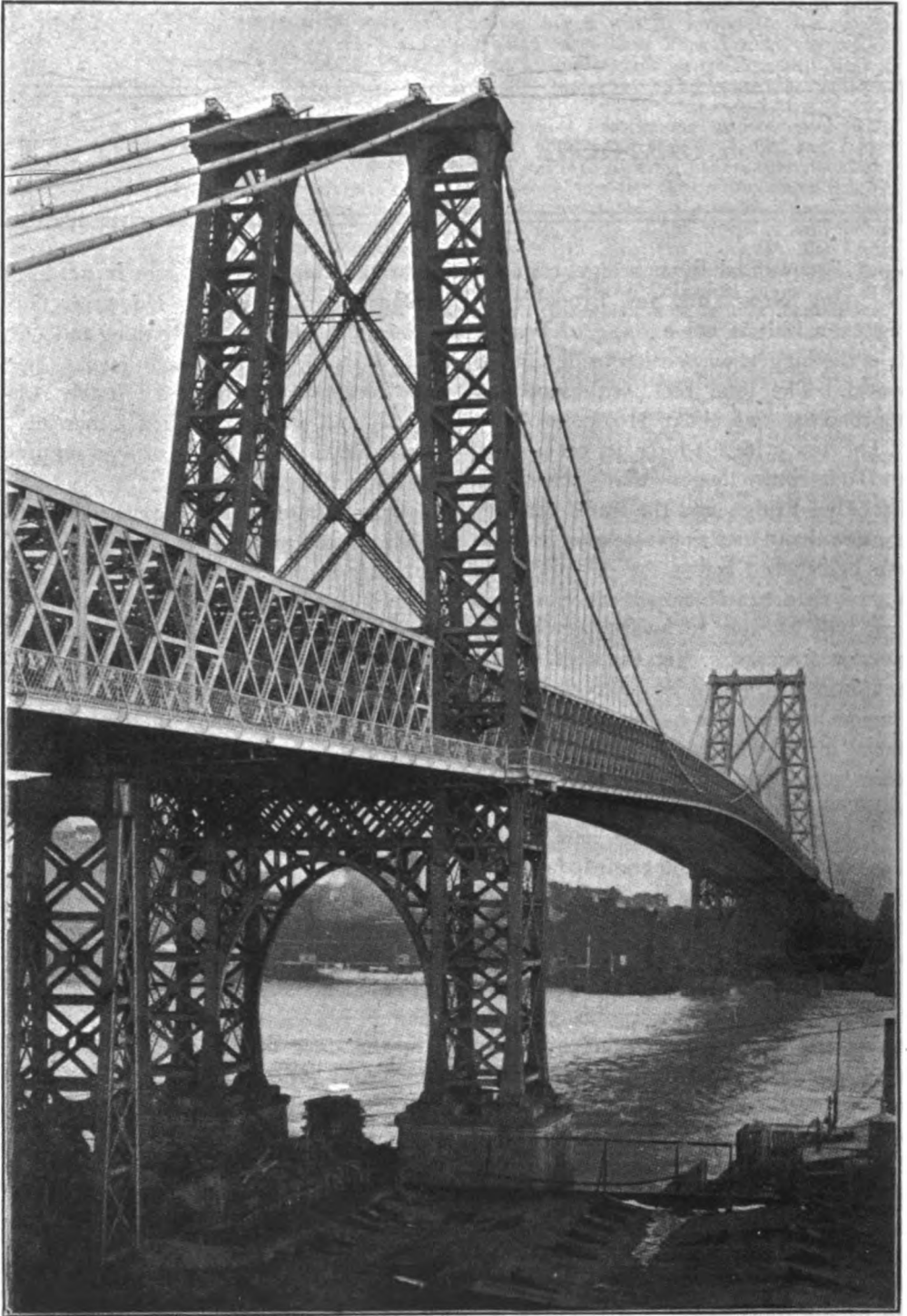
on beauty, but the new one is an unpardonable monstrosity. However, the modern city is such an ugly thing to look upon anyway, with its coal smoke, its dirty streets, its wretched jumble of shanties and palaces, that it's rather unreasonable to condemn a bridge simply because it is ugly.

Just as Walter Crane remarked about billboards, the pictures may not be beautiful, but as the modern city is such a mass of grime and so utterly devoid of any fine color effects the poster comes as a welcome relief to the eye, and really has a very considerable æsthetic value to a modern city street. But this, however, does not apply to advertisements defacing natural scenery or to the immense painted signs set out along our country roads and railway lines. The country has plenty of color, and man can do nothing to improve it by a gaudy sign-board, but the city is so often at the limit of ugliness and monotony that any break becomes a relief.

In the days to come our cities will have beauty for they will not be built that an Astor may have his rept, but that the people may have joy in life.

However, there is no reason why we Americans today, even in this grim commercial age, should not give at least as much attention to the beauty of our cities and the comfort and health of the inhabitants as obtains in Europe.

A bridge which offends all the ideas of



THE NEW BROOKLYN BRIDGE, NEW YORK.

Total Length 7,200 Feet; Length Main Span, 1,600 Feet; Width of Floor, 118 Feet.

beauty as does this new span to Brooklyn would not be allowed to be constructed in any of the European cities, for the ugliness is not in the least a necessity. It is simply the result of a poor economy. It is doubtful even if the cost would have been enhanced by making the lines more graceful. While in many ways New York takes much better care of its people than most of our American cities, still

corner of Thirty-fifth Street, was torn up last October to lay a water pipe; the pipe has been laid four months, but the asphalt has not been replaced, and there is a deep trench extending half-way across the avenue, at which all carriages must come to a walk before crossing, and the automobiles must make a detour unless they are willing to risk their springs. It seems incredible that such



ON THE OLD BROOKLYN BRIDGE.

there is much to be done before we come up to the Europeans, let alone the thought of approaching any ideal standard.

New York streets are better than the streets of most American cities, but repairs upon even the best and most traveled thoroughfares are often disgracefully neglected. Fifth Avenue, at the

carelessness and negligence would exist in the richest city in the world, at a most traveled and fashionable corner. A street obstruction like this would not be suffered in any European city to exist twenty-four hours. And yet, nevertheless, and notwithstanding all this bad administration, this magazine favors the extension of the control of the people

over a still greater area. We say that if the city finds it good to build bridges for people to cross rivers, that it will be good for the cities to build ferries that the people may cross rivers.

Where is the line of distinction? It is simply a matter of affording facilities of different kinds for doing the same service. We say that if cities find it good to build bridges to give facilities to their citizens, that they can likewise build houses for their citizens. That if the cities furnish water, they may furnish bread; if bread, then meat, and that if they can furnish lodging and food for the material man, and picture galleries for the spiritual man, the limits as to what cities may do for their citizens are logically capable of indefinite extension. We say that with the greater and greater extension of the functions of the city there will

come a feeling of greater and greater responsibility in regard to municipal administration, and the recognition that politics instead of being a game for grafting politicians to decide which of them shall take the spoils, will become a part of the serious life and thought of each and every man in the community. The remedy for municipal maladministration and corruption will be found in such a complete extension of the operation and ownership of public utilities by the people that there will not be capital enough left in the hands of private owners to constitute a dangerous corruption fund, while the capital in the hands of the public will be so large that its proper administration will be appreciated as of such vital importance that the necessary attention of the public will unquestionably be given it.

THE VOYAGER

GEORGE CASE

I knew a youth, who took long noons
Of idleness, in grass of Junes.

I loved him well, this dreamy youth,
With heart of gold and tongue of truth.

Who mapped his course by the farth'st star
And sailed his ship o'er the rough'st bar.

Who found no pleasure in worldly gain,
Nor sought rich cargoes across the main.

But sailed the sea, in hope to find
A better way for his fellow kind.

O dreamy youth with vision gay
How fares thy ship on her course today?

No sail I see on the horizon's rim,
And the harbor lights are low and dim.

With sails all set, on the stormy seas,
I pray thy ship on her course may be!

May proudly weather the mad sea gale,
And sing from aloft, Ahoy! All hail!

Socialism Inevitable; What Marx Meant

C. H. KERR VS. THE EDITOR

THE orthodox Socialist theory of Socialism is that it is inevitable owing to the final inability of the competitive wage system to distribute what is produced rapidly enough to obviate an unbearable unemployed problem.

This is not my theory, it is not a "Wilshire" theory, it was enunciated by Marx and Engels and Rodbertus before I was born. It is held by all those who call themselves orthodox, scientific Socialists, such as Ferri in Italy, Bebel and Kautsky in Germany, Jaures and La Fargue in France, Hyndman and Bax in England, and supposably every member of the Socialist party in America. It may sound strangely egotistical and superfluous to some that I should feel called upon to disclaim it as a "Wilshire" theory. It might be thought that I might as well declare that the theory of gravitation was not a "Wilshire" theory and modestly give the credit to Newton. However, if this theory was not so often thrown up to me as a peculiar idea of my own by so many different people I certainly would not have the assurance to disown something of which I would be only too proud to be the author.

There are a lot of Socialists who nominally hold the true faith, yet when you proceed to demonstrate that they are right you terrify them into a renunciation. Mr. C. H. Kerr is one of this class and it is he who writes the following:

A DELIGHTFUL DREAM.

When Mr. Wilshire last spoke in Chicago, I experienced much pleasure in leaning lazily back in my chair and dreaming his beautiful dream with him. Mr. Wilshire managed the mechanism of the dream, and all the rest of us had to do was to enjoy it. We dreamed of a time—and it seemed very close at hand—when Rockefeller, Morgan and the other rulers of industry were going to admit their inability to find any more work for us

to do and so we would not be able to buy food to eat. We were going to get good and hungry, then think a good think and then vote the Socialist ticket, and then we should all live happily forever after.

Now I had read something like this in Mr. Wilshire's magazine before, so I was not startled. Mr. Wilshire carried me smoothly through the dream in a way that I thoroughly enjoyed; I went home and to bed and tried to dream as interesting a dream of my own alone, but next morning had to go to work as usual, and there the dream ended. The day after, who should pop into my office but the great dreamer, Wilshire himself.

Having mentioned hearing his speech he asked what I thought of it. I didn't want to be impolite, and replied that it was much the same line of reasoning I had read in the magazine. But Wilshire insisted on knowing if I agreed with him, and in less time than it takes to tell it we found ourselves in an argument only cut short by the fact that he had to catch his train for New York. As a parting shot he invited me to criticize his position in his magazine, and at the same time bet me five dollars that I wouldn't write the article. He ought to have known that I could not afford to lose the bet. I hope he did, for in that case he really wanted the article and here it is.

The essence of Mr. Wilshire's argument, in so far as it differs from the view accepted by me and most Socialists, is that capitalism is on the point of collapsing from purely economic (not political) causes; that it will soon be unable to employ labor and keep its wheels turning, and that, therefore, Socialism will, entirely apart from any intelligent action on the part of the working class, become economically inevitable, and that within the next dozen years or so.

To clear the ground, let me begin by conceding as much of his argument as seems to me sound. All Socialists agree that the capitalists take from the laborers a large proportion of their product, and that of the wealth thus appropriated only a small proportion is consumed by the rich in luxurious living, the greater part being "invested" in new means of production. "Saving" is much greater than "spending."

I concede that if this process of re-investment of surplus should stop, it would give

rise to an acute state of unemployment, accompanied by falling wages and falling interest rates, and if not checked, this would doubtless result in such a collapse as he predicts.

But we have temporarily passed several large "ifs." Let us go back and look at them.

In his Chicago speech, Mr. Wilshire claimed that investment of capital must soon cease because the industrial machinery for America is now practically completed. Answering a possible objection that even if America was completed there were plenty of backward countries for our capitalists to complete, he reminded us that it would be much more sensible for us to possess and enjoy our own country which our labor had built up than to go out and build up other countries.

This argument would be eminently sound if offered to *thinking* men, but it is irrelevant to the question of the impending collapse of capitalism. The American people, unfortunately are not yet using their brains; they are using their hands for any capitalist who will fill their dinner-pails. If he will hire them to make steel rails, they are indifferent whether the said rails are to be laid in Arizona or Manchuria. Capitalism knows no national boundaries; surplus capital will go to any quarter of the globe where the best chance of profit offers. The building of railways in the antipodes may consume the product of America laborer just as if they were built in America. Panics and booms are contagious, and are manifestly tending to become worldwide. Therefore, I hold, there will be no acute symptoms of a completed industry until capital has overrun the backward countries.

Even as to America itself, I am far from admitting that it has reached the measure of completeness compatible with the present system. I can name a few possibilities for investment which can absorb the profits of capital for twenty years to come, provided labor continues docile, which, mind you, is no part of my contention.

Inter-urban electric roads are proven to be a success, though hardly out of the experimental stage, and are earning more than the ordinary rate of interest on the capital invested.*

This is one means of disposing of surplus capital. Another and more important one is

the housing of the people. I am not simple enough to urge that any large body of capitalists will ever be actuated by altruistic considerations. If no income could be derived from providing better houses for the working people, no capitalist would consider the investment. But I believe it is a fact that people can be provided with better shelter and warmth, at less cost, in modern steam-heated apartments than in tumble-down shanties.

Our cities have not been rebuilt on the most scientific plans because the average rate of profit in industrial enterprises is still so high that the comparatively low rate returned by apartment houses is not attractive to capital. Let interest fall, and in this field alone there will be an opportunity for disposing of the surplus for at least a decade.

Irrigation offers an opportunity for investment which is only just becoming apparent. And it is altogether likely that we are just on the eve of a variety of new applications of capital to agriculture which will be far-reaching in effect.

One more concession to Mr. Wilshire I wish to make at this point. Each successful investment, it is true, will increase production, so that the problem is not being solved independently of Socialism, but is only being postponed. But the question at issue is as to the probability of an economic collapse right now in our own time, and not in the time of what the French picturesquely call our "behind-nephews."

I have already mentioned a sharp decline in interest rates as a necessary symptom of such an industrial crisis as Mr. Wilshire predicts. This he himself admits in his interesting and suggestive tract, "The Significance of the Trust." But the current symptoms in high finance are in the reverse direction.

Interest rates have within the last few years perceptibly stiffened. An evidence of this is the comparatively low prices prevailing for British consols, gilt-edged American railroad bonds and sure dividend-paying stocks. For this phenomenon there is a simple explanation in the waste attending the Spanish-American and the Boer-British wars. The far-reaching effects of the limited waste and destruction attending these two minor wars seem to me to warrant a grave doubt whether the effective surplus of capitalist profit over and above the ordinary wastes of planless competition

*[New York Herald, Feb. 14]

POOR ELECTRIC RAILROADS.

Concord, N. H.--The electric and traction street car companies in New Hampshire, of which there are eighteen, made a disappointing showing during the last year, according to the annual report of the State Railroad Commissioners, made public to-day. The Manchester Street Railway was the only one which earned a dividend. The street railroads in the State have 228 miles of track, \$3,552,119 stock,

\$2,066,000 in bonds, and \$1,109,003 liabilities. The gross income was \$834,894; operating expenses, \$796,795; taxes and interest, \$103,250, and a deficit of \$65,161. The Manchester road had a divisible income of \$31,807.

The steam roads report increased traffic, receipts and expenditures. On the Boston and Maine the operating expenses increased \$1,784,999 over the preceding year. An advance in wages having been made, the pay roll is about \$1,260,000 a year more than in 1899.

is so great as is commonly imagined. It is often said that the great bankers of Europe would not permit a war between two first class powers for fear of jeopardizing their bonds. But if surplus capital were to accumulate until interest were in danger of declining to zero, what would be easier than to stir up one or two wars to make "business" good again?

Socialism is inevitable. Yes, but only inevitable because those who are doing the work of the world are seeing more and more each day that they are being robbed of what they produce, and coming more and more to be conscious of the fact that the only escape for each one lies in the united struggle of all to capture the powers of the state and use them in their own interest. That economic development is hastening this awakening of the workers is an obvious truth and its importance can scarcely be urged too strongly. But to hold that the capitalists themselves will in our own time wreck their own system and leave the Socialists to rebuild at their leisure, is too fantastic a dream to take seriously.

Yes I did bet Mr. Kerr that he would not dare attack "my" position, and I wish again to reiterate that when I say "my" I mean the position held by Marx and the scientific Socialists. I was getting tired of having Socialists try to explain to me privately how wrong I was and then decline to put their views into writing, even though I offered to pay them for their trouble. I made an offer to Mr. Kerr to pay him for an article, and then remembering my previous experiences, I bet him that he would not keep his promise. I am glad to have had the opportunity of losing and paying my bet, for it has brought forth the long sought for "refutation of Wilshire." And now what does this "refutation" amount to after all?

My contention is that if the capitalist cannot find opportunity for investment then there will be an unemployed problem of such huge proportions that society must perish if it does not find a solution. I contend, moreover, that Socialism will be found the only possible solution.

Everything points today to a condition of affairs where the capitalist cannot find opportunity for investment, and I point to the Trust as being the most significant sign that this is a permanent

state. The Trust is the head of the Capitalist Boil, indicating that the time for bursting has arrived.

How does Mr. Kerr reply to this? How does he brush aside this dream?

He first makes out a case for himself by mis-stating my position. He says that I say that the advent of Socialism is to take place without "any intelligent action on the part of the working class."

I never said so, nor do I think so.

I merely say that the unemployed problem is going to be soon upon us, and that society generally and the working class particularly are going to be forced to demand Socialism, for there will be nothing else to demand that will save them from destruction.

However, it is Mr. Kerr who talks of the American people "not using their brains and using their hands for any capitalist who will fill their dinner pail." If Mr. Kerr himself has such a low opinion of the American people then why should he think that without the lash of starvation arising from unemployment they are going to achieve any great measure of political education in any reasonable time?

Then he says, I think the "capitalists will in our time wreck their own system" and then "leave the Socialists to re-build at their leisure."

When a man finds himself so grossly misunderstood as this after all his writing and speaking, and by a well-known Socialist who presumably has followed him fairly closely, it certainly does not encourage him in hoping the outsiders will ever understand. I have repeatedly tried to show that the capitalists have less control over the existing system than has the middle man on a bob-sled going down hill at sixty miles an hour. And then Mr. Kerr asserts that I think the capitalists will wreck the present system. He might as well assert that I think a cat-fish in the rapids could dam the Niagara. I am purely a materialist in my attitude toward the working out of our social evolution, and my materialism applies to the capitalist as much as to the workingman. Even more so, possibly, for the capitalist has not the reason

to wish a change, for he is well fed and comfortable during the meanwhile. The workingman even in prosperity and with high wages gets so little of the good things of life that he should be an insurgent at all times. He is not so, however, by a jug full.

I think the capitalists as a body will never do anything to end the present system until there is such a complete breakdown of affairs that they will see the absolute necessity of concerted action of all to preserve society. When their profits have disappeared and they see no chance of any resumption of business at the old stand then will the capitalists acquiesce in the programme of the Socialists. This is no Utopian dream that the lamb will lie down with the lion. A lamb will lie down with a stuffed lion, and the capitalist in the final crisis will be as foreign to the nature of a capitalist as a stuffed lion is foreign to a live one.

But while I declare the capitalist will never surrender as long as he sees the chance of future profits, I have almost as much faith in the workingman clinging to the present wage system as long as he gets wages.

However, while Mr. Kerr starts out by denying my purely materialistic theory by idealizing the intelligence of the working class, although he has just let us know how stupid he really thinks them, he finally accepts my materialism when he admits that all the various supposititious investments of capital in backward countries and backward industries at home are at best only a postponing of the evil day.

This means that the only difference that really exists between myself and Mr. Kerr is as to time.

He thinks he differs as to methods, but that is simply a mistaken think. Suppose, for instance, that finally all the industries which he thinks are undeveloped, whether they be at home or abroad, are finally completed, and that the Socialist party has practically no more adherents than it has today. Then, when we have the unemployed problem, I ask Mr. Kerr what are we going to do about it?

Suppose we have finished our model tenement houses, our irrigation ditches, our building of railways in Manchuria, then "where are we at?" It's no argument to answer that all this will take years. I will grant, for the sake of argument, as many years as Mr. Kerr asks for. The final problem for solution is exactly the same, and must be solved in exactly the same way, no matter whether it comes up today or ten thousand years from today.

Therefore the only debatable ground between myself and Mr. Kerr is the question of time. When is the machinery of production to reach such a completed stage that the unemployed problem will become of such huge proportions that society will become conscious of the absolute necessity of a change of system? Mr. Kerr advances a number of suggestions as to how the capitalists may get rid of their surplus, and I am not disposed to question that much capital will be diverted in the ways he suggests. The question at issue is whether there will be enough so diverted. I do not think so. If there were such good openings for the investment of capital as Mr. Kerr thinks then I ask why is it that capital has so flooded every single one of our manufacturing businesses, that were it not for their combining into Trusts to prevent over-production they would go bankrupt?

A capitalist is not likely to invest his money in a sugar refinery when he knows there are too many sugar refineries, unless he can see no better investment in any other direction. Unquestionably there are many channels into which capital may still flow and find profitable investment, but they are all small and obscure. The main channels for investment are manifestly dammed, and the Trust is the damming evidence.

Mr. Kerr seems to think that simply the waste of the Boer war, and of the Spanish-American war, was the cause of what he calls the "far reaching effects" of those conflicts, and makes him doubt whether the "effective surplus of capitalist profit is so great as is commonly imagined."

It would be just as logical for him to assume that it was the power in a percussion cap which sets off a powder magazine that was the power causing the "far reaching effects." The two wars mentioned were simply the matches which started the conflagration. It's true they did cause some direct consumption of labor, but nothing in comparison with their indirect effects. They caused employment of labor directly in the conduct of the war and in the manufacture of military supplies. But all this was a drop in the bucket compared with the indirect effect they had in giving a stimulus to the investment of capital in enterprise the world over. Thousands of miles of railway were laid in the United States simply as the result of the stimulus the Boer and Spanish wars gave to industrial enterprise in this country. Hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars went into enterprises as the result of these wars which otherwise would never have been invested.

It was this indirect demand for capital which caused a shortage in the supply of capital rather than direct demand to make good the wastes of war.

As to the rate of interest, that is subject to so many cross surface currents that little can be determined from it. When Mr. Kerr wrote the above letter interest was high and he theorized thereon. Today, a few months later, it is phenomenally low, so that whatever he theorized about a high rate must be reversed. I quite agree that economic *development* is teaching the people the desirability of making a change to Socialism, but it will be an economic *crisis* that will show the the *necessity* of Socialism.

Mr. Kerr confuses luxuries with necessities. Socialism today would be a luxury, tomorrow it will be a necessity.

It will be necessary to quote but one paragraph from Marx to show I am in agreement with the Marxian theory:

"Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. The integument is burst asunder. The knell of private capitalist property sounds. The expropriators

"are expropriated." (Capital, Vol. 1, page 487.)

The question is, did Marx mean what he says, or did he mean what Mr. Kerr thinks he said?

Marx states a purely materialist proposition, "the integument is burst asunder." It bursts because it is time for it to burst, just as an egg shell breaks when it is time for the chick to be hatched.

According to Mr. Kerr if the chick within the shell did not have a careful mother hen to count the days then the chick might never know when it was time to be hatched. The integument bursts as a natural development, and when it bursts society will be ready for the bursting, as the chick is ready to be hatched when the egg shell breaks. It may be that the Socialist party will be the chief instrument in rendering society conscious that it is time for the integument to burst, but it will not burst the integument.

I myself think it most likely that that party will be the instrument that will impart to society the consciousness of the necessity of a change. But society as a whole will never receive any such consciousness until it already is ripe for the change.

One might as well talk to a new laid egg and try to persuade it to hatch into a chicken the first day it is laid as to try to induce capitalist society to hatch into Socialist society before the hatching time has arrived.

The mission of the Socialists is not to induce society to adopt Socialism, but to make them prepare for it. We are prophets rather than advocates.

To quote Marx once more:

"The methods of production of material life condition the social, political and intellectual process of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines the form of their being; on the contrary, the social form of their being determines their consciousness."

This means that during the first days of the new laid egg the "chick-to-be" is content to remain within the shell, and only as it undergoes a process of physical evolution does it develop a consciousness that finally impels it "to

burst its integument" and emerge into the world a chicken.

Now what do we mean by saying that society must "burst its integument?" We mean practically the same thing as when we say a chick must hatch. If it doesn't hatch then it must die in its shell. When an egg is laid, nature has provided the yolk, as food to feed the embryo while it develops within the shell into maturity as a chick. By the time the day for hatching has arrived, the healthy chick is ready for outside life, and it has absorbed the last of the yolk. If it doesn't hatch, it starves to death, for there is no more yolk left to feed it. It must hatch out, it must break its egg shell prison, in order to get something to eat.

Exactly so with society. So far it has been feeding itself by getting wages and profits from building new machinery of production. As long as there was new machinery to be built it would be fed and it would be content in its natural conservatism to remain within its capitalistic shell.

I contend that this building of new machinery is practically completed, and that the Trust is the particular phenomenon indicating such completion. The Trust is essentially an instrument to prevent over-production, but over-production never exists until completion has preceded it. The pitcher does not overflow before it is full. It is often said that iron is the barometer of trade. When we have over-production of iron we have general over-production. Let us look at the situation in iron. In January, 1904, we had 182 furnaces in blast as against 320 in 1903. This means that nearly half the furnaces are out of blast today, and that half the employees are out of work and drawing no wages.

Now, why is this? Simply because the demand for iron has collapsed. A year ago there were less than fifty thousand tons of pig iron on hand, today there is nearly six hundred thousand tons on hand, and no prospect of reducing this surplus. Do you wonder that the owners of the furnaces refuse to employ men making iron that cannot be sold? Can not Mr. Kerr see that these

owners are making no profits as long as their furnaces are out of blast and that their workmen go hungry because they have no wages?

Do not both employers and men wish to end such a situation? Do they not both wish to see the "integument burst?" It is true, neither foresees what is to be the nature of the new organism that is to emerge after the integument is burst, but they feel that as far as the pig iron market goes it cannot be worse for them than the present situation.

Now, when industry generally assumes a likeness to that existing in the iron industry; when all employers are out of their profits and all laborers are out of a job, then may we look for "the methods of production determining our social consciousness," and at last we must become socially conscious that the Socialists were right in predicting the necessity of Socialism to prevent us from starving.

This is the materialistic theory of Socialism; it is the true Marxian theory. It is a theory that many men like to say they adhere to, because it is orthodox to adhere. It is like a man disliking to deny he is a Christian, although he may not believe in Christianity.

Marx's economic determinism makes some men feel themselves to be such small flies on the wheel, that when you state clearly what it is they will balk at your interpretation, yet be afraid to admit that they do not really believe in it for fear of being called unorthodox. Mr. Kerr is one of those who thinks he is a Marxian, but my analysis shows him to be as great a Utopian as was Sir Thomas More.

It is true he would deny that any single individual could devise a plan of society and impose it upon us, but he finds his divinity in the "working class," who are to think it all out and set it in operation.

The working class will be the chief agent in compelling society to arouse itself to do what has become a necessity. That class will be the sensitive part of the epidermis of the social organism that will convey the sensation indicating that something must be doing.

It is the hungry stomach of society demanding to be fed, and society to feed itself must feed the working class.

Society will become conscious of the absolute necessity of bursting its capi-

talist integument. It will cast it off and come out with its new Socialist integument, which has already been formed beneath the old, worn-out integument of capitalism.

MEANING OF THE COLORADO STRIKE

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT

(State Organizer Socialist Party of Colorado)

THE "irrepressible conflict" between existing classes is being defined in Colorado today as nowhere else in America. The union attitude towards the economic situation, which is the basis of the struggle, evinces a consciousness on the part of the western workingman of his present limitations, and the possibilities of his industrial power that is resulting in an intelligent solidarity of effort hitherto indiscernible in American working-class movements.

To fully understand the situation, a brief account of western union history will be necessary.

The western metalliferous miners were formerly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. During the Leadville strike of 1896, the American Federation, headed by Samuel Gompers, refused its support, and the strike was a failure in consequence. As a result, the Western Federation withdrew from the American Federation, and finding it necessary to be affiliated with a national organization that would include all the trades in the western territory, it organized the Western Labor Union, now known as the American Labor Union. These unions endorsed the Socialist program, and declared for independent political action. As an evidence of the instinctive recognition by the laboring man of his class interests, numerous trade organizations rapidly affiliated with the American Labor Union, among them the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

The State of Colorado has twice voted for an eight hour law. The first time the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. Two years ago the State voted by 40,000 majority to amend the constitution so that a law should be valid. The legislature returned on that basis, as the result of flagrant bribery, refused to pass the law. The miners of the State saw there was no relief for them through the agency of the law-making power in the hands of their economic enemies, and struck in consequence, demanding an eight-hour day for the employees of mills and smelters.

The far-reaching nature of the strike, the determination on the part of the unions to carry their demands to the ballot box, and their avowed Socialist principles, brought forth the Citizens' Alliance, vowing extermination of the Western Federation. It was the historic class struggle defined. The mine owners and "business men" lined up against the workers. Governor Peabody, a banker, was elected by the Republican party. Mr. Stimson, the Democratic candidate, was the attorney for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the most powerful corporation in the State, and was pledged to the Citizens' Alliance to oppose the eight-hour measure in case of election.

A feature of the strike that caused immediate consternation in the ranks of the capitalists was the establishment by the Federation of co-operative stores in the Cripple Creek district. The co-opera-

tive stores have carried on a flourishing business. Merchant after merchant of the Citizens' Alliance has had to retire from the field. The Federation has almost unlimited resources behind it, and kept its members supplied with the means of buying food and other necessities.

As always happens when the laboring men are getting the best of it, the capitalist desired an excuse for calling out the troops. Consequently various accidents began to occur about the mines.

of the courts, and the ordinary guarantees of personal liberty, such as the United States has never seen since the Revolution. The soldiers were composed of the most wretched riff-raff that could be gathered for so detestable a cause. They were men out of work, foreigners, thugs and toughs of all descriptions that rallied under the banner of Adjutant General Bell. One Swede was thrown in the bull-pen on the charge of treason, because he threw down his gun and said he had not come



GOVERNOR PEABODY

Who hired out Colorado State Troops to Mine Owners.

Houses and mines were blown up, fires were set, lives were threatened, and everything done to make it appear that a reign of terror was impending. The miners obtained satisfactory evidence that these things were done by the emissaries of the capitalists, but the capitalist press commenced a great outcry about the lawlessness of the strikers, and the Governor declared martial law in the strike district.

Then began a violation of law, a setting aside of the constitution, a defiance

over to America to shoot workingmen.

The press was muzzled and ordered to print nothing in criticism of the military. The editorials of the union organ were censored, and the only paper whose reporter was allowed to gather news was one devoted entirely to the policy of the Governor.

Men were arrested in their homes without warrant or process of law of any sort, and thrown into filthy bullpens reeking with vermin, where they

were obliged to sleep on the boards. So horrible were the conditions that both soldiers and the prisoners were compelled to turn their underclothing, and scrape it over a red-hot stove. The act of habeas corpus was suspended and jurisdiction denied the civil courts. In certain cases of trial the armed militia filled the court-room to intimidate judge and jury. And to the honor of the court be it said the decision was rendered defying the military. But in the teeth of the courts, supposed to be the bulwark of modern liberty, the soldiers refused to surrender their prisoner.

An order confiscating all arms was issued in the face of the constitutional guarantee that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, and one man, a lawyer and an ex-congressman, was shot in his office because he refused to obey the order. Houses were entered by drunken soldiers in the middle of the night, and searched when only defenceless women were there in bed.

Strikers were denounced as vagrants and an order issued that all persons must go to work or leave the town, and Adjutant-General Bell said that a few hours' work on a lease would not answer, that the strikers wanted eight hours, and they were going to get eight or leave camp. Under this order, men with homes and families were seized and deported from the towns, and ordered never to come back. One man was arrested with his arms full of groceries which he was taking home. Numbers of these men were forced to work on the streets under a military guard. It must be remembered that these men are all as good men as the State affords, sober, industrious men, with homes and families, who have built up the wealth of Colorado. Their only crime was that they had refused to work on terms that did not suit them, and were making a stand for justice and law, which the State authorities had denied them.

Strike breakers were brought in on the most false and shameless representations. Many of them refused to work as soon as they saw the true condition of affairs. In one case they were

held at the pumps under pointed bayonets and forced to work. One man, in a squad surrounded by soldiers, started to run and was shot at. And this with the national constitution asserting that the days of voluntary servitude are over.

The Governor made several "feints" of investigating conditions. Whenever he did so he took only the statements of Alliance men and mine owners. The union men have uniformly been treated as criminals and outlaws.

A singularly striking evidence of Governor Peabody's subservience to the capitalists is provided by the strike in the Southern coal fields, of the United Mine Workers of America. This organization, under the presidency of John Mitchell, is affiliated with the American Federation. The Western workingmen are all infected with the Socialist doctrine—not a clear, class-conscious knowledge, perhaps, but a vigorous determination to themselves get hold of the industries and stop their exploitation. For over a year the officials and organizers of the Western Mine Workers have desired a strike against the outrageous conditions which the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company imposes upon its men. Mitchell withheld his sanction till Mother Jones was sent out in the fall to investigate conditions. Mother Jones is an avowed Socialist, and she comprehended the western situation without much difficulty. She probably reported things that were liable to happen, for Mitchell promptly gave his consent to the strike. Perhaps he did not care to have the action of the western metalliferous miners regarding the A. F. of L. repeated in his own organization, that is, a withdrawal and an affiliation with a national organization standing upon a Socialist platform.

The mine workers in the Southern Colorado strike district are a motley crew—Mexicans, negroes, Indians, Italians and foreigners of all descriptions. Their wild blood is not easy of restraint, especially when they think their liberties or their rights are in question. Some Sicilian women cut off with a cleaver the ear of a priest who was speaking

against the strike. There have been more riots, mobs, midnight raids and trouble of various kinds down there than in all the jurisdiction of the Western Federation put together, yet the Governor has shown no inclination to declare martial law in that district. The natural question is: Does he wish the mine owners to refrain from declaring for Socialism, and to return an overwhelming Republican majority for him and Roosevelt next fall?

The contest in Colorado is an attempt to crush out Socialism. To this end such trifles as courts and constitutions are flagrantly disregarded. In the midst of the executive atrocities the State Fed-

eration of Labor called a convention and requested delegates from every union in the State. Representatives from all organizations were present. The military bill imposed upon the State was half a million dollars. The convention resolved to endorse or elect no candidate to the legislature who would not publicly pledge himself to work against the payment of this bill. A permanent Ways and Means committee was appointed for campaign purposes.

In the meantime, just as soon as the working men see their interests, and vote for themselves instead of their masters, their troubles will be over.

Denver, Col.

THE TRAMP

JACK LONDON

THE SURPLUS LABOR ARMY.

(Continued.)

THE existence of the surplus labor army being established, there remains to be established the economic necessity for the surplus labor army. The simplest and most obvious need is that brought about by the fluctuation of production. If, when production is at low-ebb, all men are at work, it necessarily follows that when production increases there will be no men to do the increased work. This may seem almost childish, and if not childish, at least easily remedied. At low-ebb let the men work shorter time; at high-flood let them work overtime. The main objection to this is that it is not done, and that we are considering what is, not what might be or should be.

Then there are great irregular and periodical demands for labor which must be met. Under the first head come all the big building and engineering enterprises. When a canal is to be dug, or a railroad put through, requiring thousands of laborers, it would be hurtful

to withdraw these laborers from the constant industries. And whether it is a canal to be dug or a cellar, whether five thousand men are required or five, it is well, in society as at present organized, that they be taken from the surplus labor army. The surplus labor army is the reserve fund of social energy, and this is one of the reasons for its existence.

Under the second head, periodical demands, come the harvests. Throughout the year huge labor tides sweep back and forth across the United States. That which is sown and tended by few men, comes to sudden ripeness and must be gathered by many men; and it is inevitable that these many men form floating populations. In the late spring the berries must be picked, and in the summer the grain garnered, in the fall the hops gathered, in the winter the ice harvested. In California a man may pick berries in Siskiyou, peaches in Santa Clara, grapes in the San Joaquin, and oranges in Los Angeles, going from job to job as the season advances and traveling a thousand miles ere the season is done. But the great demand for agricultural

labor is in the summer. In the winter, work is slack, and these floating populations eddy into the cities to eke out a precarious existence and harrow the souls of the police officers until the return of warm weather and work. If there were constant work at good wages for every man, who else would harvest the crops? And society, after the centuries, cannot say who else.

THE LASH OF THE MASTER.

But the last and most significant need for the surplus labor army remains to be stated. This surplus labor acts as a check upon all employed labor. It is the lash by which the masters hold the workers to their tasks or drive them back to their tasks when they have revolted. It is the goad which forces the workers into the compulsory "free contracts" against which they now and again rebel. There is only one reason under the sun that strikes fail, and that is because there are always plenty of men to take the strikers' places. This is indisputable.

The strength of the union today, other things remaining equal, is proportionate to the skill of the trade, or, in other words, proportionate to the pressure the surplus labor army can put upon it. If a thousand ditch-diggers strike it is easy to replace them, wherefore the ditch-diggers have little or no organized strength. But a thousand highly skilled machinists are somewhat harder to replace, and in consequence the machinist unions are strong. The ditch-diggers are wholly at the mercy of the surplus labor army, the machinists only partly. To be invincible, a union must be a monopoly. It must control every man in its particular trade and regulate apprentices so that the supply of skilled workmen remain constant—this is the dream of the "Labor Trust" on the part of the captains of labor.

Once, in England, after the Great Plague, labor awoke to find there was more work for men than there were men to work. Instead of workers competing for favors from employers, employers were competing for favors from the workers. Wages went up, and up, and continued to go up, until the workers

demanded the full product of their toil. Now it is clear that when labor receives its full product capital must perish. And so the pigmy capitalists of that post-Plague day found their existence threatened by this untoward condition of affairs. To save themselves they set a maximum wage, restrained the workers from moving about from place to place, smashed incipient organization, refused to tolerate idlers, and by most barbarous legal penalties punished those who disobeyed. After that, things went on as before.

THE ANCHOR OF CAPITALISM.

The point of this, of course, it to demonstrate the need of the surplus labor army. Without such an army our present capitalist society would be powerless. Labor would organize as it never organized before, and the last least worker would be gathered into the unions. The full product of toil would be demanded, and capitalist society would crumble away. Nor could capitalist society save itself as did the post-Plague capitalist society. The time is past when a handful of masters, by imprisonment and barbarous punishment, can drive the legions of the workers to their tasks. Without a surplus labor army, the courts, police and military are impotent. In such matters the function of the courts, police and military is to preserve order and to fill the places of strikers with surplus labor. If there be no surplus labor to instate, there is no function; for disorder only arises during the process of instatement when the striking labor army and the surplus labor army clash together. That is to say, that which subserves the integrity of the present industrial society more potently than the courts, police and military, is the surplus labor army.

It has been shown that there are more men than there is work for men, and that the surplus labor army is an economic necessity. To show how the tramp is a by-product of this economic necessity, it is necessary to inquire into the composition of the surplus labor army. What men form it? Why are they there? What do they do?

THE INEFFICIENTS.

In the first place, since the workers must compete for employment, it inevitably follows that it is the fit and efficient who find employment. The skilled worker holds his place by virtue of his skill and efficiency. Were he less skilled, or were he unreliable or erratic, he would be swiftly replaced by a stronger competitor. The skilled and steady employments are not cumbered with clowns and idiots. A man finds his place according to his ability and the needs of the system, and those without ability or incapable of satisfying the needs of the system, have no place. Thus, the poor telegrapher may develop into an excellent woodchopper. But if the poor telegrapher cherishes the delusion that he is a good telegrapher, and at the same time disdains all other employments, he will have no employment at all, or he will be so poor at all other employments that he will work only now and again in lieu of better men. He will be among the first let off when times are dull, and among the last taken on when times are good. Or, to the point, he will be a member of the surplus labor army.

So the conclusion is reached, that the less fit and less efficient, or the unfit and inefficient, compose the surplus labor army. Here are to be found the men who have tried and failed, the men who cannot hold jobs—the plumber apprentice who could not become a journeyman, and the plumber journeyman too clumsy and dull to retain employment; switchmen who throw trains, clerks who cannot balance books, blacksmiths who lame horses, lawyers who cannot plead; in short, the failures of every trade and profession, and failures many of them in divers trades and professions. Failure is writ large, and in their wretchedness they bear the stamp of social disapprobation. Common work, any kind of work, wherever or however they can obtain it, is their portion.

But these hereditary inefficient do not alone compose the surplus labor army. There are the skilled but unsteady and unreliable men; and the old men, once

skilled but, with dwindling life, no longer skilled. And there are good men, too, splendidly skilled and efficient, but thrust out of the employment of dying or disaster-smitten industries. In this connection it is not out of place to note the misfortune of the workers in the British iron trades who are suffering because of American inroads. And last of all, are the unskilled laborers, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the ditch-diggers, the men of pick and shovel, the helpers, lumpers, roustabouts. If trade is slack on a seacoast of two thousand miles, or the harvests light in a great interior valley, myriads of these laborers lie idle or make life miserable for their fellows in kindred unskilled employments.

A constant filtration goes on in the working world, and good material is continually drawn from the surplus labor army. Strikes and industrial dislocations shake up the workers, fetch good men to the surface and sink men not so good. After the Pullman strike a few thousand railroad men were chagrined to find the work they had flung down taken up by men as good as themselves.

But one thing must be considered here. Under the present system, if the weakest and least fit were as strong and fit as the best, and were the best proportionately stronger and fitter, the same condition would obtain. There would be the same army of unemployed labor, the same army of surplus labor. The whole thing is relative. There is no absolute standard of efficiency.

THE TRAMP NECESSARY.

Comes now the tramp. And all conclusions may be anticipated by saying at once that he is a tramp because some one had to be a tramp. If he left the "road" and became a *very* efficient common laborer, some *ordinary* efficient common laborer would have to take to the "road." The nooks and crannies are crowded by the surplus laborers, and when the first snow flies and the tramps are driven into the cities, things become overcrowded and stringent police regulations are necessary.

(Continued next month.)

MACHINERY ON THE FARM

A. M. SIMONS

WHILE the application of machinery to agriculture has accomplished great changes during the last generation, the most far reaching changes in this field have been accomplished by the taking of processes away from the farm. Whenever any portion of agriculture becomes subject to great mechanical improvement it is generally taken away from the farm and placed in the factory. This is what has happened, for example, with the preparation of meat and dairy products. But a few generations ago the same thing was done with weaving, spinning and the making of garments.

There are certain peculiar difficulties which have hindered the utilization of machine methods in processes which are inseparably connected with the soil. Such work is of a constantly changing character, plowing today, harrowing tomorrow, cultivating a few weeks later, and reaping in a host of different ways, varying from potato digging, cotton picking and sugar beet pulling to grain harvesting a few months later. To make one machine perform all of these tasks is manifestly impossible, and hence the employment of any agricultural machine throughout the year, as is done in a factory, is at once precluded. As a consequence no great amount of capital can be invested in any one machine which is to be used for so short a period.

Nevertheless great progress has been made along these lines as anyone who stops to compare the cradle with the modern self-binder, or combined thresher and harvester will at once agree.

With few exceptions all attempts to apply other than horse power to the ordinary processes of farm work have been failures. A steam plow was exhibited at an Illinois State Fair before the Civil War, and Governor Bidwell of California

had a combined harvester and thresher operated by steam upon his farm in California at about the same time. Yet neither of these has come into common use. There were certain defects which rendered their wide adoption difficult, if not impossible. They were too heavy, cumbersome and expensive to be used on any but the very largest farms having exceptional advantages of soil and climate. They were so complex as to require the continual services of expert machinists, and often so many attendants as to really save but little labor power.

The automobile seems to have assisted in the solving of some of these problems. It has produced a light, simple, powerful motor requiring little skill in its operation. It was inevitable that before long this motor should be applied to agriculture. Two methods of doing this have already been attempted. The first of these was the application of the automobile principle to mowers, reapers, binders, etc., each machine having its own engine. The only obstacle to any great extension of this activity is its cost, especially when we remember the limited time for which each such tool is available during the year.

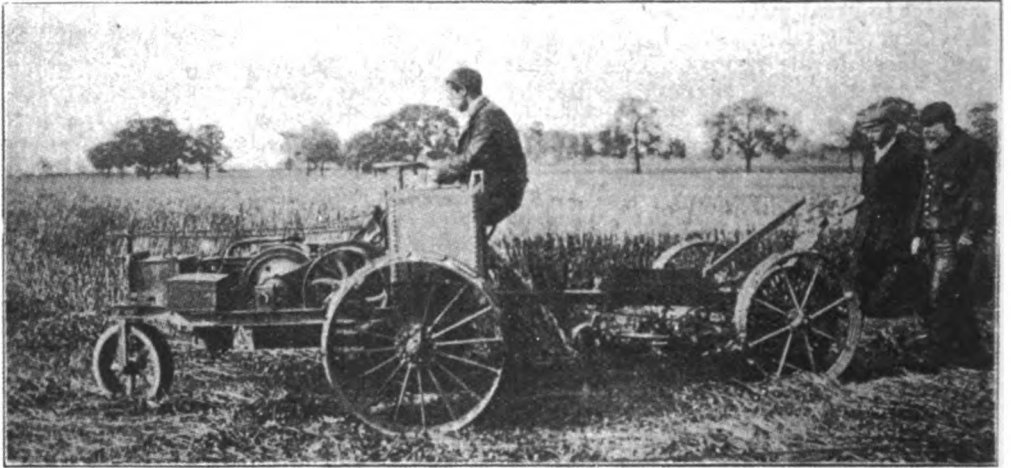
Another method is shown in the accompanying illustration, in which a peculiarly constructed automobile is directly substituted for the horse and is used in order to draw the various tools.

This plan also presents difficulties, so that I venture to say it can never attain any great importance. Such a machine is too cumbersome, especially in turning, to make it available except on very large fields, and even the largest fields grow smaller and smaller as one works round and round them towards the centre, which is the ordinary method

of performing farm work. It also requires more men than the use of horses, since an additional driver for the automobile is required, while there is no decrease in the amount of care necessary for the machine itself. Indeed, if any additional work is to be done the machine would probably employ three men where one had been working before.

Another difficulty will at once occur to anyone that has had any experience with traction engines on a farm. I have too sharp a remembrance of the times when I have helped to dig out threshing machines that had "buried" themselves in loose ground to take much stock in this method of farm work. Whenever the

Both the dragging method and separate engines for each machine having been ruled out as impracticable, it seems to me that the probable solution lies in the introduction of a single engine which can be used with each tool, but which is not carried upon its own wheels. This presents no problems that have not already been solved in other lines of industry. A mower, reaper, or corn harvester, for example, could be constructed, much as at present, save that each would have a frame adjusted to fit the "standardized" frame of a small steam, gasoline, electric or alcohol motor. This motor could be transferred from one to the other by the use of a small crane whose cost would



[Courtesy of the American Inventor, Washington, D.C.]
The Automobile as a Farming Machine.

ground is so soft that less power is required to penetrate it than to drag the farming tools over the ground the traction machinery at once starts on a downward path. This one defect rules this whole method out for the work of plowing the ground, save in a few localities having a peculiar soil. It must be remembered in this connection that plowing requires more labor than almost any other process in connection with the raising of a crop.

I venture to offer some suggestions of what will be the probable evolution along this line, and if there are any inventors among the readers of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, I submit these suggestions to their respectful consideration.

not be in any way prohibitive. The motor for such an outfit should not cost over three or four hundred dollars. A complete outfit in the way of an automobile binder, for example, could be sold for about five hundred dollars. When the purchaser of such a binder desired an automobile mower he would be saved the expense of the motor, which he would already have, and such a mower should not cost more than fifty or sixty dollars as at present. The same would be true of a seeder or corn harvester, or such other tools as might be suitable for this method of operation.

When we come to the plow, I would offer still another idea, which, I believe, is along the line that evolution will fol-

low in this industry. It is manifestly impossible to adapt such a plan as I have suggested to the ordinary form of plow with fixed mold-board, land-side and coulter. But this form of plow is already being displaced by the disc plow, and it seems to me that this offers a way out. If the motive power is applied directly to the discs and these are set at such an angle that they will assist in drawing the whole machine along the ground (something which every engineer knows to be easily possible) then, the very difficulties which have hitherto hindered the adoption of mechanical force in plowing will prove advantageous.

Of course, each machine would require its own system of gearing in order to gain the proper speed from the engine, which should be arranged to move at a practically fixed speed. Such an engine would also be capable of utilization in sawing, pumping water, running corn shellers, ensilage cutters, dairy machinery, etc., for which many farms already have gasoline or steam engines.

It seems to me that such a flexible, economical system of application of mechanical power to farm work is simply an extension of lines of evolution already in existence, and that it is what we may expect to see within a very few years.

The effects of such methods on agriculture will be far reaching. It will really render possible for the first time the application of something approaching factory methods to the tillage of the soil and harvesting of the crops. It seems to me easily possible that such an evolution might be accompanied with an increase in the size of the farm unit and a concentration movement quite comparable to that which Marx expected to see take place in agriculture, but of which we have seen almost no signs up to the present time.

One reason why such concentration has not taken place hitherto is to be found in the necessarily extensive use of animal power in agriculture. But the line of evolution which I suggest completely displaces the horse, for of course it includes the building of farm wagons and of other vehicles, whether for pleasure or work, that the farmer may need,

with adjustments for the use of this same standardized motor. Under such conditions, it should be no more trouble to change such a motor from one use to another, than to harness and hitch up a span of horses, and certainly the extra trouble of oiling, replenishing fuel, etc., would be much less than that of the endless chores connected with the use of horses. Such a plan is only possible with a trustified system of manufacture in farm machinery. But this we already have. When one firm can make practically all the tools needed upon the farm such a system becomes easy of application even under capitalism. Of course, a Socialist society would find it still easier, since many obstacles which still remain in the way at the present time would then be removed.

Another obstacle which has hitherto prevented any such evolution as this has been a lack of an educated farm proletariat comparable to that which has supplied the factories with overseers, foremen and general organizing force. It must be remembered, however, that this is a lack which a few years would supply in the United States, since we already have the most elaborate system of agricultural education existing anywhere in the world. Up to the present time, however, while agricultural colleges have had lavish equipments and ample funds, they have had almost no students. Once industrial evolution creates an imperative demand for such students, they will be supplied. I believe that the mechanical changes which I have suggested will create that demand, and that in view of these probable changes in the educational and mechanical sides of farming, we may look to see some rather remarkable agricultural developments in America in the next decade.

I realize that in this sketch, I have been indulging in the very dangerous pastime of prophecy, and it is possible that I may easily live to laugh with some of my present readers at the failure of these predictions. Nevertheless I give the reasons for the faith that is in me, and each one can judge whether those reasons are sufficient to justify the predictions.

WILSHIRE'S DEFIES A GODDESS

WE are running Mrs. Lockwood's picture to encourage our friends who are selling WILSHIRE subscription cards. But we must explain. It will be remembered that in a recent contest to decide who could sell the most cards in a given length of time that Mrs. Lockwood romped in an easy winner and took off the \$1,400 automobile which we offered as a prize to the best card seller. Now, a good many fellows thought they had that automobile cinched when they sent in a good sized order for cards. When the final result showed that they were not one-two-three they could not understand it at all.

Now the trouble with those poor fellows is that they lacked imagination. They are figuring that they only had to beat some other man, and each fellow thought himself as good a man as any living and a darn sight better.

They did not count on competing against a woman, and as for thinking any woman had a show against them, why they never thought a woman would have the face to even enter the contest, let alone her having any chance of beating them, the lords of creation. However, a woman did enter and did beat them, and when they

see what kind of a creature she is they may better understand how every man jack of them was beaten before the flag fell. What could a fellow do when a goddess like Mrs. Lockwood dropped into his office and refused to leave the place until his wife called to take him home unless he bought a WILSHIRE card? We simply ask the question, for Mrs. Lockwood never had to resort to any such unfair tactics. We have tried to get Mrs. Lockwood to agree not to enter our next contest, for as long as she is in it there is no show for anyone else. That is, no show for any other man. As for the women, we wish it to be distinctly understood that every Socialist woman is quite as beautiful as Mrs. Lockwood. She's different, that's all, different. Socialist women are always beautiful, also different. But Mrs. Lockwood refuses to stay out, so we now announce that if she wins the first prize next time we will have to give it to her, but we herewith agree to give the next best contestant, if a man, another prize of the same kind and value. We are determined to circumvent this Mrs. Lockwood combination of brains and beauty if there is any way of WILSHIRE's doing it.



MRS. G. W. LOCKWOOD.
Winner the First Prize, Wilshire Contest.

CARTOON AND COMMENT

Cartoonist Bush of the *New York World* effectively pictures the plight of the King of Corea in the present Russian-Japanese imbroglio. Both parties to the conflict want to be his protector, and he is in the position of the long suffering soul who prayed to be delivered from his friends. In fact, the serene disregard of Corean rights is one of the most striking features of the whole situation in the Far East. Japan makes some profession about conserving the independence of Corea, but independence in this case means the independence to do just as Japan dictates. In the struggle between Japan and Russia for the control of the commercial privileges of Corea and Manchuria, the rights of the present owners of this territory have been accorded no consideration whatever.

“The most powerful magnet in the world” is how the cartoonist of the

Cleveland Press describes John D. Rockefeller. He is pictured with humor and truth in the accompanying illustration. The representation of Rockefeller as a magnet drawing all the surrounding aggregations of capital toward him, exemplifies in a way the Marxian saying, “One Capitalist Kills Many,” that is,

capital is subject to an irresistible tendency towards concentration, and Rockefeller happens to be the nucleus about which these particles of capital have been steadily gathering. Of course, as more and more capital comes under his control his profits grow greater and he consequently has a



—Bush in *New York World*.

The King of Corea and his Protectors.

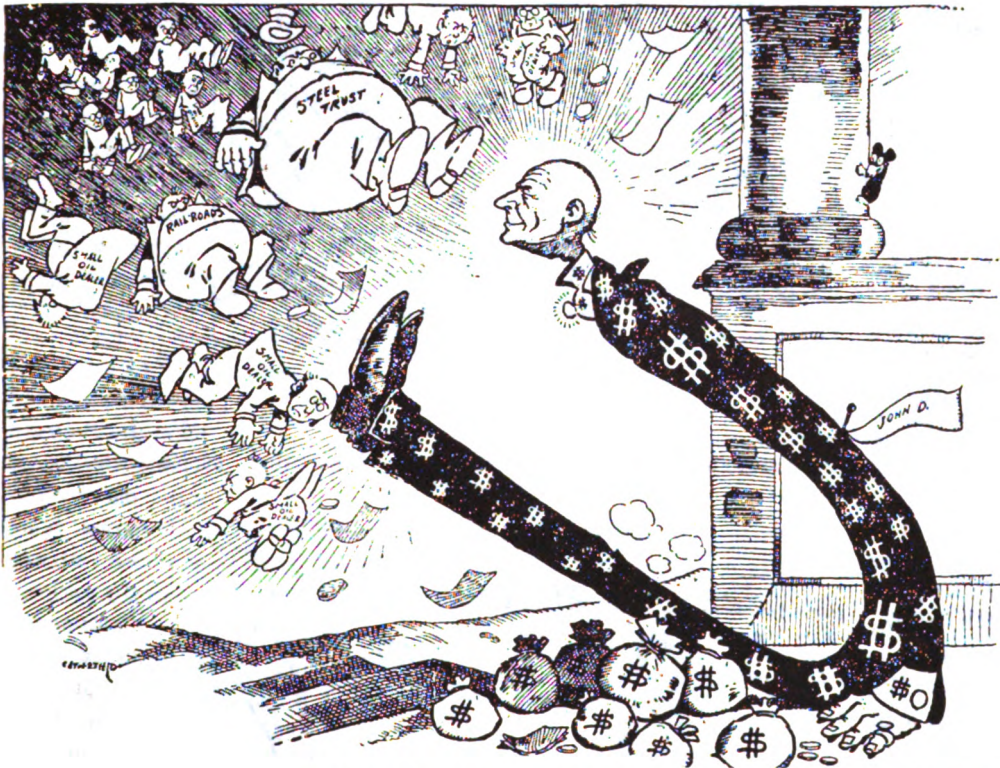
continually increasing amount to invest in new enterprises. At the present rate, it will not be very long before Rockefeller will have absorbed practically everything on the earth, and begin casting his eyes toward the stars for other worlds to conquer. He is now casting his eyes

heavenward—presuming that heaven is above—but there are a lot of people who are willing to gamble on the proposition that if there is any hereafter Rockefeller will get the hot end of it.

Over in England they are using a variation of the “full dinner pail” argument, and the accompanying illustration from *Judy* shows the delights of

posed to be good enough argument to attract the workingmen. In a speech at Burnley during the last campaign Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the English Socialist, touched upon this fiscal question, and among other things said :

You are told by Mr. Mitchell that iron is coming into England at 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. under cost price, and he says the remedy is to put on a duty of 10 per cent. How in the name of wonder is a duty of 10 per cent. going to keep iron out that is produced at 40 per cent.



The Most Powerful Magnet in the World.

—Cleveland Press

the “full beer mug” held out before the longing eyes of the supposedly pauper British workman. “The full beer pail” is supposed to come with an abandonment of the free trade policy. As a matter of fact, it won’t make a bit of difference to the British workingman whether he has free trade or protection, but anything in the way of a “full dinner pail” or “full beer mug” is sup-

posed to be good enough argument to attract the workingmen. In a speech at Burnley during the last campaign Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the English Socialist, touched upon this fiscal question, and among other things said : You are told by Mr. Mitchell that iron is coming into England at 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. under cost price, and he says the remedy is to put on a duty of 10 per cent. How in the name of wonder is a duty of 10 per cent. going to keep iron out that is produced at 40 per cent. less than you can produce it? The most incompetent Protectionist would see that it would not. He says that other countries have grown under Protection. Undoubtedly they have. America, with her tremendous protective tariff has increased her manufactures enormously. I gave you figures last time I was in Burnley which nobody had then given. Twenty years ago America produced in manufactures \$5,000,000,000 worth per year. Twenty years later, though the increase was only 50 per cent in the population, the tariffs rising all the time, she produced \$15,000,000,000 worth, or £3,000,000,000 sterling. Enormous industries have been

built up; cities have grown immensely, but who has benefited? The huge capitalists have benefited, like Mr. Rockefeller, whose income on revenue this year will be twenty to twenty-five million pounds sterling. Look on the other side. In 1850 the proportion of wealth of the United States taken by the working classes was 62 per cent. of the whole. Ten years later it was 50 per cent.; in 1880, 22½ per cent.; in 1890, 12½ per cent.; and the proportion now is not more than 10 per cent. This shows that though there is an enormous accumulation of wealth under Protection, the workingman does not get the benefit of it. Therefore, Protection does not mean prosperity to the workers. You will observe exactly the same thing in Germany and other Protectionist countries. The tendency to increase the accumulation of wealth in few hands grows as Protection grows.

was instigated by the United States, and that the so-called Republic of Panama would not be able to exist for ten days

except for the protection of this country. In spite of this universal knowledge, however, our statesmen at Washington seem to think that they are called upon to make all sorts of pious professions and absurd claims in connection with the Isthmian affair.



AN APPEAL TO BRITISH WORKMEN.

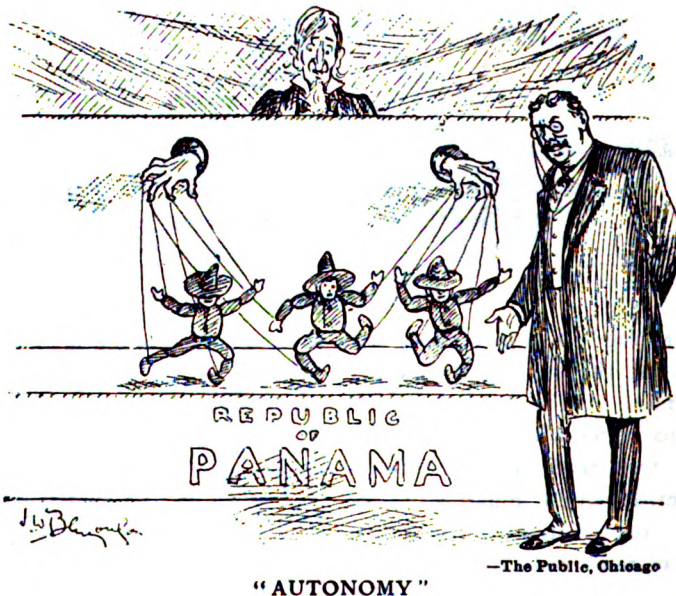
—Judy, London

“Think for Yourselves. Which is it to be?”

President Roosevelt and W. J. Bryan

seem to think that stock watering of

A cartoon in *The Public*, of Chicago, rather neatly hits off the attitude of President Roosevelt toward Panama. Nobody has ever had the least doubt that the rebellion against Colombian authority



—The Public, Chicago

“AUTONOMY”

“Showman Roosevelt—Ladies and gentlemen, you will recognize these figures as constituting a self-acting Republic.”

corporations has in some mysterious manner enabled the Trusts to obtain their commanding position. It is true that over-capitalization to a certain extent does allow them to conceal their profits by, a

less percentage of dividends than if they were capitalized on a basis of cost, but this is of very small consequence. The capitalists will never be terrified enough by public opinion to forego great profits. If there is any one more conversant with methods of finance than Mr. Rockefeller we don't know who he is, and yet he is never ashamed to pay 40 or 50 per cent. dividends on the stock of his Standard Oil Co., nor to see that stock sells at 700 per cent. premium. According to the Roosevelt-Bryan theory, inasmuch as the Standard Oil Trust not only has all the water squeezed out of it, but has only one-seventh as much water as it could have in it, and still sells at par, therefore the Standard Oil Trust is no menace to the public and should not be bothered. When the final collapse

comes, these big Trusts that are so heavily over-capitalized will not pay the dividends that are expected of them, but that will not interfere with their industrial coherence. The financial part of the Trusts, the non-payment of dividends, is a very different thing from the industrial part, the economies that will result from combination. So long as it is economical to be in a combination we may be sure that the Trusts will last, no matter whether they are over-capitalized or not. If a panic comes, the big combinations will not be able to pay their dividends, but they would not improve their position by disintegrating.

The cartoon in the February number of WILSHIRE'S used in connection with the Iroquois theatre fire disaster was from the Chicago Socialist. Credit for the striking cartoon was inadvertently omitted.



Minneapolis Journal

No signs of his swearing off.

SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of America will be held in Chicago, May 1, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the office of president and vice-president of the United States, and for the transaction of

such other business as may legitimately come before it. The basis of representation will be one delegate at large for each State, and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PERSONALITY OF HAWTHORNE* BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne can hardly be thanked enough for the quite unembarrassed frankness of his dealings with those simpler and closer details of his father's life which embody a man's personality to his acquaintance, and, if he is a great man, extend and transmit the notion of it to strangers in the remoteness of time and space, says Mr. Howells in the *North American Review*. He has done his work so faithfully and so fully in the constantly interesting volume, "Hawthorne and his Circle," that there are chances it will remain the favorite life of our incomparable romancer out of all the lives that have been or that shall be written. As the author has it from time to time on his conscience to remind us, the book is not a study of Hawthorne's work; it is scarcely a study of Hawthorne's character; it is so little a premeditated or intentional analysis of his method or his mind that it has none of the offensive or defensive qualities of a criticism; but it is a picture of one of the most fascinating and important literary men who ever lived, as his own family knew him, and as the lovers of his books will be glad to know, among the friends he made. He is by no means posed as the centre of his circle; and it cannot be said that his friends or his casual acquaintance are introduced at any moment for the set purpose of lighting his figure up or throwing a contrasting shade upon it. But since he is there among them, we cannot help having the advantage of their personalities in rendering his more intelligible.

Next to making him so clear and appreciable, it seems to me that the most valuable office of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's book is the admirable illustration, both conscious and unconscious, of Hawthorne's period. The most trivial of these fond records contributes to the effect. The boy, growing up beside the man, and having his hand so often both literally and figuratively in his father's hand, had yet such an objective sense of the environment as his elder could not have, for all the vastness of his scope and the keenness of his vision. His look was necessarily an inlook, and it is the outlook which Mr. Julian Hawthorne makes the future his debtor in supplying.

*Hawthorne and His Circle, by Julian Hawthorne. Harper and Brothers.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne shows no disposition to flatter the facts of his father's more intimate life, by which he lets us know him as the heart of his home, wherever the home might be, whether in the quaint old Salem house, which I never found; in the farm cottage in Lenox; in the Wayside at Concord; in the various English lodgings and boarding-houses; in the hotels of Paris, Rome and Florence. We learn to know him familiarly, in his son's report of him, and we see him with eyes which we trust as our own. The boy first saw him at the desk where he was always writing, as it seemed, in a long dressing-gown and slippers down at the heels: "a tall, strong man, whose wide-domed head was covered with wavy black hair, bushing out at the sides. . . . Under heavy, dark eyebrows were eyes deep-set and full of light, marvellous in range of expression, with black eyelashes. *All seemed well with me when I met their look,*" Mr. Hawthorne adds, with a touch that goes to the heart both for his father and for himself. He recalls his father as broad-shouldered and deep-chested, and nearly six feet tall; "his legs and feet were slender and graceful, his gait long and springy, and he could stand and leap as high as his shoulder." He had "mechanical talent," and he made the children amusing toys, and after they got into the country at Lenox, he taught them his love of the woods and fields; he would call out to them to hide their eyes, "and the next moment, from being there beside us on the moss, we would hear his voice descending from the skies, and behold! he swung among the topmost branches, showering down upon us a hail-storm of nuts." He went sledding with them, and coasted floundering down among the drifts, and he joined them in their snow-fights. He believed that the country was best in winter, but, after all, he did not like Lenox, for he was not well there. Wherever he was, he was the good comrade of his children, but their guide, philosopher and friend, as well as their playmate. He watched them carefully, though tacitly, and it is only in the retrospect that his son is aware how much his father's fellowship was educative.

One of the most significant things which Mr. Hawthorne notes in his father is that sort of duality, or plurality, by which a superior man loves several things the best. The reader of "Our Old Home" need not be reminded of the frank distaste with which Haw-

thorne spoke of many things in England and the English which he disliked; yet, when he left them for his Continental journeys and sojourns "he began to be conscious of discomfort which was only partly bodily or sensible. An unacknowledged homesickness afflicted him—an Old Homesickness rather than a yearning for America. He may have imagined that it was America that he wanted, but when at last we returned there he still looked back towards England. As an ideal, America was still and always foremost in his heart. . . . America might be his ideal home, but his real home was England, and thus he found himself, in the end, with no home at all outside of the boundaries of his domestic circle."

The like happened with a man so unlike Hawthorne as Lowell, so unlike even in their common New Englandry; with both, in their passion for America, their affection was ultimately for England. Both were deeply domesticated men, as only Americans can be, and with both their own roof-tree became their sole country, their *patria*. The effect made itself felt in the homelessness Hawthorne experienced outside of his family in the streets of Paris, where many things gave him pause. It is not altogether humorously that Mr. Hawthorne notes that though his father "enjoyed the French cookery, he was in some doubt whether it was not a snare of the evil one to lure men to indulgence." He felt keenly the cold of warm countries, which one cannot escape as one can the cold of cold countries, and both in Paris and Rome, his suffering from it disabled his sense of beauty in the world of art to which he was so alien by all his tradition: the naked women statues and pictures seemed to him repulsively indecent, and it was not till the weather grew milder that he was able partially to judge them æsthetically. In fact, he never reached the unmorality of the classic standard; architecture suffered with sculpture and painting in his censure, but of course not so severely, and he entered his judgments in the diary he kept with a savage sincerity. "These are the iconoclasms of the Goth and Vandal," Mr. Hawthorne says after citing some of the censures, "at their first advent to Rome. They remained to alter their mood, and so did my father," but it was questionable whether he was ever quite at peace with the things which he first required to prove their innocence. If he did not reconcile himself to the æsthetics of Latin civilization, still less did he yield to its ethics. When it came to affairs of right and wrong, no matter how trivial, he was inflexible, and the departure of the family from Rome was celebrated by a scene of melodrama such as ensues in Italian countries when the *forestiere* makes a virtue of resistance to imposition. The Hawthornes had a worthless little maidservant, Lalla, whose tribe wished to levy tribute for all the things she had left undone, and appeared with her at the last moment to urge her claim. "No!" said my father, and "No!" said my mother, like the judges of the Medes and Persians," and then

Lalla and her tribe tried what cursing would do. "I think my father would not have yielded had the salvation of Rome and all Italy depended upon it." Apt enough to make liberal bargains, he was "absolutely incorruptible when anything like barefaced robbery was attempted."

In this summary of the various aspects of Hawthorne as he is shown in his son's book, the reader of it will easily see that I have not done the book itself justice, and my defence is that I am not here attempting that. I might otherwise have something to say both in praise and in blame of the fashion of its doing; I might insinuate that there were errors of taste and errors of judgment in the record, and yet I do not know that if pushed to the wall I should say there was anything I would have left out. Concerning each debatable point, I can fancy myself yielding it to the author, and upon the whole thanking him for having committed just that error, since all he says tends to a fulness of knowledge concerning Hawthorne. Even where the errors do not apparently concern him, they really concern him, for in the excess with which some of his circle seem presented, we have the more abundant material for imagining the man who perennially interests, and, humanly speaking, will eternally interest the lover of literature. In this study of Hawthorne's environment, the obscure or obscurer figures of his circle are no more slighted for the more famous figures by the son than the father slighted them. The two Hawthornes are alike in the essential democracy that finds human nature always important, and the reader in the measure of his own genuineness will share their pleasure in the simpler and plainer folks whom they touched, the father in his life, and the son in his record of it. It is by no means part of the rising man's good fortune that his rise eliminates him from the common level, and after one has satisfied in a measure the appetite for celebrities, one would rather have gone on hearing about such of his acquaintance as have not been otherwise heard of. But there are abundant celebrities in the book, whom Mr. Hawthorne sketches in their relation to Hawthorne with the same frankness that he uses with Hawthorne himself. A man of Hawthorne's approved greatness, such as he was after "The Scarlet Letter" and "The Blithedale Romance" made him known, could not dwell in Concord, in Liverpool, in London, in Paris, in Rome, in Florence, without being sought out and found out in whatever remoteness he tried to guard, by all sorts of distinguished people; and this duly happened with Hawthorne everywhere, except perhaps in Salem, where he never personally lived after he became known. Thanks to their inevitable occurrence we have a multitude of such figures in "Hawthorne and His Circle." But Hawthorne himself was easily the first figure of the circle, no matter who entered it, not because the terms of the book are that he should be so, but because it is doubtful whether he ever met a greater man

than himself, in America, or England, or Italy.

Here at the end I find myself with the wish to say something of Hawthorne which I must say, if at all, in apparent contradiction of some things I began by saying. I will venture upon them with what courage I may, and leave the reader to strike the balance of truth.

All the forming days of his years he dwelt in his native and ancestral New England, but he was in it, not of it, so far as its more ostensible passions and aspirations were concerned; though it would be so hard to say what other land or people he was more of that it would be easier to suppose him of some origin and substance not affected by the motives of his fellowmen anywhere. In a sort this was literally true of him. He was poor and unworldly, yet he prospered through straits all but dire to fame and competence by his helpless constancy to a high ideal of literature, which, as his son attests, was the fine power of his common sense, and as every lover of his books can witness was in no wise transcendental. He was a Brook-Farmer, but amidst communistic dreamers he preserved a skeptical allegiance to the old order apparently so unfriendly to himself. While all the best minds and natures about him were stirred to the noble abhorrence of slavery, he not ignobly held aloof from the strain and stress of that period of impassioned politics, and kept pure the artistic soul from those public ethics which penetrated even the æsthetic privacy where Longfellow dwelt apart if not alone. When the great war came, he indeed found himself in enmity to secession, but as much critically amused as impassioned in his patriotism. The religious change which passed over New England did not leave him Puritan in creed, for that he had never been, but neither did it make him over in the likeness of the newer saints who soared or rested in an optimistic faith in the perfectibility and early perfection of human society. However little of the past he formally was, he was quite as little formally of the present; those who were in no haste to accept his retarded condemnation of the South in the war against the Union could not have dealt more severely with him than I heard, in my first years at Boston, an eminent Unitarian minister deal with him for what he considered his libel of the New England Puritan clergy in venturing to imagine the Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale and his dark history possible to any man of his cloth.

THE SALE OF AN APPETITE. By Paul La Fargue. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 57 pp., 50 cents.

One scarce knows which feature of this book to choose as the central one for a review—its keen satirical argument for Socialism, its

literary composition or the mechanical excellence with which it is printed, bound and illustrated. It is the story of a poor, starving wretch who was standing one evening outside a restaurant looking in at the delicacies displayed in the window, and the picture which the artist, Dorothy Dean, who illustrates the book, has made of this scene will haunt you for hours after you have laid the book aside. While this vision of plenty is adding to the torments of his hungry stomach he is approached by a bloated and dyspeptic capitalist, who proposes to buy his appetite for 2,000 francs a month. The bargain is struck, and Emile Destouches, as the hero is called, takes up the work of digesting the gluttonous meals which the purchased appetite enables the capitalist to consume. For a time he congratulates himself on his good fortune, but soon his task palls on him, then becomes a terrible burden, which he seeks to escape, but the attorney who has drawn the contract rebukes him as follows: "You complain because you have become reduced to nothing but a digestive apparatus; but all who earn their living by working are lodged at the same sign. * * * Imprint this truth on your memory: the poor man no longer exists for himself in our civilized societies, but for the capitalist, who sets him to work at his fancy or according to his needs, with such or such of his organs." Many will read this who will draw back from prejudice before an ordinary propaganda book or shirk the labor reading a treatise on economics.

LETTERS FROM A CHINESE OFFICIAL. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

This small but intensely interesting series of eight letters, by an unnamed Chinese official, throws much light on the recent invasion of China by foreign powers. The writer makes a powerful plea for his people in style that is clear, forceful and charming.

The author in comparing the life of his countrymen with that of our western mode of living, gives a description of his birthplace in such a beautiful manner that for a moment one might think he was reading one of Longfellow's descriptive pieces. That the author realizes the true cause for the invasion of China may be known when we hear him say: "It is a matter of life and death to you (Europeans and Americans) to find markets in which you may dispose of your surplus manufactures and from the sale of which you may derive your food and raw material. Such a market is China, or might be, and the opening of this market is in fact the motive, very thinly disguised, of all your dealings with us in recent years."

The book provides an interesting eastern view of our western civilization.

Geo. Rowser, Jr.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

TO FRIENDS OF WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

Subscription postal cards, each good for a year's subscription to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, are sold to all applicants at rate of 50 cents per card; cards good for a six months subscription, 25 cents. Remit cash with order to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., New York.

A NEW WATCH OFFER

TO TESTIFY to our appreciation of work done to extend the circle of WILSHIRE'S readers we have decided to give away each month two beautiful gold watches. Both watches will go to the one who, in the opinion of the Circulation Department, has done the most earnest and effective work for WILSHIRE'S during the month.

The Agent receiving the watches can dispose of them as he sees fit. We suggest he retain one and give the other to the one of his subscribers where the gift will do the most good for the Cause.

This monthly watch distribution will continue indefinitely.

The watches will be equal in every respect to those awarded in the January-February competition, and be useful, interesting and beautiful souvenirs. Lady's size may be had if preferred.

This offer gives a chance for a watch to the agent as well as to the subscriber.

STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT

At no time, to so great an extent, are people interested in economic questions as in a presidential campaign year.

Such a year we now have before us and it provides Socialists of the United States with the greatest opportunity in the history of the movement to reach those who are ignorant of Socialist principles.

Industrial conditions are providing striking evidences of the truth of Socialist contentions. The army of the unemployed is constantly growing by reason of the shutting down of factories which cannot find a market for their products. Wages are being reduced in all sections of the country, and in all fields of industry, and the Socialist philosophy alone adequately explains the conditions and shows the way to a better order of things.

If the people are to be reached with literature setting forth the Socialist theory and giving the Socialist interpretation of current industrial and political events now is the time to reach them.

Once it is realized that the people are to be reached the immediate question is: "What shall we reach them with?"

To this question the answer must be: "Something high class, something bright, something thorough, something that will not only create but maintain interest in Socialism."

Each of these demands is met by WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, and before the November election it should have a quarter of a million subscribers.

These subscribers can be obtained if our old friends and ever increasing circle of new friends determine to do it. United effort, with each one doing a small but vitally important part, will accomplish the result. In every state and territory devoted Socialists are nobly working for the Cause, but to make this year count more than any other year this army of workers should have re-inforcements. Now, the question is: If YOU are not already enlisted for the cause, why not enlist NOW?

Let every one who reads this determine to get at least one new yearly subscriber. Any one can do this much, and most of our readers can do more.

WILSHIRE'S is bright, breezy, and a thought producer. In addition to its political and economic discussions it contains miscellaneous matter to edify and entertain. The subscription rate of 50 cents a year places it within the reach of all.

During the year we shall neglect no opportunity to improve the magazine, which already has no peer among Socialist periodicals in the variety and excellence of its contributions, tasteful typography and general effectiveness as a propaganda instrument.

Feb. 25, 1904.

W. F. Morrison, Esq.,
Cleburn, Texas.

Would say that anybody can start a National Bank who has the cash to start it with, subject to the regulations of the National Bank Act. There is practically no profit in circulation, which can only be issued by buying bonds at the present high market price. Many banks are finding it pays better to sell their bonds and retire their circulation. There has been a great deal of rubbish written about the profits of the National Banks. As a matter of fact, except for the advertisement of being a *National Bank*, there is more money for the banker in private banking. There is not such mystery nor jobbing about banking as some people think. I have been in the game myself.—W.

A few years ago an approach to the advertisers with the suggestion that a Socialistic publication would pay would have been laughed to scorn, the assumption being that Socialists, like all dreamers, had no money. But since then a great change has come over advertisers, who have found out that a man may be a Socialist and still make money, and one of the influences that has brought about this reversal of opinion has been *Wilshire's Magazine*. A few advertisers tried it and found they had uncovered a miniature treasure trove. This news spread to others, and now the magazine is carrying a splendid line of business and the amount of it is gradually increasing.—*The Chicago Journal*.

Editor *Wilshire's*—I am so well pleased with *Wilshire's* that I want to be on time in my renewal. *Wilshire's* is the best of any magazine I ever read. Please send me "History of Socialism in United States," by Morris Hillquit, and two yearly cards. Find here enclosed bank draft for two dollars.

Yours fraternally,
E. B. KECK,
Tonganoxie, Kans.

Editor *Wilshire's*—Being particularly interested in economics, I can truthfully say that no monthly which I receive interests me as does yours.

ROLAND T. PATTEN,
Skowhegan, Me.

Editor *Wilshire's*—*Wilshire's* is an excellent propaganda periodical and I shall endeavor to obtain for you a good circulation in these parts. Socialism is the growing thought of the age, and you have the happy faculty of saying the right thing at the right time.

Fraternally,
J. A. HART,
Mt. Pleasant, Wash.

Editor *Wilshire's*—I must here congratulate you on the general turn-out of your magazine. I am a printer and appreciate the excellent appearance. Its short articles, its fine illustrations, and the inclusion of matters affecting Art and Science, are just the things which enable one to place it in the hands of the "heathen."

Wishing you well merited success in 1904,
I am,

Yours in the Grand Cause,
BENJAMIN RUSSELL,
Reading, England.

Editor *Wilshire's*—We have had no appetite for a month and still have been hungry all the time and only now the have found the cause in your non-appearance.

Yours fraternally,
T. D. POLLOCK,
THOS. JENNY,
Russellville, Oregon.

Editor *Wilshire's*—I enclose application for 26 subscription cards and wish to enter the lists for Marx "Capital" and Engel's "Origin of the Family."

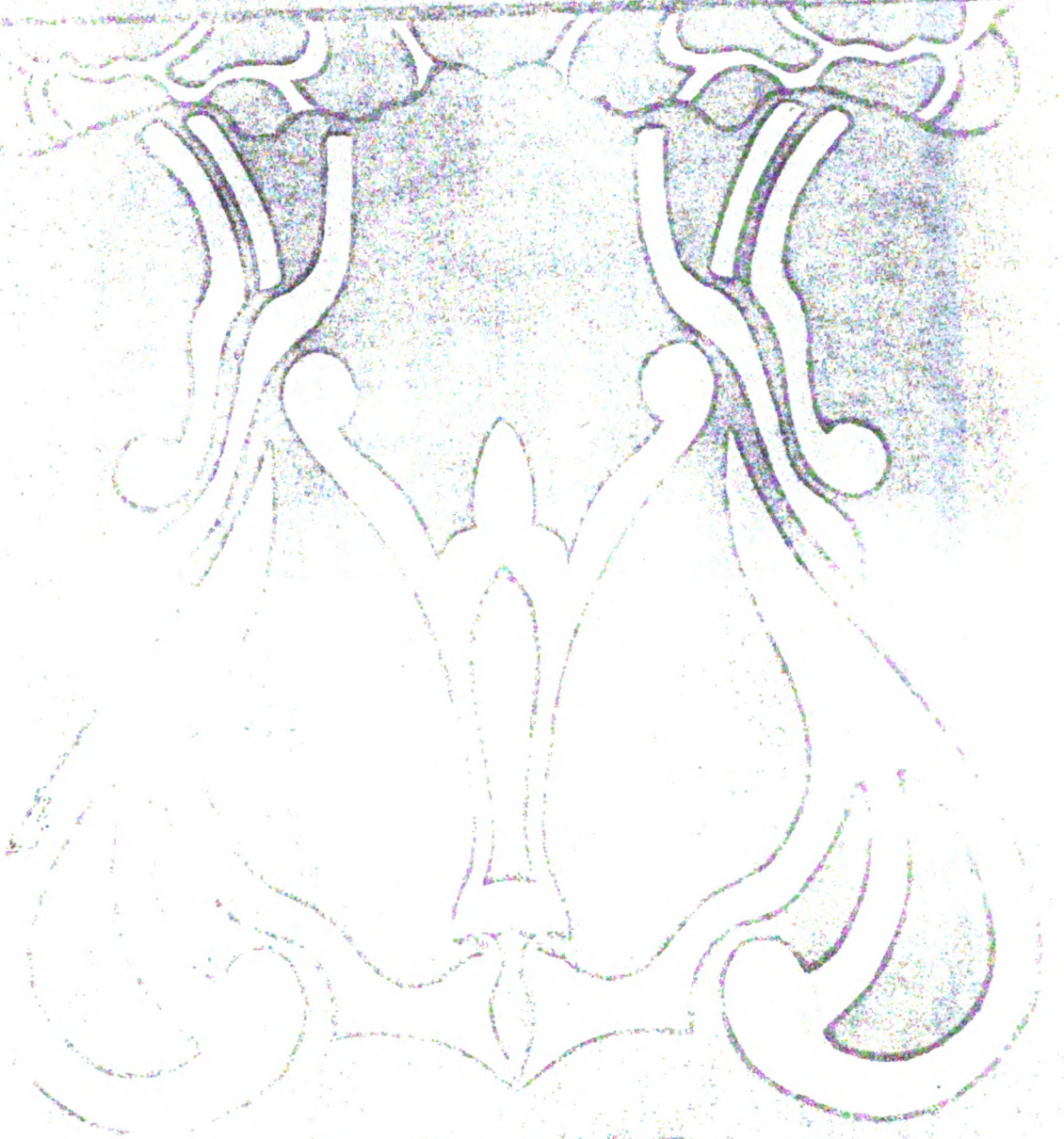
Out here in Colorado we have an anarchist for governor who is bent on destroying the W. F. M. He has, in violation of all law, declared Martial Law in Teller and San Miguel Cos., and is arresting union men and deporting them from their homes and ordering them to stay away from their respective counties. This state should be annexed to Russia. The American spirit and bravery is dying out, or perhaps only submerged for the present. Surely the capitalists are riding hard to their fall, and it will come before long.

"Push the good work," should be every Socialist's motto.

Fraternally yours,
W. F. FARRAR,
Carbondale, Colo.

Charles Bradley, one of the veteran Socialists of New England, died Jan. 29th, at Haverhill, and was buried two days later. Comrade Bradley was 69 years old, and had been active for Socialism for many years. He was elected alderman on the Socialist ticket in 1898, the same year that John C. Chase was elected Mayor, and re-elected with Chase the following year. He was the Social Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1900, being unanimously nominated at the state convention at which unity was consummated. Comrade Bradley came of old New England stock, and was an ardent Abolitionist in his youth, having personal acquaintance with Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and other famous anti-slavery advocates of that period. His influence in and out of the Socialist movement was inestimable. He was loved by his comrades for his purity of character, which left him strong, hopeful and enthusiastic through all adversity.

WILSHIRE'S



APRIL

Small vertical text on the left margin, likely a library or archival stamp, containing illegible characters and numbers.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor
CHARLES DOBBS, Managing Editor

April, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CAVILIERI, a Portrait (Frontispiece)	160
EDITORIAL REVIEW	161
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR..... By Morris Hillquit	168
A CONDITION TO BE MET..... By A. Ramsay	170
HOW WE WILL DIVIDE..... By the Editor	171
PHRENOLOGY AND SOCIALISM (Illustrated)..... By Edgar C. Beall, M. D.	174
FINALE (Poem)..... By Ida Crouch-Hazlett	181
EUROPEAN SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT..... By John C. Van der Veer	182
THE SLEEPY MISS COLUMBIA (Illustrated)..... By the Editor	186
DECAY OF ENGLISH PHYSIQUE	187
THE TRAMP (Concluded)..... By Jack London	188
WILSHIRE'S EXILE TO END	192
SOCIALISTS IN THE REICHSTAG (Portraits)	194
TRAITOR TRIGGS BEHEADED	196
LABOR'S PROCESSIONAL	197
BRYAN WILL DISCUSS SOCIALISM	198
CARTOON AND COMMENT.....	199
BOOK REVIEWS	203
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER	206

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is printed in Toronto and published monthly by the Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at \$1.00 a year, or for sale at all news-stands at 10 cents a copy. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.50 (6s.) a year.

Remittances should be made by postal or express orders.

Subscriptions received after the 25th of the month will commence with next month's issue.

When changing address always give the old as well as the new address.

When renewing please state specifically that the remittance is for a renewal. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



CAVILIERI.

A beautiful and talented actress, well known on the European stage, and deeply interested in Socialism. She died last year at the height of her artistic power and fame.

[See "Phrenology and Socialism," page 174]

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 4.

TORONTO, APRIL, 1904

\$1 Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

BY A BARE MAJORITY of one the United States Supreme Court has decided that the Northern Securities Co. is a combination in restraint of trade and in violation of the provisions of the Anti-Trust Act of 1892. A dispatch from Washington says that "President Roosevelt and the members of his cabinet and other officials feel especially elated" over the decision. There are no particular signs of frenzied joy in any other quarters, however, and this is probably as it should be. The Supreme Court's decision means nothing particularly except that it enables Roosevelt to go into the coming campaign able to point with pride to his exploit as a trust-buster. The decision can have no influence upon the tendency of wealth to concentrate in a few hands. It holds the members of the Northern Securities Co. guilty of conspiracy, but it leaves the conspirators in full and undisturbed possession of the securities which were pooled. This means, that while the conspirators may not organize themselves into a holding company, they may do

**SUPREME
COURT'S ANTI-
MERGER
DECISION**

with their property as they see fit, and certainly if they don't want to compete the Supreme Court can't compel them to do so. If they may not combine in the form of a company, they can combine in some other way which will be just about as effective as the other. A dispatch to the New York Sun says that "the action of the Court will have important and far-reaching effect and the industrial world will be more or less disturbed by it." But it is difficult to see how this disturbance can have any effect beyond a rearrangement of the agreement between the Trust Magnates who have finally decided that they don't want and won't have any competition "in theirs." The impotence of the decision to affect vitally the right of the Trust Magnates to do as they please with their own is shown in the dissenting opinion of Justice White who remarked:

"If the conspiracy and combination existed and was illegal, my mind fails to perceive why it should be left to produce its full force and effect in the hands of individuals by whom it was charged the conspiracy was entered into."

Just how little the moving spirits in the Northern Securities Co. were influenced

by the decision is shown by an interview by Mr. Jas. J. Hill. "Have you an alternative plan to put into effect?" was asked Mr. Hill. "Well," answered Mr. Hill, smiling, "not for publication."

IF ONE MAY JUDGE BY the temper of the language which the respective factions employ there is slim hope for any degree of harmony between the radical and conservative wings of the disorganized and done-for Democratic party. Mr. Bryan through his paper *The Commoner* sarcastically quotes the *Chicago Chronicle's* characterization of him as "a mere mouther, a cheeky upstart, a blatant demagogue, a hypocrite and Pharisee, a slick adventurer, a grasping money-maker, a subservient tool of rich and ambitious men, and a promoter of hate and strife and revolution." Mr. Bryan observes that this is "interesting by way of showing the fine spirit in which the reorganizers approach their great task of harmonizing the Democratic party" and to show that he is some shakes of a denunciator himself he remarks that "Mr. Cleveland has secretly mortgaged himself to Wall Street—his career has shown how completely the conscience can be separated from the mind in the performance of official duties." As another evidence of his sweet, forgiving and harmonious disposition, Mr. Bryan recently remarked, in reading Mr. Cleveland's characterization of himself as "one of the rank and file," that the Sage of Princeton was "rank" all right, but he (Bryan) didn't know about the "file." The Socialist is not particularly interested in the exchange of such amenities and dismisses the subject generally with the exclamation, "a plague on both your houses" or "when thieves fall out honest men get their due."

UNTIL DR. JACQUES LOEB of Chicago demonstrates its commercial value, only a languid interest will attach to the news that he has succeeded in crossing a sea-urchin and a star-fish in demonstration of his theory that life is a chemical reaction of matter. One of the dreams of commercialism has been to cross the lightning bug with the honey-bee, so that the busy little fellow might have light with which to work at night, and if Dr. Loeb wishes fortune and a larger degree of fame he will turn his attention to something along this line.

JOHAN MITCHELL, PRESIDENT of the United Mine Workers of America, is the last victim of Frank G. Carpenter, the interviewer. In the course of the interview Mr. Mitchell made an argument in favor of the eight hour day. In this argument Mr. Mitchell assumes a tone which is characteristic just now of the so-called "conservative" labor leaders. That is to say, he doesn't demand the shorter work day because the working man is entitled to it as a right, but because it would be to the interest of the capitalist employer. For instance, Mr. Mitchell says:

We should do more and better work everywhere if we had eight hours only. Such matters must be considered as a long time proposition. There is so much work in every man and if you take too much one day you will have so much less for the days to come. One of the college professors puts it this way. If you want to get all you can out of a man for one day only, work him the whole twenty-four hours. If you want to get all you can out of him for a week only, work him twenty hours a day; if for a month, give him eighteen hours, and if for a year, work him fifteen hours and keep him at it. If you want to work him several years let him have the ten-hour day. But if you want to get the most out of him for his whole working life time you must cut his hours of labor to eight per day. The fact is that a man can do and does do more work in eight hours than in ten.

If the capitalists were at all interested in prolonging the period of the laborer's efficiency this argument might appeal to them, but as a matter of fact the capitalist has no such interest and it is absurd to tell him that more can be produced in eight hours than in ten hours. The trouble with Mitchell's argument is that it takes no account of the fact that the labor supply greatly exceeds the demand, and that the capitalists always know that when they have worn out a worker they can cast him aside and get a new one. This is proved by the fact that in most industries it is becoming the practice to employ none but young men, who can work at top speed for ten hours or a longer work day. When they reach the age where they are not capable of such sustained effort, they are turned off. The "dead line" varies according to the character of employment, but as a general rule it may be laid down that the man who has reached forty-five is thrown aside as a worn-out piece of machinery. As an illustration of this the following, which was recently printed in the *New York Sun*, is interesting :

OLD MOTORMEN MUST GO.

B. R. T. WILL DISMISS ALL WHO CAN'T PASS A RIGID PHYSICAL TEST.

General Manager J. F. Calderwood of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company announced yesterday that all the company's motormen must pass a rigid physical examination. Those found to be unfit physically will be discharged.

"We have a lot of old men," said Mr. Calderwood, "who have grown old in the service. It seems a hardship to dismiss them, but we must have men who are absolutely fit for the work."

SOME MORE OR LESS profound philosopher has discovered that war, especially a foreign war, enriches the language by the addition of new words, and upon this principle we may say a word in praise of corruption in public life because the word graft, which is now printed without quotation marks, is

ENRICHING
THE LANGUAGE

derived directly from this source. It is a good word in this country, but it does not seem that it has yet become familiar in England. *The Social Democrat* of London publishes an article from Eugene V. Debs in which the word grafters is used. Fearing that his readers might not understand the term, the editor kindly placed after it an asterisk which directed the gentle reader to a footnote where it was explained that "grafter" is a synonym for "swindler." From this, however, it must not be inferred that they haven't got grafters in England. Wherever Capitalism exists there we shall find the grafter no matter by what name he may be known.

IT IS NOT AN UNUSUAL thing to find illiberality among professed liberals, and the rankest sort of unfairness among those who pride themselves particularly upon their fairness. A case in point is provided by *The LIBERALITY OF A LIBERAL Public*, the Single Tax organ of Chicago, edited by Louis F. Post. Quoting an utterance of Lincoln in which he remarked "Let us have faith that right makes might," *The Public* asks: "How would that sound to those Republicans who have given the party over to the Socialist doctrine that moral righteousness and justice are mythical and hold that 'destiny determines the duty?'" Mr. Post is supposed to be a radical, but the misrepresentation involved in the charge that the Socialists hold that "moral righteousness and justice are mythical" is worthy of the narrowest and most unscrupulous conservative. Rather than holding these things to be mythical, the more philosophical Socialists recognize that they are at the basis of the Socialist demands. The demands for liberty and for the full value of the wealth each producer creates have

no effect unless there is a previous recognition that moral righteousness demands the one and justice demands the other. We are inclined to believe that all our ethical ideas in their beginnings were the results of economic arrangements, but centuries of evolution have crystalized certain ideas into a social conscience. It is unquestionably true also that a dominant economic class will formulate its own ideas of right and wrong, but these are always evanescent unless they are in harmony with the fundamental basis of social ethics, this basis being the fact that the good of society is the highest good, in the attainment of which the individual will find the fullest opportunity for the cultivation of what are generally known as the moral qualities. Most Socialists unquestionably believe that ethics are subject to the evolutionary process like everything else, and some may believe that the moral ideas of the race began in divine revelation, but we are at one in holding that these ideas do exist and to charge that we regard moral righteousness and justice as mythical is absurd if it is not downright malicious.

openly by both sides." After this statement the cynical will smile to read that "in this emergency reputable business men armed themselves and went to the polls in the interest of a fair count. Ex-Governor Frank D. Jackson and H. E. Hubbell, a millionaire railway president, were among the men who volunteered in this capacity." The readiness of "reputable business men" to arm themselves and take part in a fight in which both sides are using corrupt methods serves to throw some light on the disposition of a workingman out on a strike to fling a brick when he sees a "scab" trying to take his job away from him. Of course, we must at all hazards maintain the supremacy of law and order, but it is human nature to fight when one's rights are being infringed, and there is no particular use in getting black in the face denouncing workmen for doing what "reputable business men" are ready to do on much less provocation. The corruption that marked the Des Moines primary serves also to make one wonder whether Hull will follow the example of Shafroth, of Colorado, who voluntarily gave up his seat in Congress because fraudulent votes were cast for him.

A DESPATCH TO the *New York Sun* from Des Moines, Iowa, gives the news that J. A. T. Hull has been renominated for Congress by the Republicans, "after one of the most exciting primary election contests in the history of Des Moines."

THE PRIMARY
IN DES MOINES

On the day of the primary election rioting continued all day and "many men had broken heads, several were sent to the hospital suffering from knife wounds and there were half a dozen gun plays without the bullets taking effect." There was a fight between Republican factions and the *Sun* despatch remarks that "repeating was practiced

THE RAPID ADVANCEMENT of

Japan has been one of the marvels of modern civilization and it is only necessary to read the Japanese press to find out that life in this picturesque

Eastern kingdom is pretty much the same sort that we find in other

highly developed industrial nations. They have strikes, boycotts, child and female labor, ruthless capitalistic exploitation and all of the other characteristics of our industrial civilization. We note in our esteemed contemporary, the *Heimin Shimbun* of Tokyo, that

“the municipal government of Tokyo is honey-combed with corruption. The spoils system is still in force and the councillors are busy trying to get some benefits out of the city treasury. The mayor is not only silent about it, but he seems to give his sanction to their conduct.” The *Heimin Shimbun* prods the mayor to proceed with the municipal-ization of street railways, remarking that “as all the cities of civilization have already proved the success of the public ownership of street railways, Mr. Ozaki should not hesitate to exercise his whole power toward this end.” In conclusion the Japanese paper observes :

The two private companies which are controlling the street railways adopted a three *sen* uniform fare only lately, yielding to the irresistible influence of public opinion, and they have now found that their profits are steadily increasing under this arrangement. This shows plainly that municipal control of street railways will bring more benefits both to the city treasury and to the public. Here is a fine opportunity for the mayor to try his best to show that he is ever loyal to the cause of the people.

THE TRADE UNIONISTS WHO read the *American Federationist*, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor (Samuel Gompers, Editor) are in no danger of being left in the dark regarding the intellectual greatness of the President of the A. F. of L. In the March number of the *Federationist* are printed sketches of “Washington’s Labor Leaders,” in which we learn that—

Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L. and the most conspicuous labor leader in the United States, is a man upon whom anyone would cast a second glance when once his eye had fallen upon him. Gompers possesses individuality to a marked degree. In the first place, he is unusual in appearance. He is very short and very broad and has an unusually large head. Gompers can not be called handsome, and yet there is that presence of magnetism about him that prevents his being called ugly. In a word, Gompers is worth meeting and worth talking to.

Further in the sketch Editor Gompers modestly permits his readers to read that—

It is conceded that Mr. Gompers is the possessor of the greatest ability of any and all organizers in the labor movement in his time. As a debater and reasoner he is sound and logical, equal to all emergencies that arise, at home and familiar to a wonderful degree with all subjects; he is absolutely non-partisan, and a most eloquent orator, with an inexhaustible vocabulary richly stored with historical and poetic lore that is at his ready command, to contrast, to elaborate, depict, or describe the point at issue, or the discourse to be trimmed, ornamented, or satired or ridiculed as may be the pleasure and wish of this architect and wonderful word builder.

Further on it is related that Editor Gompers’ father lives in Washington and “is deservedly proud of his son, the great labor leader, who has proved with all his other virtues to be a loving son and an affectionate father, and a devoted husband, who is honored and loved by all, but who will never be appreciated by the masses as he deserves, and as he should be.” It is most melancholy to reflect that Mr. Gompers “will never be appreciated by the masses as he deserves,” but we may safely infer that his well known modesty will not prevent Mr. Gompers from finding solace in the fact that most of the other towering intellectual giants in history have also been unappreciated until they were long dead.

IT IS AMUSING HOW IN every conflict between men you will find both sides declaring themselves for the Rights of Man, for Liberty, for Justice, for God, etc., etc. This was particularly true in our late Civil War. The South was quite as certain as was the North that it was fighting the Battle of Humanity, and the night before every battle the opposing armies would pray

BLOOD BOILED
TO ORDER
WHILE
YOU READ

with equal fervor for victory on the morrow. Let anybody read the following and say if, until he gets down the pathos of the "Woe to the Walking Delegate," that he would not have thought he was reading a Socialist editorial. And who did write it? None other than the redoubtable General Harrison G. Otis, editor of the *Los Angeles Times* and the arch enemy of the Labor Unions on the Pacific Coast. He asks: "Shall an impudent minority set up an oligarchy, etc.," and I ask any fair-minded man if he would not have thought Otis was referring to the Astors, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, the Rockefellers, and people of that class rather than to that class of the community which has absolutely no rights whatsoever upon the Earth, not even the right to stand upon it except on the consent of the landlords? And thus spake Otis:

The American people have fought and won the battle for political independence, the battle for seamen's rights, the battle for freedom to the black man. They are now engaged in a struggle most important of all, for if this is lost the others will have been won in vain. The question is, shall Americans continue to govern America, and shall the birthright of personal liberty be conserved for the present generation and handed down to the generation which shall follow; shall the words of the martyr Lincoln, spoken on the field of Gettysburg, "A government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth!" be allowed to become a false prophecy, or shall we of today make that prophecy true now and true forever? Shall an impudent, insolent, arrogant minority of the American nation set up a labor trust, an oligarchy of the vicious, a revolution backward: make themselves the self-constituted masters of the great majority, who are to be held in serfdom? There can be only one answer to this question. The struggle is on. It will not be put off. It is the new irrepressible conflict. As in every conflict, the American people will fight it out to a finish. There will be no drawing back, no flinching, no shrinking, no halting. The order is, "Forward!" and forward and upward will be the course of this great, intelligent, patriotic people. Americans will win the fight, as they have always won. American principles will prevail. They must always prevail, for they are the essence of eternal right. The flag will continue to float over the homes of

free men, not over those of slaves. When all is over, the atmosphere will be clearer, life will be sweeter. The true men, the loyal men, will be the survivors. *Vae victis!* Woe to the walking delegate! Woe to the mischief-maker, to the boycotter and the torch-bearer! Woe to all who defy the laws and wrong their fellows! It is those whose false banners shall be trailed in the dust, and it is the teeth of these which shall bite the dust!

Is not this a stirring appeal? Does it not make one's blood boil or wouldn't it make it boil if the appeal were boiled a little itself!

A CERTAIN H.M.H.—and it is unnecessary to say that the initials do not stand for H. M. Hyndman, the great English Socialist—writes as follows in the *Detroit Tribune* of January 3:—

HAPPY MAN
HOOLIGAN

An article in the last number of *Wilshire's Magazine* is the funniest expression I have yet seen from a Socialist of the practical steps by which he hopes to realize the dream of government ownership and operation of all industry. He proposes J. Pierpont Morgan for president, and tells what he wants Mr. Morgan to do, assuming that he is the "master mind." "We know that you are equal to the occasion," he says, for the article is addressed to Morgan himself. "We want you to organize the business of the United States on the basis of a national corporation, in which every adult man and every adult woman in this country will be a stockholder: and we want everything in this country to belong to that corporation." Mr. Morgan is to be president of that corporation. He is to be the national business manager and to organize every line of industry on the socialistic basis. Such silly drivel as this is the socialistic dream run mad. In the first place, Mr. Morgan is not a great industrial organizer; he is merely a stock manipulator. The idea that any one man has the capacity for organizing and operating all the business done in the United States is too ridiculous. In the second place, the idea ignores natural laws. I do not mean to say that under a just system, industry may not evolve into a co-operative form on a large scale. I don't pretend to say what would be the ultimate form, and no one is wise enough to predict. But to be healthful, such changes must be left to individual initiative and to that co-operation which comes without legislative enactments. That some line of activities belong to the government, because of our social needs, there can be no doubt; but the government should attend to its own business and leave private affairs alone.

H.M.H.

The really funny part of the "funniest expression" is that "H.M.H." himself seems to have taken the article as perfectly serious. It is also amusing hearing him proclaim that social changes must be left to the individual when Mr. Rockefeller proceeds to make such changes by organizing all our industries under the head of his chief clerk, Mr. Morgan. "H.M.H." closes his eyes, sinks his head in the sand and dreams that what has already happened will never happen. What a Happy Man Hooligan can be when he goes to sleep!

THE FOLLOWING ITEM FROM *Collier's Weekly* shows how hard it is for Brother Bryan to conduct a combined political and fashion journal all on the same sheet:

What is this? We can scarcely believe our eyes. Yet it is "The Commoner" that we are reading, "The Commoner," the organ of

**BRYAN RULES
FOR DINNER
PARTIES**

equality, whether between men or between gold and copper. This spokesman of the downtrodden emits the following among other rules for what it calls a "dinner party": "Guests need not be acquaintances, but should move in the same class." Come, come, Mr. BRYAN, we are disappointed in you. Surely you never learned from Count TOLSTOI that a laborer and a bank president, a retail grocer and a distinguished editor, might not properly be seated together for social purposes. True, in the words of the popular refrain, "it simply isn't done," but ought "moving in the same class" to be held up as a necessity of prandial intercourse by the leader of all the hosts of radicalism? What will the Socialists have to say to this? Now when Mr. BRYAN says that after dinner the "eldest lady" should leave the room first, we do not care whether he is right or wrong, or whether "the carver should serve meat as he cuts it." We are inclined to agree that "the platter should not be filled with hacked fragments," and that it is well not to "flood the dishes with gravies." We do not, however, exactly like the "must" in this direction: "Fish must be eaten with the fork in the right hand and a piece of bread in the left." As a free American citizen we assert the right, during the fish course, to ignore bread altogether, if we choose. But what really rankles distressingly in our memory is that absolute ruling in favor of drawing social lines. Is there no hope of less rigidity, Mr. BRYAN? Is there no chance that we, the humble editor, may one day meet at table a member of the plutocracy, or that you,

the laureled leader, may have your gardener, or the typewriter and her mother, in to tea? Speak, for we read "The Commoner," and must know. On all social matters it is our guide, philosopher, and friend.

Collier's asks what will the Socialists have to say. We have nothing to say and say it, as Oscar Wilde said of the British House of Commons. Bryan believes in the right of a class to own the Earth and he knows that this right of ownership forces the class of non-owners to work for that owning class. Very well. If I must work for a man, willy nilly, I am that man's slave and a slave cannot expect to be upon the same social plane as his master. If we have rich and poor, then necessarily, from the very nature of the situation, we must have social classes to correspond with the economic classes. Bryan simply recognizes the inevitability of the results of such a system—private ownership—of which he is just as much an upholder as his friend Grover Cleveland. The only difference between them is that Bryan thinks the rich man should count his money in a white metal while Grover stands for the yellow boys.

MAX NORDAU HAS AN article in the *March Cosmopolitan* entitled "Socialism in Europe." When our attention was first called to the article, and before we had read it, we felt that anything Nordau might write would be sure to be interesting and instructive, but we were mistaken. The article where true is merely a re-hash of what everyone knows who knows anything at all of the European Socialist movement, and where untrue it is so puerile as to be unworthy of notice. We are sure any high-school boy could prepare a better article on Socialism—either for or against it—in a half hour's time, than Max Nordau has given to the American public in the *Cosmopolitan*.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR **ITS POSSIBLE EFFECT ON RUSSIA'S DESTINIES** MORRIS HILLQUIT, Author of "History of Socialism in the United States."

THE formidable contest between the plucky Mongolians and the grim Muscovite in the Far East is being watched by the nations of both hemispheres with breathless attention. The sensational reports of the moves of the hostile forces are being flashed over the wires from one end of the globe to the other, and the outcome of the war has become the all absorbing topic of international speculation.

And still the daily developments of the contest and the decision of the immediate issue between the two belligerent powers is of but minor importance to the world at large. A more weighty problem presented by the war is its probable effect on Russia's internal policy.

Russia holds quite an exclusive position among the nations of the world. Located partly in Europe and partly in Asia, the country has for centuries been wavering in the throes of the contending forces of the civilization of the former and the barbarism of the latter. In the course of time, however, the superior power of Western civilization has gradually and steadily gained the ascendancy. The semi-Asiatic habits and mode of life which until recently characterized the subjects of the Czar of "all Russias" have largely yielded to modern culture, and modern industry has of late invaded a great portion of Russia's vast territory. Despite this, however, the government of the country has remained absolutely untouched by the march of progress, and it is to-day what it was three centuries ago—a purely Asiatic despotism.

This contradiction between Russia's form of government and the degree of

her national civilization is the principal cause of all revolutionary movements which, during the last decade, have been so violently disturbing the otherwise peaceful reign of the little Czar.

Beginning as a purely intellectual manifestation, as a campaign of social and political education, the Russian revolutionary movement has changed its character and methods with astonishing frequency and rapidity, and every new phase of that movement has been more formidable and menacing than the preceding phase. The few hundred enthusiastic "propagandists"—mostly young idealists, men and women of the higher spheres of Russian society, who in the seventies of the last century were scattered all over the empire preaching the gospel of brotherhood and freedom to the oppressed peasants—were soon forced by the ruling powers to abandon their peaceful methods of action, and to declare open and active war on the government of the Czar.

The period of revolutionary "terrorism" which ensued is unique in the history of all nations. It was a contest in which a handful of young men and women, the noblest representatives of Russian intellect and Russian patriotism, were arrayed against the overwhelming forces of the most powerful of all governments. The contest was characterized by heroic determination and self-sacrificing devotion on the part of the revolutionists, and reckless brutality on the part of the government; it produced Russia's greatest heroes and martyrs as well as its basest hangmen. The struggle was short but fierce and terminated in the dramatic

killing of Alexander II as well as in the practical extermination of the revolutionary "terrorists" or "nihilists," as they were popularly designated.

The Russian terrorists represented a rather isolated group of the population. The class of peasants upon whose needs they mainly based their program of activity was not ripe to take up the battle, the class of nobility was too demoralized and cowardly to support them, and when the principal leaders of the movement were conquered by the government, the movement itself collapsed.

In the meanwhile, however, the economic development of Russia produced a new class of the population, the class of industrial workingmen, and from the bosom of this class a new revolutionary movement sprung up—the modern Social Democratic movement of Russia.

Less sensational but more solid than its predecessor, the Social Democratic movement spread from town to town, from district to district, until to-day it covers the domain of the Czar with a veritable network of secret organizations. No repressive measures can stem the tide of the movement, no amount of persecution avails against it; the movement is firmly rooted in the broad masses of the population, and its ranks are constantly supplied with new leaders and workers.

Nor can the upper classes of Russian society be considered a safe support for the Russian government. It is from these classes that the party of the "liberals" is recruited. Timidly and cautiously, as is the wont of liberals, but none the less clearly and unmistakably, this party manifests its discontent with existing conditions in Russia. No scientific gathering or meeting of a public character can nowadays be held in Russia without leading to a hostile demonstration against the government in one form or another, and

even the army, the chief support of the absolutist regime is largely infected with the spirit of opposition.

The struggle against these revolutionary movements has for years been the main pre-occupation of Russian autocracy; it has dictated all its actions and molded its internal and external policy. The "red terror" of the nihilists was met by the "white terror" of the government, and the destruction of all suspected revolutionists on the gallows, in the cells of the Schlüsselburg and Pater-Paul fortresses, in the ice-covered fields of Siberia, and in the deserts of the notorious island of Sakhalin. As the battle grew more desperate these measures were supplemented by other infamous moves of the government, chief of which was the attempt to divert public discontent into the channels of racial hatred. The recent massacres of Kishineff, Homel, etc., were the direct results of that policy.

But the manœuvres were too clumsy and transparent, and far from accomplishing their aim, they resulted in still greater popular indignation against the government.

It was under these circumstances that the Russo-Japanese controversy over the occupation of Korea assumed a critical form. Was Russia's attitude in the matter in any way influenced by these considerations? Who knows? Modern history shows more than one instance of a discredited and tottering government seeking rehabilitation in a successful war. It was this motive which precipitated the Russo-Turkish war under Nicholas I, and the Franco-Prussian war at the instance of Napoleon III. It is a hazardous game. Sebastopol was the doom of Nicholas I, and Sedan marked the end of the adventurous career of Napoleon III. The Russo-Turkish war resulted in the abolition of serfdom in Russia, and the

Franco-Prussian war led to the overthrow of the second empire and the proclamation of the French Republic.

May not the Russo-Japanese war have a similar effect on the fate of Russia? The war with Japan has by no means the enthusiastic approval of the Russian population. Despite the rigid censorship of Russian press dispatches, muffled rumors of anti-war demonstrations in the very heart of Russia already reach us. The campaign in the Far East promises to be obstinate and protracted. It will be attended by extraordinary hardships, privations and loss of life for the people of Russia, and it will certainly not tend to soften the sentiment of the Russian people towards their government.

Czar Nicholas II has staked his all on this one card of war. A victory for the Russian forces may prolong the agonies of Russian autocracy; it cannot save it. But a decided Russian defeat may prove the grave of the present intolerable regime in Russia.

The hope of the true sons of Russia thus lies in the victory of their country's "enemy," paradoxical as this may sound. And we may add that this hope is shared by all true friends of civilisation, for Russia has long been the mainstay of international reaction, and the abolition of the autocratic regime of that country will be a decided step in the general march of human progress.

A CONDITION TO BE MET

A. RAMSAY

ON a certain occasion an eminent statesman of our country remarked: "It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us." This saying, it seems to me, is especially applicable to the question of economic method in the immediate future. Theorize as we may, a stubborn condition, viz., a surplus of workers in all departments, must be considered and acted upon.

In the best of times in any country this surplus exists. Can work at living wages be secured for these idle armies? There is but one saver.

Under Socialism this condition—so calamitous as things are—would change to one of inestimable advantage in two ways. More time and opportunity would be afforded for mental improvement, and,

to a great extent, the efforts of those now idle could be spent in developing public improvements, making the countries and cities of the world more beautiful and convenient and healthful.

An enormous saving of material resources would result from the overthrow of the competitive system, and the Socializing of production and distribution. Sooner or later all the resources of our earth will be brought into use, and the serious consequences of present and past wastefulness will be felt. In many places this is felt already.

The general claim may be safely made that Socialism would obliterate not a few of our economic disadvantages, and greatly lessen all the rest.

Pique, Ohio.

HOW WE WILL DIVIDE

Dear Sir—I have long been an interested reader of your magazine and have admired your presentation of Socialism very much, but there is one argument against Socialism I find I am unable to meet, viz.: impracticability, and I have come to you for assistance. I am asked, "How is it possible to determine the 'standard of value' under a Socialistic government? In your article, in the January number, "A Glimpse into Utopia," you speak of a credit slip for two hours' work and someone asks me what kind of work? Do you mean to credit a hod-carrier as much for two hours' work as you would Dr. Lorenz, the famous Vienna surgeon? And if not, how will it be possible to determine what the just ratio is, and who will determine it? and consider the countless avenues of human endeavor and the endless and countless differences of opinion? The job would stagger the Infinite!"

I had been living up in the clouds, tinted a roseate hue by the Socialistic sun and this was a hard drop, I assure you, and then the one-sided argument proceeded: Socialism purposes to continue the work of the trusts and organize the country into one vast industrial unit. Now we will concede that while the demand for a great deal of "goods" supplied to consumers in these days may be an artificial one fostered by advertising, etc., yet a vast majority of the "goods" is created in response to a natural demand—the natural human desire for change, variety and progression. In economizing does Socialism purpose to choke down my throat something I don't want? Surely that would be worse than not having what I do want—under a trust government. For instance, there are a dozen first-class restaurants now in San Francisco, the patrons of which could easily be accommodated in one. If I can't stomach the Socialistic chef, must I starve? There are a dozen grocery stores supplying our one block. If my wife quarrels with the groceryman, must my home be bedlam because there is no other store to buy at? If the Socialistic shoe store doesn't sell the sort of shoe I want, what am I going to do about it? If the present "demand" is to be "supplied" *how can the economy of production be effected?* For surely there is no less a demand for a *variety* than for the *thing itself*—say for a change of restaurants as well as for a restaurant, and if this "demand" is to be denied then we shall have a worse "slavery" than now—for to deny our right to change our "demand" with greatest freedom is to deny our right to progress

and not to progress is death—for the individual and the race.

And so these two questions, (1) How to determine a standard of value, considering length of service and comparative value of service rendered one; (2) How to economize on the "Supply" without choking off the "Demand," was what "flooded" me.

Hoping you will favor me through your magazine with the information that I feel confident you possess, I remain,

Yours very truly,
CLARENCE A. STEPHENS.

San Francisco, January 28, 1904.

THE standard of value can be determined by the human labor time required to make the article. It is improbable that there will be any difference in the valuation of one man's time over that of another. In the first place, under Socialism every one will be educated and fitted to do what he is capable of doing. To-day there is many a man who might have been a good doctor or a lawyer or an artist, but owing to poverty could not educate himself and so is merely a common laborer.

Under Socialism a man can always develop the best that is within him, and the system of education will be such that it will be developed. Instead of men being divided into hod-carriers and musicians it will be the labor that will be divided and not the laborers. A man can have his life so ordered that he may have all his faculties, mental, physical and spiritual, developed by the exercise of his daily work. There is many a professional man today whose brain would be stronger, health better, and life longer if he had the opportunity to perform some useful outdoor work. He himself knows it too, and wishes it, but the conditions of our competitive system are

such that it is practically impossible for him to join the two lives, the physical and the mental. As for the hod-carrier of to-day trying to exercise his brain and soul by painting a few Madonnas or composing a Ninth Symphony, the mere mention of the idea conveys its absurd impossibility. Under Socialism work will be so varied, so pleasant, so light, that it will be done as a pleasure and not as a task. Men will feel that work then is just as much a necessity of their life as do their own hearts find it a necessity for the heart's life to pump blood. Does your heart ask pay for beating? Man in a natural state will ask for nothing better than the opportunity to work. A bee or an ant or a beaver finds no greater pleasure in life than to work. Man, after all, is simply an animal with a soul—what is fundamental to the animal is fundamental to man. Work is life.

Hence under Socialism the idea of work as a task to be avoided will be as absurd as thinking of a butterfly flitting from flower to flower sipping honey as performing a task intensely disagreeable to it, and that if it could it would be playing golf or driving an automobile instead of gathering honey.

All this may sound too dreamy for the man who to-day is so saturated with ideas, the result of his present environment, that he cannot imagine how men would act in another state.

It would be hard to convince a bull-head fish that if he had lungs instead of gills he would prefer living upon dry land. Some men are merely advanced bull-heads. You cannot argue with them. All you can do is to use a scoop-net and dip them out of their slime and land them gently and firmly in another life.

Mr. Rockefeller with his trusts is the simoon which is going to dry up the

slime wherein these human bull-heads wallow. The first thing they will know they will be kicking around on a dust heap and must develop Socialist lungs, for they will find their old capitalist gills will be no good. We will not be doing much calculating about the exact division of things produced when we have Socialism. The scramble will be for the privilege of working: not for the privilege of taking. The fun will be more in the making of the pudding than in the eating of it. These people who are worrying so much about how they are going to divide up the omelette before they find the eggs to make the omelette, should remember that to-day they at best can only get the egg shells, and that they can't lose very much by taking a chance of adopting a plan which promises them the eggs. To-day we do not profess to give products according as a man has produced. We simply hand the eggs over to the capitalist and stand on our hind legs begging and whining for the shells. When it amuses him to toss them to us we gratefully wag our little tails. Under Socialism we would at least live under a system that professed to give to the workers and did not profess to give to drones simply because they happened to have a rich father.

The theory is amusing that Socialism by enforcing economy will cut off demand for luxuries, for variety, so that a man will be compelled to wear a homespun suit, eat oatmeal, drink water, stop smoking, and buy only of the state store. Under Socialism a man will get what he produces. If he wishes champagne, cigars, automobiles, diamonds, etc., nobody will object either to the wish or its realization, but the condition upon which he gets them will be the giving of his labor in exchange for the labor

which produces what he gets. For instance, if he wants a pink pearl ground up in his coffee every morning then he will either have to fish for the pearl himself or give up his labor to the chap who does the pearl fishing. As pearls are not found in every oyster, and as it takes, say, a week's hard and dangerous labor to get one pearl it means that the man with a penchant for drinking ground pearls would have to work a week to pay for one drink. Probably after a few such drinks and after working a few months to pay for them he would decide of his own accord to give up his extravagant taste. Under Socialism the ordinary worker's income will be augmented many times its present size, and he will spend it as he pleases. The coming of Socialism will not be so very different from what would happen to the man who is now getting two dollars a day and who had a sudden raise to twenty dollars a day. The usual thing today is that he promptly raises his standard of living to correspond to his larger income. He could if he chose work only one-tenth of the time, but he rarely makes such a choice. He will stop living at cheap restaurants and patronize better ones. It will be the same under Socialism—exactly the same. Man will have more and he will spend more. Supply will increase and with increased supply will come increased demand to equalize things.

Private business under Socialism will not necessarily be wiped out. I may like a peculiar brand of wine or an odd kind of cheese or rag-time music. The state may not bother to furnish me with

such things. Do I lose them? Not much. I have plenty of money—Socialist money—and I use it to pay the maker of my peculiar wine, my cheese, my music. I am satisfied, for I get what I want. He is satisfied, for he gets paid for his work and he produces what he likes to produce. If I want merely pure water the state will be pretty sure to be in a position to give me what I want for a reasonable payment in Socialist money—time checks, earned by me with my work. My work may be in the state water works, or it may be singing rag-time music for Jones who has given me *his* time checks which he may have earned working in the city gas works.

The time check system offers a simple mechanical system for determining what each man should get. That we shall ever use any such a system for any great length of time I hardly believe.

Your heart doesn't wake you up in the morning by a knock on your ribs and demand pay for the work it did while you slept. If you had to busy yourself determining exactly how much blood you should give to each of your organs every day according to the work that organ did for you, then your life would indeed be a burden. It would be less wearisome for you to say "grab what you can and let the slow grabber starve." Similarly, if we are going forever to minutely apportion to each according as he produces, the bore of it all for eternity is worse than letting Rockefeller and Morgan grab what they can and then our grabbing what is left. Socialism means the extermination of grab as well as of graft.—G. W.

PHRENOLOGY AND SOCIALISM

EDGAR C. BEALL, M. D.

THE history of phrenology is the record of a great truth battling against superstition, prejudice and greed. Though more than a hundred years have passed since the essential elements of the science were announced by Dr. Gall, there is scarcely a leading college or university in the world today where it is taught or recognized. The causes of this hostility are easy to trace. The new doctrine aroused the jealousy of the old physiologists, who for centuries had sliced up the brain like a cheese or a ham without learning its functions, while the mental philosophers, who floundered in a sea of introspection, were unwilling to admit their previous ignorance of the mind, which would have been a necessary prelude to their adoption of the Gallian discoveries. Finally, the theologians were loth to relinquish the senile, lean and slippered fiction known as the freedom of the will, or to perceive in the innate mental constitution the lofty moral impulses commonly regarded as special gifts of divine grace.

Avowed and determined opposition, thus came from the three most formidable classes of learned men. But during the last fifty years, the science has been retarded equally as much, if not more, by the illiteracy and charlatanism among its would-be teachers—a misfortune which recalls the famous remark of Voltaire: "I can cope with my enemies, but I pray heaven to save me from my friends."

The objections urged against phrenology have usually been puerile and absurd. Probably no subject of equal importance has ever been more widely mis-

understood by all classes, including many eminent reformers who should have welcomed it as one of their strongest allies. Most persons think of it only as a method of estimating individual character, and even when disposed to acknowledge its value, still distort the truth concerning it in this respect. For example, the notion almost universally supposed to be a phrenological tenet, that the brain centres are normally manifested and measurable by separate swellings or tuberosities rising above the cranial surface like the rivet knobs on an iron safe, is both false and foolish. The real doctrine is that brain developments may be judged by various *diameters* of the head, and by the expansion from the opening of the ear, considering the temperaments, which modify the activity and direction of the faculties. In the light of this explanation the practical or technical part of the science becomes, in a general way, as easy as reading music, stenographic signs or conventionally printed words.

Gall established the principal facts, but his pupil and colleague, Spurzheim, was the first to classify them under the name of phrenology, which means, as he expresses it, "the doctrine of the special phenomena of the mind, and of the relations between the mental dispositions and the body, particularly the brain." Combe defines it as "a system of philosophy of the human mind, founded on the physiology of the brain." My own definition, briefly stated, is, the science which resolves the conscious mind into its radical or primary faculties, proves their connection with special regions of

the brain, and reveals the *true standard of human nature* to which all actions and institutions should conform. It is also a philosophy and an art, but we are now interested to consider it chiefly from the philosophic point of view.

The idea that phrenology gives us the true model or *standard of human nature*, may be made clear by a comparison. Physiology and anatomy tell us that the heart, lungs, liver, etc., belong to the physical equipment of a normal man, and that some of these organs occupy a higher position, and serve more important functions than others. Thus, the lungs are much more necessary to life than the stomach. All digestive activity may be suspended for many days, but to cease breathing is, for the average man, at least, a very serious matter. Hence, we may say that physiology and anatomy reveal the model physical man, and prove that certain superior bodily organs must receive our first attention in order to insure a perfect physical life.

Now, in a phrenological study of the brain, we find that certain upper and frontal regions are associated with much higher and nobler mental powers than those seated in the basilar portions near the ears. From this the inference is conclusive that the higher faculties should control and guide the lower. Indeed, to a very great extent, such a control has been exercised in the past, as the history of the race amply shows. Take, for instance, the propensity to eat, which has been directed by the intellect in thousands of ways. All the arts by which food is produced or prepared, though primarily the offspring of hunger, and, indirectly in some degree, of cautiousness, the social feelings, desire of approbation, imitation, the æsthetic sense, etc., are perfected in the matrix of the intellect. Substantially the same

may be said of all the other propensities, though some of them have been brought much more completely under the guidance of intelligence than others.

We may, then, safely assume that the intellect, when duly enlightened regarding the whole needs of human nature, must constitute the supreme pilot in directing the activity of all the sentiments and feelings. By a parity of reasoning, we may see that the higher sentiments are entitled to greater consideration than the lower, even though the lower should make the more fervid and passionate appeals. Granting this with regard to the higher sentiments as a group, we are prepared to apply the logic to the highest individual sentiment which is enthroned in the central region of the brain above the forehead. This is the area farthest removed from the base of the brain in the double sense of being upward and forward. In the process of evolution the upper brain develops forward as well as vertically, so that the forward reach of the portion in question is quite as significant as its height. And what is the specific sentiment located here? All phrenologists have agreed to call it benevolence, or the desire to do good to others.

This impulse, whose seat in the brain is like the key-stone of an arch, is the crowning virtue of the human mind. As it is instinctive, it has found more or less expression in various religious creeds, and, by its responsive throbs, has served immeasurably to perpetuate the best teachings of Christ.

But the chief message it has for us is a demonstration of the sublime truth that when man obeys the highest law of his nature he is altruistic. Reason assures us that all happiness depends upon mental activity in some degree, and that the highest happiness results

from the exercise of our highest faculties. From this it follows that the supreme joy of existence is attainable only under some scheme of living in which altruism is the dominant aim.

Phrenology thus inculcates the most exalted ethics, and as Socialism seeks the highest welfare of the race by a system of co-operation, the two may be said to agree as to this ultimate purpose.

The practicability of Socialism, however, is too broad a theme for extended discussion here, and for the present I will only say that phrenology points to the intellect, or reason, as the final judge of methods—an umpire which all true Socialists will surely accept.

Phrenology also favors Socialism by proving and explaining the laws of heredity. It shows that all individuals are products of the community, and that if any of them are weak, the community should therefore in some way liberally aid in carrying the burdens it has thus imposed upon itself.

There is in the base of the brain a propensity to acquire and hoard property, and opponents of Socialism might say that under collectivism there would be no sufficient field for the activity of this natural desire. To this it may be replied that if the best trained intellects of the race shall decide that acquisitiveness is an ignoble passion, and, under a more advanced form of civilization, a comparatively useless safeguard, it will simply have to be content with a more restricted sphere, or find gratification in accumulating wealth for philanthropic distribution. Its fate will then be analogous to that of the destructive propensity, which used to be allowed to vent itself in savage warfare, torture and massacre, but which among the best

people today is sanctioned only in the form of energy in the pursuit of legitimate work, or as fortitude in enduring the unavoidable tragedies of life. That there are selfish instincts in the mental constitution goes without saying. The only question is, how far and in what channels should they be encouraged to act? And if it can be proved that the race would be happier by entirely extinguishing any of the lower appetites, there is no reason why education should not be directed to that end.

It is doubtless true that mankind are happier when permitted to develop a certain individuality of character; and if it be objected that Socialism would repress such development, we may reply that whenever individuality is due to the sway of brutal passions, it should be repressed, and the sooner the better. On the other hand, so far as it is confined to the moral and intellectual planes, a rational Socialism will not only permit, but freely encourage it.

Under the existing competitive system, men are selfish quite as much from necessity as from choice. Relieve them from the present strain, and hosts of them will be glad to labor for humanity. Darwin, Spencer, Goethe, Schopenhauer and Wagner have shown what men can accomplish when certain of food and shelter; and what they did, others can do in kind if not in degree. Give human nature an opportunity to do its best. Put a premium on goodness, make it fashionable to be generous. Teach every man that altruism is not a painful duty, contrary to his nature, and to the performance of which he must be goaded by threats of eternal fire, but a principle consonant with the very warp and woof of his body and soul, and which it will be his highest pleasure to follow of his own accord.

Following are estimates of character of persons whose photographs were submitted to Dr. Beall.

AUGUST BEBEL.

Fine-grained, high-keyed and sensitive; every feature is clear-cut, intellectual, honest and generous. The lower forehead is a model of perceptive development; all objects, facts, details, statistics, dimensions, colors, places, shapes, etc., are recorded in his brain with the fidelity of a camera. He has an encyclopaedic memory, and should command the entire field of natural science. The upper forehead promises less power in abstract reasoning; he is not inclined to metaphysics or theology; when he flies a kite he is careful to



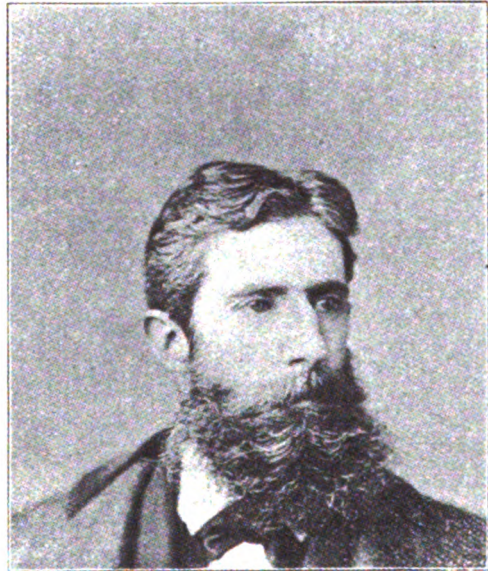
AUGUST BEBEL.

hold the string. He has a kindly eye, also a handsome ear, which indicates a high order of mind and pronounced musical gifts.

EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN.

Health of mind and body, moral purity, clearness of thought, refined tastes, talent for poetry and philosophy rather than science, a reflective intellect and great prudence are sharply indicated, but not much genius. The rather square head and direct gaze bespeak honor and integrity. The expansion of the temples denotes constructiveness, music, ideality and managerial skill. From the width of the side head considerable thrift may also be

inferred, though with such a narrow and elevated nose it will never be miserly. The nasal development also suggests optimism, candor,



EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN.

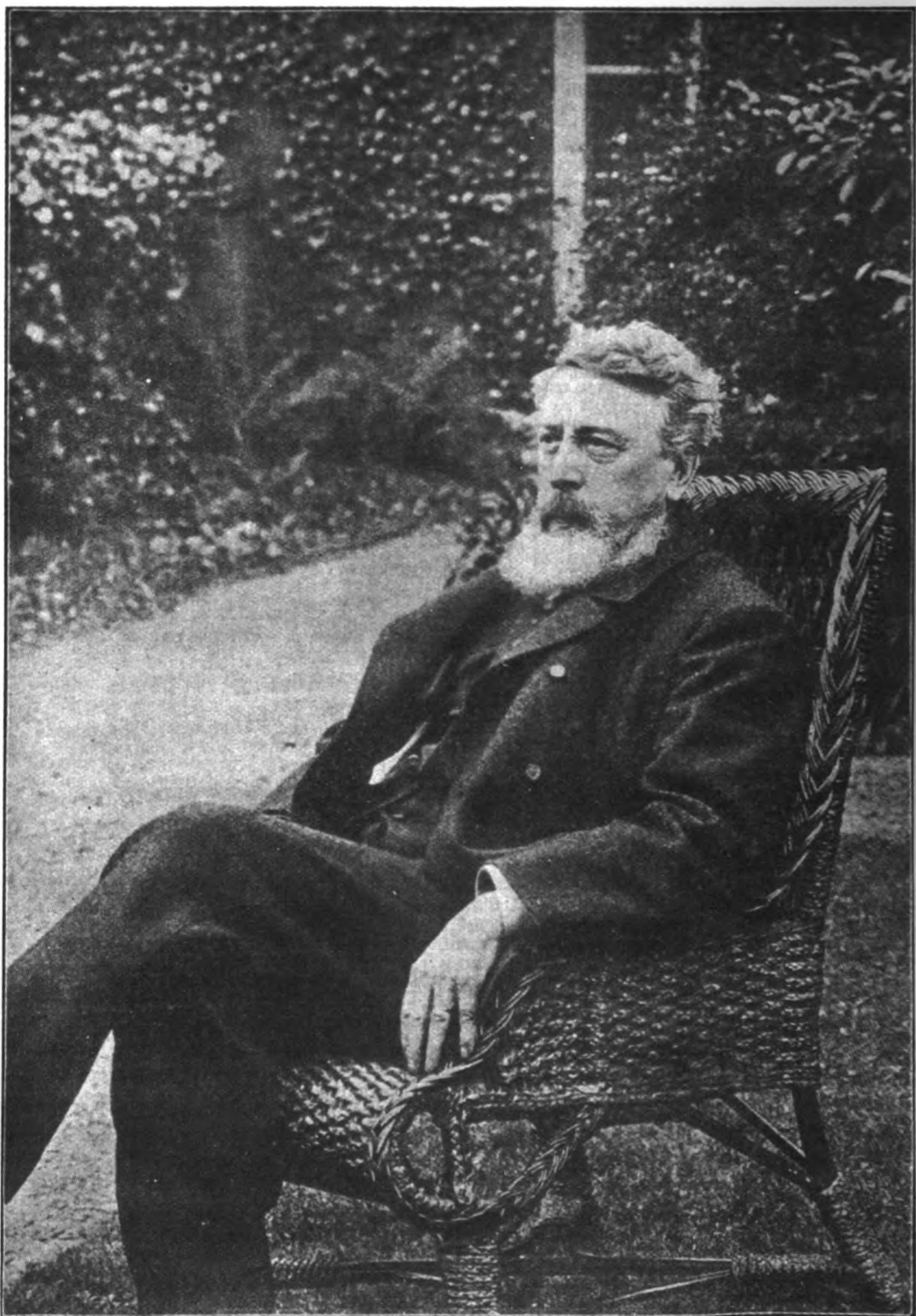
sincerity, aspiration and architectural abilities. The ear also bears witness to the supremacy of the higher sentiments.

CAVALIERI.

A nature sure to be largely dominated by the love of music, poetry, the drama, and all other forms of art. Ideality is the keynote of her life, and her possibilities for happiness are boundless if she marries the right man. An intense desire for liberty is marked, but there is no sign of sagacity in financial matters. The prominent forehead shows intellectual ability in generalizing, poetizing and philosophizing, rather than in purely technical studies. Love of approbation is very evident in the pose of the head, the light of the eye, and in the raised upper lip. The nose and eyes are truly Italian, and of the most feminine and poetic type.

WILLIAM LIEBKNECHT.

An exceptionally intellectual head and face; a mind of vast reach particularly in following a chain of causation; great copiousness of language is evident in the projection of the eye beyond the cheek bone; mental analysis is indicated in the drooping of the nasal septum. There are also signs of intense application, thoroughness and zeal. The æsthetic sense is not so apparent, and the flattened outer angle of the eyebrow betrays the disregard



THE LATE WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

[William Liebknecht was a great loss to the Socialist Party of Germany and his place has not yet been filled by any means. He was a great harmonizer; his, particularly, was the mind which had the most comprehensive grasp of Socialism as a world movement. He was imprisoned many times for the sake of his opinions, something like fifteen years of his life having been spent in jail.]

of order which is so characteristic of genius. His forte will be in philosophic research, as a cogent, forceful debater, and as an efficient propagandist.

PAUL SINGER.

This high, narrow head is the opposite of the commercial type. The tapering above the ears tells of deficient acquisitiveness, secrecy and caution. The lower back head and large eyes are more Italian than German in appearance and suggest a wealth of romantic love. He is greatly alive to impressions, always an



PAUL SINGER.

enthusiast, and keenly responsive to all the good things of life. He has the eyes of a ready and eloquent orator, an actor and a vocal musician; the long, narrow ear is also a mark of vocal talent. Affability, suavity, imitation and mirth are other notable traits. He should excel in literary, and dramatic art.

FRAU LIEBKNECHT.

Earnestness, sincerity, constancy in love, high moral standards, and breadth of intelligence are stamped upon every feature of this face. There is no trace of coquetry or frivolity. The head is narrow in the region of the hoarding impulse, and her indifference to commercial pursuits may also be inferred from the very negative, feminine nose. Nothing is more foreign to her instincts than aggressiveness or avarice. She has the eyes that belong to a good listener. Her words will be few, but comprehensive. Her forehead bears the

impress of a deep reasoner, and almost perfectly illustrates the philosophic type possessed by Kant, Fichte, and other famous German thinkers.

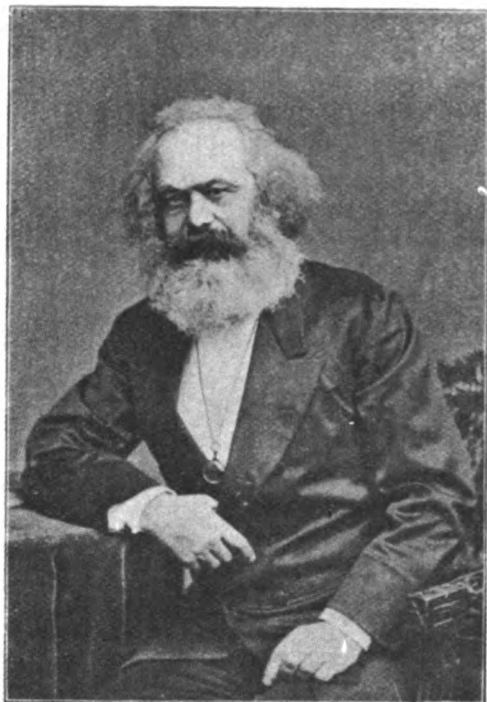


MRS. WILLIAM LIEBKNECHT.

[Mrs. Liebknecht, the wife of the great Socialist leader, William Liebknecht, is the most interesting woman for an American Socialist to meet in Berlin. In the first place she has excellent command of English and secondly no one has a more intimate knowledge of the Socialist movement in Germany than she. Her long comradeship with her husband during the strenuous work of building up the party gave her many most interesting episodes in life. Like the Baroness Von Suttner, she is still a mourning widow. Although her husband has been dead for several years it is still to her but as yesterday. She told me when I was in Berlin that the bitter memory of the departed would be too great for her to bring back by her attendance at the Socialist Convention then shortly to be held in Dresden. She had never been to a convention before without him and she felt she could not now go without breaking down. However she did go after all, but it was an ordeal for her. The Baroness Von Suttner was affected in a similar way in regard to living at the old castle after the death of the Baron. She had found it quite impossible to live there any more, it was so full of reminders of him. She had just given it up after a trial and had taken a house in Vienna. The Baron, like the Baroness, was in full sympathy with Socialism. Only a few months before his death he had translated my *Significance of the Trust* into German and had had it published in the leading daily paper in Berlin.—G.W.]

KARL MARX.

A brain and mind of Titanic mold. The forehead is massive in both the lower and upper parts, which denotes perception and reflection, analysis and synthesis, practice and theory, or science and philosophy in about even proportion. The fulness of the eyes betokens great verbal fluency, and the drooping lids reveal penetration, sense of human nature, alertness, shrewdness, diplomacy, and considerable sensitiveness to praise and blame. The great height of the head as compared with



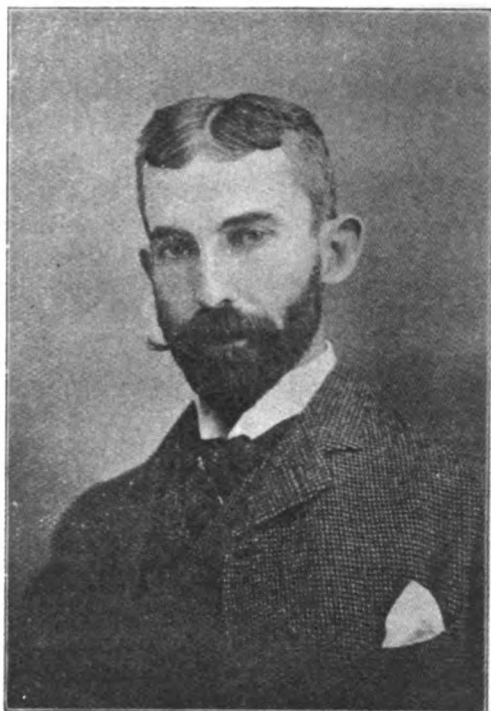
KARL MARX.

the breadth fully explains why he was a scholar, thinker and reformer, rather than a merchant or soldier. The hands are also those of a litterateur.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

A fibrous temperament, which favors depth of feeling and solidity of judgment; a nature collected, well poised, and under excellent control. He is like anthracite, slow to kindle, but very intense when roused. The high and broad top head shows great firmness, ambition, justice and benevolence. Caution is very marked, but the narrowness back of the temples and near the ears tells of indifference to personal ownership, and aversion to violence or cruelty in any form. The full upper fore-

head proclaims the thinker and philosopher. Causality, the abstract or deductive reasoning faculty, is exceptionally developed. Discernment of motives and a keen sense of humor are also prominent traits. The length of the



GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

nose is a sign of apprehensiveness and sagacity. The retiring eyes mean that words are subordinate to ideas. His affections are strong, especially for the helpless and unprotected—a quality which aids him as a teacher and reformer.

BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

A superb type of mental and physical womanhood; affection, intellect and strength of character are in almost perfect balance; as a friend, wife or mother she would be a paragon of devotion; energy, courage, sincerity, determination and tenacity of purpose are also legible in all the features. She is versatile, liberal and instinctively cosmopolitan. The capacious temples and upper forehead are characteristic of musicians and philosophers, while the eyes and eyebrows attest rare literary and linguistic powers. She is never a slave to method or order, but readily adapts herself to the needs of the hour. Brilliant success would have crowned her either as an actress, a social leader, a diplomat, editor or public speaker.



BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

[The Baroness Von Suttner is one of the great women of Europe. By birth she belongs to the old Austrian nobility. However for many years both she and her husband, deceased last

year, have been bravely battling for the rights of man in Austria. First she ran counter to the religious views of her fellow countrymen. This is not difficult to do, for there are no more hide-bound religious conservatives than the Austrians, and particularly the Austrian aristocracy. The Roman Catholic Church is all powerful. A mere breath of suspicion that one is not orthodox means ostracism. However the Von Suttners, with their great wealth and exalted social position, avoided some of the rigors that would have been meted to others not so fortunate.

I had the pleasure of seeing the Baroness a moment while I was visiting in Vienna last summer. Poor lady, she was trying to bear up as bravely as she could from the shock of her husband's death. He had so long fought by her side that she hardly felt able to continue the fight, for a while after his death, but she has again bravely buckled on her armor and is once more in the front. She is easily the foremost woman on the continent of Europe in political and social reform work. Recently she took a leading part in the Peace Conference at The Hague. The Baroness declared to me that she was a Socialist and in full sympathy with the theory as laid down in WILSHIRE'S, which she reads with great interest. Conditions in Austria, however, are such that it is practically impossible for a woman of noble birth to work actively with the organized Socialist movement there. The movement is strictly a proletarian one with the exception of one or two middle-class leaders who are apparently jealous of any further additions to their ranks—G.W.]

FINALE

IDA CROUCH-HAZZETT

The barren, endless plain, ablaze and white
 With burnt-up sage brush and short, wiry grass;
 The white sun overhead, like molten glass,
 That rolls in pitiless, unclouded light;
 The long white trail that stretches out of sight
 Through dreary miles, where scorching heat waves pass;
 The white ridge of the mountains, a huge mass,
 That mock the fevered brain with their cool height.
 There is no heart, no help, no hope, no life!
 So groans the lonely horseman in despair,
 And imprecates the cruel, burning sky.
 A white-haired, spent old man, who yields the strife,
 And drops beside the trail, and moaning there
 Pleads vainly for some water ere he die.

Notes on the European Socialist and Labor Movement

JOHN C. VAN DER VEER

Special London Correspondent of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

The Editor has arranged with Mr. John C. Van der Veer to write every month for WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE an article on the progress of the Socialist and labor movement in all European countries, and about the principal events that occurred during the past month in connection therewith. In the English speaking countries the Labor and Socialist movements are distinct. On the continent of Europe, each includes the other. There the labor movement is Socialistic, as it should, and in time everywhere will be. A non-socialistic labor movement has no future. Socialism is the salt which prevents the putrefaction of that movement. It gives to it a well-defined goal, the necessary theories, ideas and ideals.

Socialism is the only rock upon which organized labor can, and ultimately must, build a society of free, happy, healthy and beautiful human beings.

Mr. Van der Veer is a Dutchman, a descendant of the "free Fresians," the stubborn race, "whose name is synonymous with liberty," as Motley remarked, and "who are the nearest blood relations of the Anglo-Saxon race." Since 1885, he has been connected with the Socialist movement in Holland. He shared the struggles, the hopes and the gladness of the early part of the movement. Eight times he was in prison—"the most restful and delightful time of my life," he describes it. He writes: "I am proud of my certificates as a 'jail-bird,' yet I am as harmless and peaceable as a human animal can be. That is just the reason I was so often in prison. I lost a good deal of my red hair there, but got in return a deeper conviction that we Socialists are right and that whatever happens, the future is ours."

HOLLAND.

In Holland the movement is slowly recovering from the fatal effects of the skirmish of last year. The success of the three days' strike of the transport workers and railway servants in January caused the government to introduce in parliament a bill which punished future strikes on railways with imprisonment. The workers tried to prevent the passing of that bill by a general strike in April. Unfortunately the strike was never

general, not even among the railway servants. Only the diamond workers, 7,000 of the best organized of the country, but whose striking does not affect society, were all idle. The bill was passed. And the new law would have led to the imprisonment of all the leaders, had the strike not been called off a few hours before Queen Wilhelmina signed the bill. The Anarchists, led by Domela Nieuwenhuis, the founder of the Dutch Socialist movement, were indignant over the revocation of the strike order and blamed the Social Democrats for it, whom they accused of treachery. A special committee was appointed, of whom the majority believed the charge, to investigate. Of course, they found it without foundation. Nieuwenhuis and his small band, nevertheless, go on with that silly accusation. The strike was useful in that it proved two things:

1st. The impossibility of practical co-operation between Anarchists and Socialists.

2nd. The Utopian idea of the general strike.

If a strike could be made general, it would mean the social revolution. But if the society is ripe for this, a general strike is superfluous. A partly general strike would mean general starvation for the workers, because the wealthy classes buy all the food in store, while nothing new is produced for the poor. Such is the conclusion of an interesting article in the German weekly *Die Neue Zeit*, written by my friend, W. H. Vuegen, who was secretary of the Defence Committee during the April movement.

The International Socialist Congress will be held this year, August 15-22, at Amsterdam. The following subjects are to be discussed; General rules of international politics; international solidarity; colonial politics; emigration; fiscal policy; militarism, clericalism and education; party tactics; trades unions and political action; general strike; international arbitration; trusts and unemployment; world demonstration for the eight hours day; housing problem. The International Bureau represents now 25 countries. An inter-parliamentary committee is now formed as a part of it.

BELGIUM.

Things will get lively again in Belgium this year. Parliament is to be partly dissolved. About half of the members are to be re-elected.

The Socialist movement in Belgium has suffered also to some extent through the failure of last year's struggle, when 350,000 workers struck in order to force the abolition of plural voting. Belgium was the only country where the strike was chiefly used for political purposes. The Socialist party there, in spite of its rapid growth, is greatly handicapped by the electoral system, which gives the wealthy man four, the university man three, and the professional man two votes, while the worker has but one vote. Yet the Socialists occupy 39 of the 166 seats in parliament. There is a slight disagreement among the Socialists over the best policy for the coming elections. Some wish to run their candidates independent of the Liberals and make "*One man, one vote*" the election cry. Others wish to co-operate with the Liberals, and make compulsory education the cry. The Fleming Socialists are for the latter policy because their work is made particularly difficult

through the ignorance of the people of the Dutch speaking provinces.

Recently there was a long debate in parliament between the government and the Socialists on the education question. Emile Van der Velde, the clever leader of the Socialist group, declared that 300,000 children in Belgium received no education. 13 per cent. of the soldiers can neither read nor write; 6 per cent. can only read; 24 per cent. can read and write a little, while 45 per cent. can do both fairly well, and only 12 per cent. received good education. Among the quarrymen of the whole country, 29 per cent. can neither read nor write, among the weavers of Flanders and the miners of Walloonland, 27 per cent. The priests try to uphold this state of affairs, in order to keep the ignorant masses under the heel of clericalism.

GERMANY.

In Germany, the land of military rule and iron discipline, life is moving fast. The 3,125,000 votes polled by the Socialists in June, astounded everyone. The industrial development proceeds rapidly also. Syndicates arise everywhere. In the iron industry alone exist at present not less than 45 powerful *kartelle*, which keep up the prices of industrial products and bleed the consumers. Yet, in spite of the general progress—for the growth of syndicates is also a progress—the German people are politically, socially and economically less free than any other advanced European nation. The military, aristocracy and capitalists rule supreme. Free speech does not exist.

One of the prominent Socialist women, Dr. Rosa Luxemburg, has just been sentenced to three months' imprisonment because she said in a public meeting that the Kaiser does not

know the manner of life of the German workers.

Wilhelm had declared in his famous Breslau speech, which won many thousand votes for Socialism in consequence of his scolding the Socialists for rascals, that the German worker lived happy and secure. Dr. Luxemburg rightly found fault with this, and three months prison life will not change her opinion.

About 50,000 textile workers of Crimmitschau, a town in Saxony, were on strike since the 22nd of August for a ten hours workday and a 10 per cent. increase of wages. They had to surrender unconditionally to their employers, owners of about 500 mills. The struggle was a striking illustration of the class struggle. All the German workers, so far as they are organized, supported the strikers, while all the German employers backed up the Crimmitschau manufacturers, who received so much financial support that they lost very little, if anything, by the strike. They could have resisted perpetually. The reason of the general help both parties received was that the struggle was an attempt to clear the way for a general adoption of the ten hours day for which the German workers had been fighting for ten years.

As is usual in Germany, the workers had not only to encounter the solid opposition of combined capital but also the bitter animosity of military, judicial, police and civil authorities. Strikers' meetings were forbidden, their peaceful pickets arrested, their posters destroyed, and their strike pay was only allowed to be paid in presence of constables, while black-legging was officially encouraged among them, happily with little effect. Even the erection of Christmas trees for children of the strikers, for which numerous presents

were sent from all parts of the country, was forbidden. For all those reasons, the workers could not carry on the struggle. But though they are beaten, their spirit is unconquered. They are determined to get the ten hours' day. The Socialist group in the Reichstag has introduced a bill for general adoption of the ten hours' day after two years, for the adoption of the nine hours' day after six years, and for the adoption of the eight hours' day after ten years.

Germany is just now particularly kind and servile towards Russia. Russian revolutionists are in Germany watched and maltreated by Russian police, under the eye of Kaiser Wilhelm's police. Bebel, the other day in parliament, made a strong speech against this servility to the Russian autocracy, which made a profound impression throughout the country. The government tried to wipe out that impression by a general distribution of von Bülow's weak answer to Bebel. Germany is really the only European state where the government dares to act contrary to public opinion.

FRANCE.

France is the country of eternal discord. We cannot hope to see a united Socialist movement there. Unity of thought and action seem to have no place in that splendid home of revolutionary ideas and inspirations. Millerand, the well-known ex-Minister of Commerce, has just been expelled from the *Parti Socialiste Français*, the party of Jaurès, because Millerand voted in November against a resolution for disarmament proposed by the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies. The aim of the resolution was merely to protest against the warlike ideas of Delcassé in respect to the two Rhine provinces, Alsace-Lorraine, lost to Germany

in '71. Disarmament is not a point of the Socialist program. In fact, few continental Socialists believe in its practicability under the capitalist rule. It is, however, a dream of Jaurès and his revisionist followers. A beautiful dream, but Millerand, being a practical man and believing in practical politics, could not harmonize the party discipline with his idea of political policy. Hence his vote and this subsequent expulsion from the Party. The same resolution was the cause of Jaurès not being re-elected as vice-president of the chamber. This led to a disruption among the Socialistic radicals, of whom a great number formed a new Socialist Reform Party, with Millerand as its leader. Jaurès resigned the editorship of the *Petite République*, which is now edited by Gérault Richard, with whom Jaurès can not agree.

ITALY.

Italy seems to possess an ideal king. Victor Emmanuel proposes to reduce his civil list, now about \$3,000,000. He lives very simply and dislikes luxurious banquets. He ordered all the crown palaces and villas, except the two he uses, to be leased for the benefit of the State. It was time, however, that something was done. The Italian people are getting rather unruly. In different parts of the country, especially in the Southern, the peasants revolted against the heavy taxes levied on their miserable incomes.

ENGLAND.

About Great Britain I shall, in general, say very little. The readers will be fairly well informed about what is going on here. A great deal of interest centred round the election at Norwich, a three-cornered fight, whereby the Socialist candidate, Roberts, polled 2,444 votes, against the 7,576 votes of his successful Liberal and the 6,756 votes of his unsuccessful Conservative opponent. Roberts was run as a Socialist by the I. L. P. and the Labor Representation Committee. His vote was, under those circumstances, not bad. But he expected something better. Nevertheless, things are moving here, too. Thanks for that is due to some extent to Mr. Chamberlain. His fiscal policy raised the interest in economic theories and principles, to which the British public has been too long indifferent. The only danger of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign is that some Socialists appear to attach too much to the Free Trade policy, which, under capitalism, means free plunder. In principle, Socialists are not opposed to protection, for the social legislation on our program is purely protective. We only oppose tariffs, because they tend to make evil things worse. But Chamberlain's imperialism can only be crushed by Socialism, theoretically and practically.

London, 27 January, 1904.

THE SLEEPY MISS COLUMBIA

THIS YOUNG LADY IS MISS COLUMBIA. Some people might not recognize her because they look for the conventional Liberty Cap which is usually seen upon Columbia's head, but it is she nevertheless. The reason one can be tolerably sure it is she is because her eyes look as if they were shut, whereas they are in reality open.

Now there are other people who look as if they are asleep when they are in reality awake but none of them makes such an artistic performance of the stunt as does our dear Miss Columbia.

Uncle Sam always looks wide awake even when he is sound asleep, and he has been unsuspectingly sleeping for the past twenty years or more, while the buccaneers of Wall street have been robbing him of all he once possessed.

However, it is more or less beside the mark to discuss whether we have been asleep and looked awake, or have been awake and looked asleep—the main point is that we Americans have been robbed and that we have no excuse, unless it is that we were unconscious, for having permitted the robbery to occur.

We started out in the race of life with all the riches any nation could wish. We had absolutely everything in the way of natural resources that a nation could wish for, and the funny part of it is that we have all these riches yet, but we seem to be thrown into some sort of a hypnotic state which makes us think we cannot use them

makes us think we are in danger of poverty. In fact, when anyone suggests that we have so much wealth that we have too much wealth, he is frowned down upon as a prophet of evil, for the bane of modern industrial life is the "overproduction" of wealth.

When Miss Columbia was born, in 1776,

and songs of Sweet Liberty were composed in her honor, nobody would then have thought that it would only be a matter of a hundred years or so when we Americans would be singing a very different tune. Once we sung of Liberty, and by Liberty we meant Freedom of Access to the Natural Resources of the American Continent. We had such a wealth of natural resources that we thought we could not be lavish



THE LADY WHO LOOKS ASLEEP BUT ISN'T—
MISS COLUMBIA

enough in our generosity for it to be possible for us to impoverish ourselves and to give them all away. And anyway, we said, what if we do give them all away? Are we not giving them to our own selves? What does it matter if the nation is poor as long as we, the people, are rich? It's indifferent to a citizen whether he is rich, because he is a partner in the general wealth, or because he happens to own wealth privately.

However, if he suddenly finds that he owns nothing either privately or publicly, when he had always thought himself rich with inherited wealth, then he may commence to think. And this is what our open-eyed Uncle Sam and our closed-eyed Miss Columbia are now about to do—think. When they think hard enough and long enough, something is going to drop—Socialism is going to drop.

DECAY OF ENGLISH PHYSIQUE

A parliamentary paper containing a report by the director-general of the army medical service on the physical condition of men examined at the recruiting stations furnishes startling evidence of race decadence. Between 1893 and 1902, it appears, 680,000 men and youths were subjected to medical examination by the army authorities. Of these more than 34 per cent., or 235,000, were rejected as unfit for army service. This takes account only of those who were passed by the recruiting officers, it being reasonably certain that they had rejected the worst of the applicants without troubling the doctors to make examinations. Inquirers are agreed that the sad condition of many thousands of the children of the English poor has much to do with the growing weakness of the race. Sir William Anson lately declared in the House of Commons, on the authority of a school inspector, that there were 60,000

children in the London schools who were "physically inferior, and who cannot get the benefit of the schools." Such children, said Sir William, are the offspring of early marriages and unhealthy parents; they are overworked; they are neglected; they are underfed. The Duke of Wellington has contributed to the discussion statistics indicating that the English classes from which come the army recruits, are now composed of smaller and weaker individuals than the men who fought in the wars against Napoleon. Then there is the annual report of the lunacy commissioners to show that the ratio of insane persons in England as compared with the entire population has increased from 1 to 536 in 1859 to 1 in 293 in 1902. Furthermore, the rate of increase has grown in a startling manner from year to year, being highest during the last twelve months.

THE TRAMP

JACK LONDON

THE TRAMP NECESSARY.

(Concluded)

The tramp is one of two kinds of men: he is either a discouraged worker or a discouraged criminal. Now a discouraged criminal, on investigation, proves to be a discouraged worker or a descendant of discouraged workers; so that in the last analysis the tramp is a discouraged worker. Since there is not work for all, discouragement for some is unavoidable. How, then, does this process of discouragement operate?

The lower the employment in the industrial scale, the harder the conditions. The finer, the more delicate, the more skilled the trade, the higher it is lifted above the struggle. There is less pressure, less sordidness, less savagery. There are fewer glass blowers proportionate to the needs of the glass-blowing industry than there are ditch-diggers to the ditch-digging industry. And not only this, for it requires a glass blower to take the place of a striking glass blower, while any kind of a striker or out-of-work can take the place of a ditch-digger. So the skilled trades are more independent, have more individuality and latitude. They may confer with their masters, make demands, assert themselves. The unskilled laborers, on the other hand, have no voice in their affairs. The settlement of terms is none of their business. "Free contract" is all that remains to them. They may take what is offered, or leave it. There are plenty more of their kind. They do not count. They are members of the surplus labor army and must be content with a hand to mouth existence.

The reward is likewise proportioned. The strong, fit worker in a skilled trade, where there is little labor pressure, is well compensated. He is a king compared with his less fortunate brothers in the unskilled occupations where the labor pressure is great. The mediocre worker not only is forced to be idle a large portion of the time, but when employed is forced to accept a pittance. A dollar a day on some days and nothing on others will hardly support a man and wife and send children to school. And not only do the masters bear heavily upon him, and his own kind struggle for the morsel at his mouth, but all skilled and organized labor adds to his woe. Union men do not scab on one another, but in strikes or when work is slack it is considered "fair" for them to descend and take away the work of the common laborers. And take it away they do, for, as a matter of fact, a well-fed, ambitious machinist or coremaker will transiently shovel coal better than an ill-fed, spiritless laborer.

Thus there is no encouragement for the unfit, inefficient and mediocre. Their very inefficiency and mediocrity make them helpless as cattle and add to their misery. And the whole tendency for such is downward, until, at the bottom of the social pit, they are wretched, inarticulate beasts, living like beasts, breeding like beasts, dying like beasts. And how do they fare, these creatures born mediocre, whose heritage is neither brains nor brawn nor endurance? They are sweated in the slums in an atmosphere of discouragement and despair. There is no strength in weakness, no encouragement

in foul air, vile food, and dank dens. They are there because they are so made that they are not fit to be higher up; but filth and obscenity do not strengthen the neck, nor does chronic emptiness of belly stiffen the back.

For the mediocre there is no hope. Mediocrity is a sin. Poverty is the penalty of failure—poverty, from whose loins spring the criminal and the tramp, both failures, both discouraged workers. Poverty is the inferno where ignorance festers and vice corrodes, and where the physical, mental and moral parts of human nature are aborted and denied.

DETAILS OF THE PICTURE.

That the charge of rashness in splashing the picture be not incurred, let the following authoritative evidence be considered: First, the work and wages of mediocrity and inefficiency, and second, the habits.

The *New York Sun* of February 28, 1901, describes the opening of a factory in New York City by the American Tobacco Company. Cheroots were to be made in this factory in competition with other factories which refused to be absorbed by the trust. The trust advertised for girls. The crowd of men and boys who wanted work was so great in front of the building that the police were forced with their clubs to clear them away. The wage paid the girls was \$2.50 per week, sixty cents of which went for car fare.

Miss Nellie Mason Auten, a graduate student of the department of sociology at the University of Chicago, recently made a thorough investigation of the garment trades of Chicago. Her figures were published in the *American Journal of Sociology* and commented upon by the *Literary Digest*. She found women working ten hours a day, six days a week, for forty cents per week (a rate of

two-thirds of a cent an hour). Many women earned less than a dollar a week, and none of them worked every week. The following table will best summarize Miss Auten's investigations among a portion of the garment workers:

	Average individual weekly wages.	Average number of weeks employed.	Average yearly earnings.
Dressmakers...	\$.90	42.	\$ 37.00
Pants finishers...	1.31	27.58	42.41
Housewives and pants finishers...	1.58	30.21	47.49
Seamstresses...	2.03	32.78	64.10
Pants makers...	2.13	30.77	75.61
Miscellaneous...	2.77	29.	81.80
Tailors...	6.22	31.96	211.92
General averages...	\$2.48	31.18	\$ 76.74

Walter A. Wyckoff, who is as great an authority upon the worker as Josiah Flynt is on the tramp, furnishes the following Chicago experience:

"Many of the men were so weakened by the want and hardship of the winter that they were no longer in condition for effective labor. Some of the bosses who were in need of added hands were obliged to turn men away because of physical incapacity. One instance of this I shall not soon forget. It was when I overheard, early one morning, at a factory gate, an interview between a would-be laborer and the boss. I knew the applicant for a Russian-Jew, who had at home an old mother and a wife and two young children to support. He had had intermittent employment throughout the winter in a sweater's den, barely enough to keep them all alive, and, after the hardships of the cold season, he was again in desperate straits for work.

"The boss had all but agreed to take him on for some sort of unskilled labor, when, struck by the cadaverous look of the man, he told him to bare his arm. Up went the sleeve of his coat and his ragged flannel shirt, exposing a naked arm with the muscles nearly gone, and

the blue-white transparent skin stretched over sinews and the outline of the bones. Pitiful beyond words was his efforts to give a semblance of strength to the biceps which rose faintly to the upward movement of the forearm. But the boss sent him off with an oath and a contemptuous laugh, and I watched the fellow as he turned down the street, facing the fact of his starving family with a despair at his heart which only mortal man can feel and no mortal tongue can speak."

Concerning habitat, Mr. Jacob Riis states that in New York City in the block bounded by Stanton, Houston, Attorney and Ridge streets, the size of which is 200 x 300, there is a warren of 2,244 human beings.

In the block bounded by Sixty-first and Sixty-second streets, and Amsterdam and West End avenues, are over four thousand human creatures—quite a comfortable New England village to crowd into one city block.

The Rev. Dr. Behrends, speaking of the block bounded by Canal, Hester, Eldridge and Forsyth streets, says: "In a room 12 x 8 and 5½ feet high, it was found that nine persons slept and prepared their food. . . . In another room, located in a dark cellar, without screens or partitions, were together, two men with their wives and a girl of fourteen, two single men and a boy of seventeen, two women and four boys—nine, ten, eleven and fifteen years old—fourteen persons in all."

Here humanity rots. Its victims, with grim humor, call it "Tenant-House Rot." Or, as a legislative report puts it: "Here infantile life unfolds its bud, but perishes before its first anniversary. Here youth is ugly with loathsome disease and the deformities which follow physical degeneration."

THE CALL OF THE "ROAD."

These are the men and women who are what they are because they are not better born, or because they happened to be unluckily born in time and space. Gauged by the needs of the system, they are weak and worthless. The hospital and the pauper's grave await them, and they offer no encouragement to the mediocre worker who has failed higher up in the industrial fabric. Such a worker, conscious that he has failed, conscious from the hard fact that he cannot obtain work in the higher employments, finds several courses open to him. He may come down and be a beast in the social pit, for instance; but if he be of a certain calibre, the effect of the social pit will be to discourage him from work. In his blood a rebellion will quicken, and he will elect to become either a felon or a tramp.

If he has fought the hard fight, he is not unacquainted with the lure of the "road." When out of work and still undiscouraged, he has been forced to "hit the road" between large cities in his quest for a job. He has loafed, seen the country and green things, laughed in joy, laid on his back and listened to the birds singing overhead, unannoyed by factory whistles and bosses' harsh commands; and, most significant of all, *he has lived*. That is the point! Not only has he been care-free and happy, but he has lived! And from the knowledge that he has idled and is still alive, he achieves a new outlook on life; and the more he experiences the unenviable lot of the poor worker, the more the blandishments of the "road" take hold of him. And finally he flings his challenge in the face of society, imposes a valorous boycott on all work, and joins the far-wanderers of Hobo-land, the gipsy-folk of this latter day.

But the tramp does not usually come from the slums. His place of birth is ordinarily a bit above, and sometimes a very great bit above. A confessed failure, he yet refuses to accept the punishment and swerves aside from the slum to vagabondage. The average beast in the social pit is either too much of a beast, or too much of a slave to the orthodox ethics and ideals of his masters, to manifest this flicker of rebellion. But the social pit, out of its discouragement and viciousness, breeds criminals, men who prefer to be beasts of prey over being beasts of work. And the mediocre criminal, in turn, the unfit and inefficient criminal, is discouraged by the strong arm of the law and goes over to tramping.

These men, the discouraged worker and the discouraged criminal, voluntarily withdraw themselves from the struggle for work. Industry does not need them. There are no factories shut down through lack of labor, no projected railroads unbuilt for want of pick and shovel men. Women are still glad to toil for a dollar a week, and men and boys to clamor and fight for work at the factory gates. No one misses these discouraged men, and in going away they have made it somewhat easier for those that remain.

CONCLUSIONS.

So the case stands thus: There being more men than there is work for men, a surplus labor army inevitably results. The surplus labor army is an economic necessity; without it the present construction of society would fall to pieces. Into the surplus labor army are herded the mediocre, the inefficient, the unfit, and those incapable of satisfying the industrial needs of the system. The struggle for work between the members of the surplus labor army is sordid and savage, and at the bottom of the social pit the struggle is vicious and beastly. This struggle tends to discouragement, and the victims of this discouragement are the criminal and the tramp. The tramp is

not an economic necessity such as the surplus labor army, but he is the by-product of an economic necessity.

The "road" is one of the safety valves through which the waste of the social organism is given off. And *being given off* constitutes the negative function of the tramp. Society, as at present organized, makes much waste of human life. This waste must be eliminated. Chloroform or electrocution would be a simple, merciful solution of this problem of elimination; but the ruling ethics, while permitting the human waste, will not permit a humane elimination of that waste. This paradox demonstrates the irreconcilability of theoretical ethics and industrial need.

And so the tramp becomes self-eliminating. And not only self! Since he is manifestly unfit for things as they are, and since kind is prone to beget kind, it is necessary that his kind cease with him, that his progeny shall not be, that he play the eunuch's part in this twentieth century after Christ. And he plays it. He does not breed. Sterility is his portion, as it is the portion of the woman on the street. They might have been mates, but society has decreed otherwise.

And while it is not nice that these men should die, it is ordained that they must die, and we should not quarrel with them if they cumber our highways and kitchen stoops with their perambulating carcasses. This is a form of elimination we not only countenance but compel. Therefore let us be cheerful and honest about it. Let us be as stringent as we please with our police regulations, but for goodness sake let us refrain from telling the tramp to go to work. Not only is it unkind, but it is untrue and hypocritical. We know there is no work for him. And though we may not know, we should know and it is our duty to know, that he is, in a way, a hero. As the scapegoat to our economic and industrial sinning, or to the plan of things, if you will, we should give him credit. Let us be just. He is so made. Society made him. He did not make himself.

WILSHIRE'S EXILE TO END

THIS Magazine is printed in Canada and edited in New York. This anomaly, however, is going to end, as we have just received the gracious permission of His Imperial Highness, President Roosevelt, conveyed through his Third Assistant Postmaster General, Mr. Madden, that he has decided, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, to allow me to print in New York. It's very good of the Strenuous One to allow a Socialist devil like Wilshire to ink his editorial sheets in the same city where he thinks his thinks. That the approaching November election has had anything to do with this awakening of the conscience of His Strenuosity is, of course, not to be mentioned. The President had to have time to consider, that's all. With the press of indigent Republicans seeking the job of caring for the Post Office of Podunk, how could he, with all his Strenuosity, look into a matter so trifling as that of Suppression of the Press, and particularly the Socialist Press?

I will not weary the air with telling of my woes at length, but some of our readers are unfamiliar with the tale. Let the others be patient while I groan.

In December, 1900, I began to publish this magazine—or rather its weekly predecessor, *The Challenge*—in Los Angeles. Things soon began to boom, and I decided New York was a better field from which to enlighten the Dear Public. I moved my printing office from Los Angeles and issued my first number in New York in September, 1901. I had secured my second class publishers' rate in California, and took it for granted that I would have no trouble in getting a

transfer from the Los Angeles Post Office to the New York Post Office. I think this would have happened, but unfortunately the very week my application for a transfer went in the assassination of President McKinley occurred. This may have been simply a coincidence, but if so it was a very remarkable one. The Post Office refused me a transfer. At the time there was a hue and cry all over the nation that the assassination was the result of the pernicious teaching of the doctrines of Socialism and Anarchism, and that all papers advocating such doctrines should be suppressed. At that time a good many people did not distinguish between Socialism and Anarchism, and it looked to me as if the Post Office thought it would be a good opportunity to injure the cause of Socialism by suppressing this, a Socialist magazine. However, they have always denied this. They claim that the paper was not suppressed on account of its socialistic views, but because of its Wilshire views. Its views were so Wilshiresque that the magazine in their eyes was simply an advertising circular for the spread of Wilshire ideas, and as such had no right to newspaper postal rates but must pay "advertising circular" rates. When I say "suppressed" I wish to explain the word. The paper was not suppressed, but its rate of postage was raised from one cent per pound to eight cents per pound. This is really equivalent to suppression, inasmuch as the postage cost at the 8-cent rate was practically prohibitory.

I tried to have the decision reversed, but all effort was unavailing. I appealed

to the President. He refused to either see me or take up my case in any manner. My letters to him complaining of Mr. Madden's act were turned over to Mr. Madden himself to answer. This was probably as insulting a way of denying a citizen the right of petition as even strenuousness could devise. I went to the United States Courts, but obtaining justice that way is too long-winded a procedure for a monthly magazine. My case is yet pending, having never even come to trial. After exhausting every device I could think of, I finally appealed to the Post Master General of Canada. I asked him if he would give me second class entry there. He promptly decided that WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE was eligible to entry, even after I carefully explained to him that Mr. Madden had decided it was merely an advertising circular to advertise Wilshire's Ideas. However, the Canadian law requires that a periodical taking advantage of second class entry at the Canadian Post Office be printed in Canada. I must right here explain that the postal reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States makes each country the judge of its own classifications and what postage shall be charged. I hid myself to Canada and issued my first number there in January, 1902, and have been printing there ever since. My editorial and publishing offices remain in New York. My printing and mailing are done in Toronto.

I might mention that just prior to my going to Canada a certain Mr. Harrison J. Barrett, an attorney of Baltimore—a nephew of Judge Tyner, the recently deposed Attorney General of the Post Office—offered to take up my case and obtain me my entry in New York for the modest fee of \$5,000. Mr. Barrett has since been disbarred for connection with the Post Office frauds. I declined to be

bled. So for the past two years and more I have had the unique distinction of thinking in New York and printing my thoughts in Canada.

All the time I have been trying to get back, but hitherto unavailingly. But at last I found the right path. It was a happy inspiration. I had called the matter to the attention of all the Congressmen, but never a one budged to help me upon the general grounds of freedom of the press. That was simply a question of principle, and who bothers about principles these days? Consequently I tried business. A certain printer in New York, not knowing of my enforced exile, came to me and solicited the job of printing the magazine. I said I would be glad to consider his bid if he could arrange that the New York Post Office would allow me second class entry. Mr. Printer writes to Senator Tom Platt of New York. He complains of the gross injustice done to the printing trade of New York in forcing me to give out work to Canada which should be kept at home. Could Senator Platt not rectify such an outrage?

"Well, I guess I can," says the Senator. "What am I here for except to look after my constituents and see that they can have every opportunity to make a living?"

Well, that's all. In short order I had a most polite letter from Mr. Madden saying that anything he could do for me to help me get back in New York would be done instanter. As a preliminary he granted me the right of "foreign entry." This means he has decided that the magazine is all right as now printed in a "foreign" country—Canada—and is a tacit admission from him that if it is printed in New York that I will have entry there.

So good-bye, dear Canada. I have

many pleasant recollections of you. You have treated me much better than my own country ever did. I shall never forget how you sheltered me, a poor exile. I would stay with you longer, but it's too troublesome, this sending manuscript to and fro between New York and Toronto.

I may have to print my next number in Toronto, but after that I shall remain in New York unless Mr. Madden decides that I have again become too Gay for New York, and then I may come back. Leave your latch-string out, Dear Lady of the Snows.

See yonder poor, o'erlabored wight,
 So abject, mean and vile,
 Who begs a brother of the earth
 To give him leave to toil;
 And see his lordly fellow-worm
 The poor petition spurn,
 Unmindful, though a weeping wife
 And helpless offspring mourn.

Robert Burns.

SOCIALISTS IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

TOP ROW.—Ignaz Auer, Saxony; August Baudert, Saxony; August Bebel, Hamburg; Edward Bernstein, Breslau; Georg Birk, Oberbayern; Wilhelm Blos, Braunschweig; Wilhelm Bock, Koburg-Gotha; Theodor Boemelburg, Arnberg; Heinrich Braun, Frankfurt.

SECOND ROW.—Edmund Bruno, Buchwald, Saxony; Balthasar Craemer, Hessen; Edward David, Hessen; Heinrich Dietz, Hamburg; August Dressbach, Baden; Emil Robert Eichhorn, Baden; Franz Jos. Ehrhart, Pfalz; Adolf v. Elm, Schleswig-Holstein; Edmund Fischer, Saxony.

THIRD ROW.—Herman Foerster, Reuss; Julius Fraessdorf, Saxony; Karl Frohme, Schleswig-Holstein; Adolf Geck, Baden; Alwin Gerisch, Saxony; Friedrich Geyer, Saxony; Paul Goehre, Saxony; Hermann Goldstein, Saxony.

FOURTH ROW.—Georg Gradnauer, Saxony; Ernst Grenz, Saxony; Karl Gruenberg, Saxony; Hugo Hasse, Koenigsberg; Wolfgang Heine, Berlin; Fritz Herbert, Stettin; Joseph Herzfeld, Mecklenburg-Schwerin; Karl Hildenbrand, Wuerttemberg; Max Arthur Hoffman, Schwarzburg.

FIFTH ROW.—Franz Herman Hofmann, Saxony; Georg Horn, Saxony; Otto Hue, Arnberg; Wilhelm August Kaden, Saxony; Alwin Richard Koersten, Stettin; August Kuehn, Breslau; Fritz Kunert, Merseburg;

Georg Ledebour, Berlin; Karl Legien, Schleswig-Holstein.

SIXTH ROW.—Friedrich Lesche, Schleswig-Holstein; Hugo Lindemann, Wuerttemberg; Richard Lipinski, Saxony; Heinrich Mahlke, Schleswig-Holstein; Karl Julius Meist; Duesseldorf; Heinrich Meister, Hanover; Friedrich Wilhelm Metzger, Hamburg; Herman Molkenbuhr, Duesseldorf; Julius Motteler, Saxony.

SEVENTH ROW.—August Ernst Nitzsche, Saxony; Heinrich Peus, Potsdam; Wilhelm Pfannkuch, Madgeburg; Herman Paul Reisshaus, Saxony-Meinigen; Emil Rosenow, Saxony; Herman Gottfried Sachse, Breslau; Philipp Scheidemann, Duesseldorf; Max Schippel, Saxony; Louis Schlegel, Wurtemberg.

EIGHTH ROW.—Johann Heinrich Schmalfeldt, Bremen; Albert Schmidt, Madgeburg; Robert Schmidt, Berlin; Heinrich Wilhelm Schmidt, Wiesbaden; Georg Schoepflin, Saxony; Ernst Schulze, Saxony; Joseph Karl Theodor Schwarz, Luebeck; Karl Sindermann, Saxony; Paul Singer, Berlin.

NINTH ROW.—Karl Sperka, Wurtemberg; Arthur Stadthagen, Potsdam; Karl Wilhem Stolle, Saxony; Albert Suedekum, Mittelfranken; Friedrich Adolf Thiele, Merseburg; Franz August Tutzauer, Breslau; Georg V. Vollmar, Oberhagen; Emanuel Wurm, Reuss; Fritz Zubeil, Potsdam.



THE 80 SOCIALISTS IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

[See page 194]

TRAITOR TRIGGS BEHEADED

PROFESSOR OSCAR L. TRIGGS, of Chicago University, has lost his job and the press does not know the reason why. Perhaps when we remind it of an article which the Professor contributed to the March (1903) number of WILSHIRE'S and the following extracts are re-printed some light may be shed upon the why.

Professor Triggs, after showing the inevitable tendency of our industries to congeal into fewer and fewer hands and finally into the hands of one man, goes on as follows:

The monarchic state (of industry) is, of course, not yet perfected and will not be until the "universal trust" is formed, whereby competition is wholly destroyed and supreme control is placed in the hands of one man. This one man will derive his authority not from the subjects, the workers, but from "God." In order that the magnate's action may have higher sanction a theory will be formed corresponding to the "divine rights of Kings"—a theory implied by the devout attitude of many industrial potentates and which is already formulated by a certain "coal-baron" in words that have burned deep into the consciousness of the times.

The monarchic conclusion is inevitable. There will be no great change in the industrial system until the present centralizing tendency is ended—until all are absorbed in the industrial idea, and until all have come to industrial consciousness.

Industrial despotism will be tempered, of course, by occasional benevolence—there will be "good" magnates as there were "good" kings. This class will seek to solve the social problem from above through various agencies looking toward "industrial betterment." Even now the up-to-date business has a "social secretary" whose function is to improve the conditions of work by providing libraries, lectures, picnics, flower-beds and

the like, and by bringing into the corporation that personal element which the corporation as a "legal fiction" cannot presume to contain. The rule of the benevolent will often be thwarted by rebels and protestors who think they want simple justice and not benevolence and flower-beds. But, as the system will prove beneficial on the whole to the masses of the people during the time of its formation, the rebellions will be of short life and ineffective.

There will be a growing difficulty also in maintaining feudal authority because of the very perfection of the machinery of production, the enormous increase of products making it increasingly difficult for the owners to consume that which is produced. The industrial baron must work and solve, at the risk of losing his position, the problem of employment. One unemployed person is a menace to the whole order.

The foregoing does not sound very different from a Wilshire editorial, especially his closing remark about the menace of an unemployed problem. When it is remembered that Rockefeller was really Trigg's employer—for Rockefeller's gifts to Chicago University made him the real head, Harper being simply a shadow—and when we consider that Rockefeller has already become the industrial monarch Triggs predicted, we can realize what dangerous ground Triggs was treading in his remarks.

We really think, taking one consideration with another, that Mr. Rockefeller has shown the greatest consideration in allowing the Professor to remain at his post for a whole year after uttering such treason.

The Professor concluded his article with the following prophetic resume of the existing industrial situation:

1. An industrial order is now being established which corresponds in all essential respects with what is known in political history as feudalism.

2. The political order, so far as it is shaped by the same individuals who control industry, partakes also of the nature of feudalism; hence, the recrudescence in the United States of the principles of Hamilton and the dominance of the Republican Party.

3. When the feudalistic tendency culminates into the establishment of a centralized control of all industries, then the conscious and

deliberate appropriation of that power by the people will begin, till work becomes free and the worker self-directive.

4. Biology and psychology testify to the ultimate triumph of the principle of self-activity. In other words, all the forces of national evolution are on the side of the people. The next step after industrial feudalism is industrial democracy. This means that industries will be conducted by and for the people; and this means, of course, that production will be carried on not for the sake of production or for that power which wealth secures, but for the sake of the people.

LABOR'S PROCESSIONAL

E. L. HITCHENS

Far abroad o'er the shackled earth
 Sounds great Freedom's cry!
 Men of the forge and fireside
 Once more do or die!
 Labor shall lift an eagle's wing
 That never will droop or tire,
 And fair to the winds a standard fling
 That shall flame as a sacred fire!

(Chorus.) Strike, strike at power and place!
 Work, work with a will,
 Freedom for all the race,
 God leadeth Labor still.

Out of the years shall a rider burst,
 Clothed in whitest array,
 He shall strike from the earth accurst
 The bonds of Mammon away!
 Truth shall shine from his fearless eye,
 Peace be writ on his brow;
 He shall bring men to their own again—
 And lo, he cometh now!

Chorus—Strike, etc.

Who shall this King of the New Time be?
 What shall be his name?
 He shall be you and he shall be me,
 And faith shall be his fame.
 He shall stand as our conscious might,
 He shall be our will,
 He shall be Law and Love and Light—
 For God is leading us still.

Chorus—Strike, etc.

BRYAN WILL DISCUSS SOCIALISM

When we say that Bryan will discuss Socialism we must hasten to qualify, and add without delay that there is a saving clause to this announcement, for the discussion is to be in "due time." He probably means that he will discuss Socialism when Socialism is due. We gather this information from a Sandusky, Ohio, paper. Thomas H. Cowens, a prominent and wealthy Sandusky young man, is an ardent Socialist who takes great interest in questions of the day, recently wrote to Bryan, asking him whether it was true that he refused to debate with Gaylord Wilshire. Bryan replied:

I will say that it is true that I refused to debate with Mr. Wilshire, as I have refused to debate with a great many others.

Answering your other question, I beg to say that the question of Socialism will be discussed in due time, but I do not accept the theory that the trust is an *economic evolution*.

Mr. Bryan enclosed a cartoon from his paper, the *Commoner*, which he says is an illustration of "the manner in which the water is being squeezed out of the trusts," and adds that "this would indicate that they are anything but natural or legitimate."

In the above Mr. Bryan at last admits he refused to debate with Mr. Wilshire. This is the first time we ever knew he would even admit having received the challenge. Yes, we agree it is wearisome debating with every obscure crank who comes trotting down the pike, wishing to gain notoriety by a debate with a great man. We heartily sympathize with Mr. Bryan's disinclination to accept such challenges. But Mr. Wilshire's challenge was not exactly of the ordinary variety. There was money to be paid to Mr. Bryan for *wearying* himself, if talking can be said to *wear* W. J. Mr. Wilshire offered Mr. Bryan \$10,000 for a short, but painful, two hours of Mr. Bryan's time. A large cash deposit was put up with Mr. Bryan's friend, Editor W. R. Hearst, as a guar-

antee of good faith upon Mr. Wilshire's part, so there could be no doubt that the money would be forthcoming if Mr. Bryan would accept the challenge. Mr. Bryan simply paid no attention whatsoever to the challenge though it was made in such a way that he could accept the money either in his capacity as a speaker or as a lawyer.

However, when it appears that even at this belated hour Mr. Bryan does not yet accept the theory that Trusts are a result of economic evolution, and as evidence of the soundness of his views we see that he refers to the falling value of Trust stocks upon the stock exchange, it is not difficult for us to determine why Mr. Bryan refuses ten thousand dollars to debate the Trust Problem. He knows nothing about Trusts, he knows nothing about "economic evolution," and knowing enough to know that he doesn't know, he is wise enough to do all he can to keep the public dark as to his ignorance. It is worth a good deal more than ten thousand dollars to Mr. Bryan to prevent the world knowing how much he doesn't know. A debate would lift the cover off his brain and let us see what a yawning vacuum exists there. It's both money and fame to him to prevent a call that will show what a bluff he makes in pretending he has gray matter to burn. The squeezing of water out of Trust stocks means nothing at all. When the Steel Trust or the Oil Trust or the Sugar Trust disintegrates and resolves itself into its component parts, and these parts once again compete with each other, then will we admit that the Trusts are not the result of economic evolution. In the meanwhile we maintain that the Steel Trust is just as much a monopoly today, with its shares selling at \$10, as it was a monopoly last summer, when its shares sold at \$40.

It is the dividends that determine stock values, and it is the centralization of industry that determines monopoly.

CARTOON AND COMMENT

THE Japanese war has had the effect of running up the price of wheat to a point that would gladden the heart of our American farmers if only they still

high prices, and the world in general and the American workingman in particular are giving Mr. Armour the profits. Living expenses are constantly increasing,



"Call off your Dogs of War!"

—Minneapolis Journal

had the wheat. But the farmer has sold out long ago, and Mr. Armour is the "farmer" who gets the benefit of the

and in New York rent is also going up very rapidly, but wages are tending to go down, so the workers are having a

hard time of it. The men on small salaries whose incomes have not been augmented by the trade union movement are particularly hard hit.

It is interesting to note, with the prices of both wheat and cotton abnormally high—a condition which should give the farmers an opportunity to purchase goods such as they never have enjoyed before—that notwithstanding all this, over-pro-

duction is becoming more and more pronounced in manufacturing lines. If we have over-production when farm prices are high and the farmers can't buy where will we be when the inevitable slump in agricultural prices comes?

Der Wahre Jacob in the accompanying cartoon. Organization is responsible for what little liberty the workingman enjoys, not only in Germany but in this our own "land of the free and home of the brave." The capitalist has no sort of respect for the worker who hasn't gumption enough to organize, but his attitude toward the organized worker is vastly different. He may not like him



The Capitalist and the Unorganized Worker.



The Organized Worker and the Capitalist.

—Der Wahre Jacob.

duction is becoming more and more pronounced in manufacturing lines. If we have over-production when farm prices are high and the farmers can't buy where will we be when the inevitable slump in agricultural prices comes?

The effect of organization is shown with force by our German contemporary

any better, but he has a whole lot more respect for him.

Why Bryan should be so fatuous as to try to force the Democratic Donkey back into the old Free Silver shed is one of the mysteries of the day. Bryan does not give many ear-marks of insanity but certainly this action of his is crazy from

every point of view. everyone knows it. lost his sense of smelling political corpses.

The Hearst Campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination goes merrily on and he has become so formidable that his enemies are looking up his record and making insinuations regarding his private morals. While to an unprejudiced

observer it is clear that the Hearst fight for the nomination must be seriously reckoned with it does not yet appear that he has developed sufficient strength to capture the coveted prize, but he undoubtedly has the other fellows guessing and not a little scared. The Socialists would rather welcome his

nomination than otherwise because there is no doubt that he would be widely

Silver is dead and accused of being a Socialist which would Bryan must have make people inquire what Socialism is, and that is all we want. Once our principles and program are understood there can be little doubt the world will wag our way.



Farmer Bryan: "Whoa! Get back inside!"
—St. Paul Pioneer Press.



THE GOO GOO MAN.
Yellow spots in Goo Goo's eyes,
All little Dems he'll hypnotize!
Then run away as fast as you can,
Get out of the way of the Goo Goo Man!
—Carter in Minneapolis Times.

much as it is the Gun itself that counts. The Japanese are somewhat like the

The Russo-Japanese war has served once more to show the unreliability of estimates of the relative military strength of nations when they are merely based upon the counting of noses, guns and ships. On paper the week before hostilities Russia was about as strong as Japan, as far as the fleets about Korea were concerned, but it did not take many hours for the Japs to show the world that it was the Man Behind the Gun quite as

Boers in being nominally at a great disadvantage on account of disparity in numbers, but in reality much stronger than the figures show, owing to their great intelligence and the mobility of their army. As far as the growth of Socialism is concerned the war will have a double effect. By the general stimulus to things both spiritual and material it will have at first a reactionary effect upon evolutionary development which depends upon the occurrence of an unemployed problem, for there is nothing which calls for more labor and consumes more



The Czar—"He's big enough to crush half-a-dozen Japans, but he's so hard to move."

—Toronto World.

of any other American citizen. However, ultimately, the effect will all be for Socialism, particularly from the tremendous social and political development that will take place in Russia. Probably before the year is out Russia will be under a constitutional monarchy. The probable effect of the war on Russian internal conditions is ably discussed in this number of WILSHIRE'S by Mr. Morris Hillquit, a native of Russia, whose knowledge of the temper and aspirations of the Russian people is not exceeded by that

BOOK REVIEWS

"THE YELLOW VAN," by Richard Whiteing. New York: The Century Co. \$1.50.

Here is a Socialist novel which ran as a serial in the *Century Magazine*, and which, published in book form, has been praised by the column in all the reviews, here and in England. It is so seldom that this happens to an avowedly Socialistic piece of writing, that it seems ungracious to find any fault with it. The present writer went to it, however, fresh from that extraordinary book, "No. 5 John Street," and he has to record that the later work brought him mainly disappointment. "The Yellow Van" is a novel in regular form—which is perhaps one of its weaknesses, for "No. 5 John St." had a form all of its own. The former is both well-made and well-meant, but it seems to lack to a great extent the vital blood which throbbled through its predecessor. The book seems to be made upon a plan—a very good plan—but the purpose of it all is too obvious, and the characters lack the nameless something which makes one believe in them. We do not know if Mr. Whiteing ever lived on John St., but he seems to know the people of the slums better than those of the castle. Also he is less happy in dialogue than in narrative, of the former of which there is more in his later book. Like Dr. Johnson, he makes all his characters talk his own language; and when the language is of the Meredith kind, with occasional reminders of Carlyle, this is trying.

Yet, when the above has been said, "The Yellow Van" is a remarkable novel, and as an indictment of British institutions it is calculated to make Britons "sit up." This it has been doing to an extraordinary degree. "Blessed are the sleepy," says one of Mr. Whiteing's characters, quoting Nietzsche, "for they shall soon drop off." Lest the above opinions should operate to keep any one from the book, it may be well to note that Justin McCarthy has an extremely flattering review of it in the *New York Independent*.

A NEW BOOK BY ISADOR LADOFF.

Charles H. Kerr & Company, of Chicago, has just arranged for the publication of one of the most important contributions yet made to the literature of the American Socialist Movement. It is a work by Isador Ladoff, a well-known Socialist writer and the author of "The Passing of Capitalism," entitled "American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty." The opening portion of the work consists of the most exhaustive compilation of facts concerning social conditions in the United States that has ever been gathered together and presented from the Socialist point of view. The

mass of statistics concerning the condition of the working class constitutes one of the most powerful indictments of capitalism ever penned. It will prove just the storehouse of facts that Socialist agitators, speakers, writers and workers generally, have been needing for many years. These facts are then explained and interpreted in connection with an exposition of the Socialist philosophy which makes the work as a whole a splendid piece of propaganda. The book will be published in cloth binding in the Standard Socialist Series, uniform with the eight numbers already issued, and will be sold at 50 cents. Copies can be ordered through this office.

—

LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS, with sketches of Spies, Fischer, Engel and Lingg; also Gov. Altgeld's "REASONS FOR PARDONING THE ANARCHISTS." 353 octavo pages, illustrated, bound in cloth and gilt. \$1.00. Postage, 25c. Published by Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons, 1777 N. Troy St., Chicago, Ill.

The "Life of Albert R. Parsons," published by Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons, his widow, is a volume full of interesting narrative, and material for thought. The story of Parson's life is a stirring tale. The purpose of the publication is announced in the following strong and impressive "author's note," by Mrs. Parsons:

"In preparing the 'Life of Albert R. Parsons' for publication I have been actuated by one desire alone, viz.: that I might demonstrate to every one, the most prejudiced as well as the most liberal minds: First, that my husband was no aider, nor abettor, nor counsellor, of crime in any sense. Second, that he knew nothing of nor had anything to do with the preparation for the Haymarket meeting, and that the Haymarket meeting was intended to be peaceable and was peaceable until interfered with by the police. Third, that Mr. Parson's connection with the labor movement was purely and simply for the purpose of bettering the condition of his fellow-men; that he gave his time, talents, and at last his life to this cause.

"In order to make these facts undeniable I obtained articles from persons holding avowedly adverse views to his, but who were nevertheless willing to testify to his innocence of the crime for which he suffered death and to his sterling integrity as a man.

"It has been the endeavor of the author to make the present work not only biographical but historical—a work which might be relied upon as an authority by all future writers upon the matters contained in it. Hence, nothing has been admitted to its pages that is

not absolutely correct, so far as it was possible for me to verify it by close scrutiny of all matters treated. And for this reason I ask the public to read its pages carefully, for in this way they will become acquainted with the inmost thoughts of one of the noblest characters of which history bears record."

This book is a most excellent account of the brutal and illegal manner in which Parsons and his comrades were railroaded to the gallows by the terror-stricken people of Chicago. It is also a good general history of the labor movement in America. If anyone has any doubts as to the glaring injustice done to Parsons by his condemnation and hanging, he will have them removed by reading this narrative. It is even yet too early for the general public to be converted to any just estimate of Parsons' character, and we will not attempt the impossible in a short review. He was a noble, though possibly a somewhat misguided soul. No one, who wishes to be well informed upon the history of Socialism, should fail to read this book.

THE STONE OF DESTINY. By Katherine Mackay. Published by Harper & Brothers.

Mrs. Clarence H. Mackay, in this little book, has advanced a philosophy and supplied a plot to express it—the philosophy being that nothing can daunt the great soul, the example an unsympathetic wife. It is not altogether new to make incompatibility between husband and wife the subject of a modern story. But in the case of proving the blamelessness of the one at the expense of the other, the author must make a clear case or leave a dissatisfied reader, especially, if that same old "blamelessness" is to be the foundation stone of the story. If the hero with the "undaunted soul" had evinced half the energy in overcoming the shallow, though loving, wife's lack of understanding of his life work, he would have succeeded quite as well as he did by withdrawing himself from her. We cannot help feeling a regret that Mrs. Mackay did not extend her hero's efforts into fields more generally trod by man—the earth, for instance. But then we might not have had the book, and the book is of more than passing interest. We suspect that the philosophy expressed will bear more abundant fruit and that soon we shall have another book from the pen of Mrs. Mackay.

FALK. By Joseph Conrad. Published by McClure, Phillips & Co. Price \$1.50.

It is a delight to find that Conrad's inspiration is not from the sea alone. In his latest volume, three short stories, we find that "Falk," is the only sea tale, but in all of them, contrary to the previous work of the author of "Lord Jim," "The Typhoon," etc., we find a woman. And it is Conrad's portrayal of

this woman, the eternal feminine, that is to establish him more firmly as an artist. She is elemental, like that same wonderful sea that Conrad has so endeared to his readers. Indeed, she might be a growth of that sea, so like is her nature to it. The other stories, "Amy Foster," and "Tomorrow," are as irresistible as "Falk."

THE SOCIALIZATION OF HUMANITY: an Analysis and Synthesis of Nature, Life, Mind and Society through the Law of Repetition—A System of Monistic Philosophy. A philosophical work by Charles Kendall Franklin. Charles H. Kerr and Company, 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.

To quote the first sentence of the preface, "The object of this investigation is to trace physical, organic and social phenomena to their sources in order to discover their laws, so that the subsequent expenditure of energy in nature, life, mind and society may be determined for human welfare." This is what the book attempts, and in a large measure accomplishes.

It suggests a solution of the ultimate metaphysical problem of knowledge by tracing the origin of mind from inorganic nature, showing that external energies produce the senses, that the senses produce the intellect, that the intellect is only a developed form of the external energies producing it and is identical with them; that man is only a developed form of all the energies of nature and thus knows the ultimate nature of things by identifying them with his own being. It traces the kinship of chemism, will, love and religion, showing that one is a developed form of the other with similar functions; resulting in similar phenomena; and that a continuity in all nature is thus established. It shows that plants and animals, the differences of the sexes, the functions of order and progress in society are due to a division of labor in the blind expenditure of energy in nature and society. It shows that capitalism is only one of many forms of producing property which humanity has adopted while passing through its evolution from primitive democracy to social democracy, and that individualism will inevitably be supplanted by the socialism of the race, which will result in the perfect expenditure of all energy through verifiable, public, corporate knowledge. It reconciles religion with science, freedom with necessity, responsibility with autonomy, and eliminates all of the heartrending contradictions of theology in its monistic explanation of good and evil. Complete in one large octavo volume of 500 pages. Price, including expressage to any address, \$2.00.

RETURN TO NATURE. Published by Benedict Lust, 124 East 59 St., New York. 307 pages. \$2.00.

This book is probably the best exposition of the Nature Cure theory to be had, and so confident is the publisher that a buyer will be

satisfied with his purchase, that he offers to return the money to anyone not wishing to keep the book after having paid for it.

The author is a German, and his system is in great vogue in Europe. The general idea is that people should give up taking drugs and live as near nature as possible. Eat little or no meat or cooked food. Subsist largely upon fruits and nuts and certain cereals prepared in a very simple manner, wear porous linen next your skin, sleep in open air, go bare-foot when possible, take cold sitz baths and plenty of exercise, and you will never be ill. This is the general advice and promise. It certainly has much to commend it, although under our present competitive drive there are few of us who can hope to follow up the system in its entirety.

Fruit and nut food is all right, very probably, but when we must depend on ordinary restaurants for our daily provender it is rather difficult to conform to the Nature Diet. However, there is hope. Mr. McFadden is trying by his chain of restaurants in New York City to remedy this deficiency. Bare feet on Broadway will hardly be *a la mode* very soon. Though I have long been a believer in the general ideas set forth in this book, but beyond the wearing of the porous linen underclothing for the last fifteen years, winter and summer, I confess I have not adhered very closely to my theories.

The book has many crudities and its sweeping condemnation of modern medicine is too severe to be effective. Certainly, there is grave doubt as to whether drugs have not done more harm than good, and the up-to-date doctor is getting to recognize this pretty fast himself, but his science is a far different science today from what it was a few years ago.

I have long been personally acquainted with Mr. Lust, and I feel no hesitancy in recommending his book to those who are interested in new theories of diet and hygiene.—G. W.

—
THE DAY OF PROSPERITY. By Paul Devinne. G. W. Dillingham & Co., N. Y. Cloth, \$1.50.

A great many people who refuse to read the Socialist theory when incorporated in a dry argument, may be led to understand through the medium of a good Socialist romance. Bellamy with his "Looking Backward" made thousands believe in Socialism who would never have read a dry Socialist platform, and who, even if they had read, would have never been converted. Paul Devinne follows in the path cut out by Bellamy and presents an enticing picture of the future under Socialism in the form of a most interesting novel. There may be a few points upon which the strictly orthodox may not altogether agree with Mr. Devinne, but on the whole he has written a book which should do a great deal toward helping on the enlightenment of the world. We congratulate him upon his achievement and hope the sale of the book will be large.

—
THE KEY THAT FITS THE LOCK. By Lizabeth.

This is a little book of 96 pages; contains nearly all one would wish to know of the Socialist philosophy. It was originally published at 50 cents, but we have purchased a number of copies at a heavy discount and will give our readers the benefit. While they last, at 14 cents each postpaid. Stamps taken. Order today. Address WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE.

LITERARY NOTES

Professor Antonio Labriola, the eminent Italian scientist and Socialist, is dead. He was the author of a number of books upon Socialism, perhaps the best being recently published by C. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago. It is a masterly resume of the Marxian philosophy brought down to date by one of the greatest minds of the day.

Mr. Chesterton's biography of Browning, the most popular of recent issues in The Eng-

lish Men of Letters Series, is just going into its third edition, and Mr. Jack London's novel, "The Call of the Wild," into its seventh. New editions are also preparing of "The Adventures of Elizabeth in Rügen," which promises to outstrip its predecessors; of Mr. Phillpotts' "romance of the west country," "The American People;" "The Garden of a Commuter's Wife;" "The People of the Whirlpool;" and "Modern English Prose," by Professors Carpenter and Brewster, of Columbia.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

TO FRIENDS OF WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

Subscription postal cards, each good for a year's subscription to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, are sold to all agents at rate of 50 cents per card; cards good for a six months subscription, 25 cents; 3 month cards, 10 cents. Remit cash with order to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., New York.

SOME PERSONAL INFORMATION AND A BUSINESS PROPOSITION

Our readers will find in our advertising pages an offer of sale of Preferred Stock in the Wilshire Publishing Co. I have often had people ask me what they could do for Socialism, and hitherto I have had to give a vague and general answer. I now can give a particular and definite one: subscribe for the Wilshire Preferred Stock.

There is an erroneous impression that Wilshire is a capitalist of somewhat greater magnitude than Vanderbilt and Astor, and in fact only a little less bright in the financial heavens than Rockefeller himself. I have, for various reasons, thought it not wise to very strenuously deny this soft impeachment. I considered the advertisement of being thought a "Millionaire Socialist" as worth more than its disadvantages. However, right now and here I wish to deny it if the denial will prevent any would-be subscriber coming to the conclusion that Wilshire has more money than he knows what to do with and that subscribing for his Wilshire Publishing Co. stock is as useless as pumping more water into the ocean. I have put \$100,000 cold cash into establishing WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. I now ask my friends to put their shoulders to the wheel, and I mean what I say when I declare that I need their help. There is no more to be said. It may be taken for granted that if I had an unlimited supply of my own money I would not be asking a supply from others. If you wish to help along WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, then the best way to show your wish is to subscribe for as many shares of stock as your purse will allow.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

PUT YOUR WITS TO WORK.

We will give a handsome present to the person who hands us, before the first of May, a suggestion for the best and most practical method of securing new subscribers for WILSHIRE'S.

A CALL TO WILSHIRE'S READERS.

If you are interested in WILSHIRE'S, you should like your friends to read it. Many of our readers have expressed a desire to see it in the home of every family in the United States.

Here is an opportunity to assist us in reaching many thousands ignorant of the principles of Socialism. During the month of April we want every one of our readers and friends to send us one new subscriber. At least one. You know some one whom you would like to have read a Socialist magazine, one whom you would like to convert to Socialism. One new subscriber from each of our readers would mean that our subscription list would be doubled. It means so many more votes for Socialism in 1904.

Put your shoulder to the wheel; send in at least one new subscriber during April. We are here to do our part of the work for 1904, but we must have your help. Do it to-day. Don't wait till to-morrow. Get us one new subscriber at least one.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY WATCH CONTEST WINNERS.

The winners of the three gold watches offered to those of our friends, who should send in the largest number of subscribers during January and February are:

MR. SUMNER F. SHAW, of East Weymouth, Mass.

DR. H. E. WRIGHT, of Sacramento, Cal.

MR. C. H. MENNIER, of Riverside, Cal.

Mr. Shaw sent in fifty yearly subscribers, Mr. Wright sent in forty, and Mr. Mennier gathered twenty for us. These are not particularly large figures, and the gentlemen named, therefore, get their watches with the expenditure of comparatively little effort. A large number of others sent in yearly subscriptions in lots arranging from five to

twenty, but the three named are the only ones who went over the twenty mark.

Those who failed to capture a watch in this contest will, however, have opportunity to receive recognition of the same sort during the coming months. As announced in the March number, we are going to give away two gold watches each month to the worker

who, in the opinion of the Circulation Department, has done the most earnest and effective work for WILSHIRE'S. This contest is open to everybody and the one to whom the watches are awarded can keep them or dispose of them as he sees fit in the effect to secure subscribers.

Let everybody get to work.

OUR LETTER BOX

DON'T FORGET TO WRITE LETTERS.

The following letter is from Mr. Cowens, who drew Mr. Bryan into the admission that he does not regard the Trust as the result of economic evolution, a matter which we take up on another page. We think Mr. Cowens is pursuing quite the right tactics in giving his local daily press plenty of Socialist items. As he says there are many people who will read what appears in their local papers, but who are quite inaccessible to the Socialist paper. We think many Socialists would do well to profit by Mr. Cowens' advice. Let them see that the local press is always well fed with Socialist notes. It is also a good idea to write letters to "prominent" citizens. They know they can only remain prominent by keeping on the band wagon, and the only way they can distinguish the band wagon from a hearse is by hearing the bystanders talk. A few active Socialist letter writers can often make things appear like the whole community is seething with Socialism. Let all Socialists do a little in the seething game and things may finally seethe in reality.—W.

I received the Laughlin Fountain Pen and am highly pleased with it. You may rest assured that I am still interested in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, and will try to get it a wider circle of readers in this locality. In your efforts to spread the grand truths of Socialism, I wish to remark that you are doing a giant task and the American Socialists can feel proud of their chosen representative abroad.

In Sandusky we have been contributing articles to the city papers about Socialism and our lectures. We catch a lot of people who are only readers of capitalist newspapers, and start them on the road to reading and thinking on this subject. My motto is: "Get the principles of Socialism before the people and let them shine forth in season and out of season." I enclose a few clippings from Sandusky papers as a direct result of our work. I would suggest that in some of your "pointers" to your readers you give them a gentle hint along this line of work.

THOMAS H. COWENS.
Sandusky, O.

Editor Wilshire's—WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is great.

FRED ANDERSON, So. Carver, Mass.

Editor Wilshire's—I enjoy reading your magazine, and feel that I can't do without it. Wishing you God-speed.

W. G. DE RAMUS, Petroma, Ala.

Editor Wilshire's—Enclosed please find \$2 for four yearly subscription cards to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. I regret that I cannot buy them by the hundreds.

WILLIAM HARBERS, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jan. 19, 1904.

Editor Wilshire's—Send me on some subscription cards. If the people could know the magazine as I do, I would have to send for a million.

J. W. WALLACE, Cedar Vale, Kan.

Editor Wilshire's—The magazine is liked the best of all Socialist literature, by anti-Socialists, and it ranks first also for the scientific Socialist.

LE ROY HIXSON, Vermillion, S. D.

A TRUTH RESURRECTED.

In th' glori'd East, where splendors rise
Alike from morn and evening skies,
And Allahabad's roses fair
Delight to scent the lang'rous air,
'Tis said a Brahmin sage once taught
That God is with all life in-wrought;
That something of His life and pow'r
Grows in the tree, blooms in the flow'r.
And all the wondrous forms that span
The intervening space to man,
This pow'r doth some expression find
In love of each for its own kind;
But man its grandest outcome is
Through Love's and Wisdom's bridal kiss—
And through his growing mind this pow'r
Must bring to earth its heav'nly dow'r
Of love, to hold all nations kin,
Of charity, to lift from sin.
Of hope, to bring our heaven near,
And trust, to bury all our fear.

ALICE ELIZABETH RIPLEY.

Editor Wilshire's—There are two Lambs here who are active Socialists, myself (C. J.) and my brother (J.M.). We both expect to do business for WILSHIRE'S, than which there is no magazine better.

C. J. LAMB, Dryden, Mich.

Editor Wilshire's—I enclose P. O. for \$1.00 to renew my subscription for the best magazine on earth, and also an order for one new subscriber for one year.

N. R. SMITH, Langlois, Ore.

Editor Wilshire's—I bought the number of WILSHIRE'S in which Jack London began his articles on "The People of the Abyss," and it was this article that made me subscribe, but I have found so many other good things in it that I can not think of doing without it. I will do what I can here to extend its circulation.

DELOS W. HOGUE, M.D., Darlington, Wis.

Editor Wilshire's—I have been reading your magazine with pleasure.

(PROF.) G. R. CARPENTER,
Columbia University,
New York City.

Editor Wilshire's—I derive much pleasure from WILSHIRE'S. I especially like the good nature and fairness evidenced in every article. Because of the moderate tone, I believe your fight for better conditions will be most effective. WILSHIRE'S certainly leaves a pleasant flavor.

H. W. ILLMAN,
Hartford, Wash.

Editor Wilshire's—I am a subscriber to your magazine and do all I can to help the cause of Socialism. Am a "shut-in" on account of lameness and poor health, but can help some in this way. Everything that comes into my hands in the shape of Socialistic reading matter, I write on first page (not cover), "Read and pass to another who will agree to do the same, and keep going until worn out." WILSHIRE'S is started out in that way as fast as I receive it. Please tell your subscribers about it, so that others will do the same. At first look, one might think you would lose subscribers that way, but I think you will gain, because I start them in different directions, so they will do the work of sample copies.

God help you in your good work! Yours for Socialism.

(MRS.) ALICE E. MARIM,
South Paris, Me.

Editor Wilshire's—I wish to congratulate you heartily on publishing London's book serially in your magazine. It is a very striking and effective bit of investigation, which I have had the pleasure of reviewing in the *World's Work*, and I beg to say that I read the story first in your magazine.

With hearty appreciation,

Yours very truly,

M. G. CUNIFF,
Managing Editor *World's Work*.

New York.

Editor Wilshire's—Thank you very much for your editorial, "Mr. Gompers and His Little Plan," in which you show to my full satisfaction how impossible would be the plan of "benevolent feudalism," which, in a letter to you, I stated might stave off the Social Revolution. As to your reference to me as one of a "few of dreamy Socialists of half-baked variety," I take that in good part, as I realize I must answer to that classification to have ever put forth such an argument as I did. However, I am still a student, and will watch my conclusions a little closer in the future.

Sincerely yours,

GEO. A. COLEMAN.

Elliott, Pa.

Editor Wilshire's—Accept my gratitude for your article on "Mr. Gompers and His Little Plan." "You are a dandy."

DR. H. B. FAY,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Editor Wilshire's—Your magazine appears to have a fairly large sale in this country and all who read it over believe with me that few men grapple with economic questions in as lucid a style as Wilshire does. With every good wish and a circulation of a million.

Yours fraternally,

E. LESLIE,

Telegraph Dep't,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa.

Editor Wilshire's—Allow me to compliment you on your magazine. I do not find the other papers I take have the high tone that is in your magazine.

Wishing you every success, I am,

Yours faithfully,

ARTHUR MCCARTHY,
Dunedin, New Zealand.

LABOR COMING TO ITS OWN.

The heart of labor is longing today,
Is longing—longing in vain?
Ah, no! There's a heaven, tho' yet far away
That shall answer this longing of pain.

The soul of labor is seeking today,
Is seeking—seeking in vain?
Ah, no! From our rights we have wandered away,
And we, seeking, shall find them again.

The throng of labor is rising today,
Is rising in numbers unknown,
Is rising to take from Oppression away
The wealth it has made for its own.

—BESSIE BROWN, Stattler, Ark.

National Convention Meeting Place.

The Socialist National Convention will assemble at 10.00 A.M., May 1, at Brandt's Hall, corner N. Clark and Erie Streets, Chicago.

PRICE 10 CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

MAY

WOMEN AND SOCIALISM

—JULIAN HAWTHORNE

**THE CONSPIRACY
AGAINST LABOR IN
COLORADO**

—Henry O. Morris

THAT 5x4 MERGER JOKE

The Editor



Editorial Review

**CHICAGO AND MILWAUKEE
ELECTIONS**

HEARST BOOM

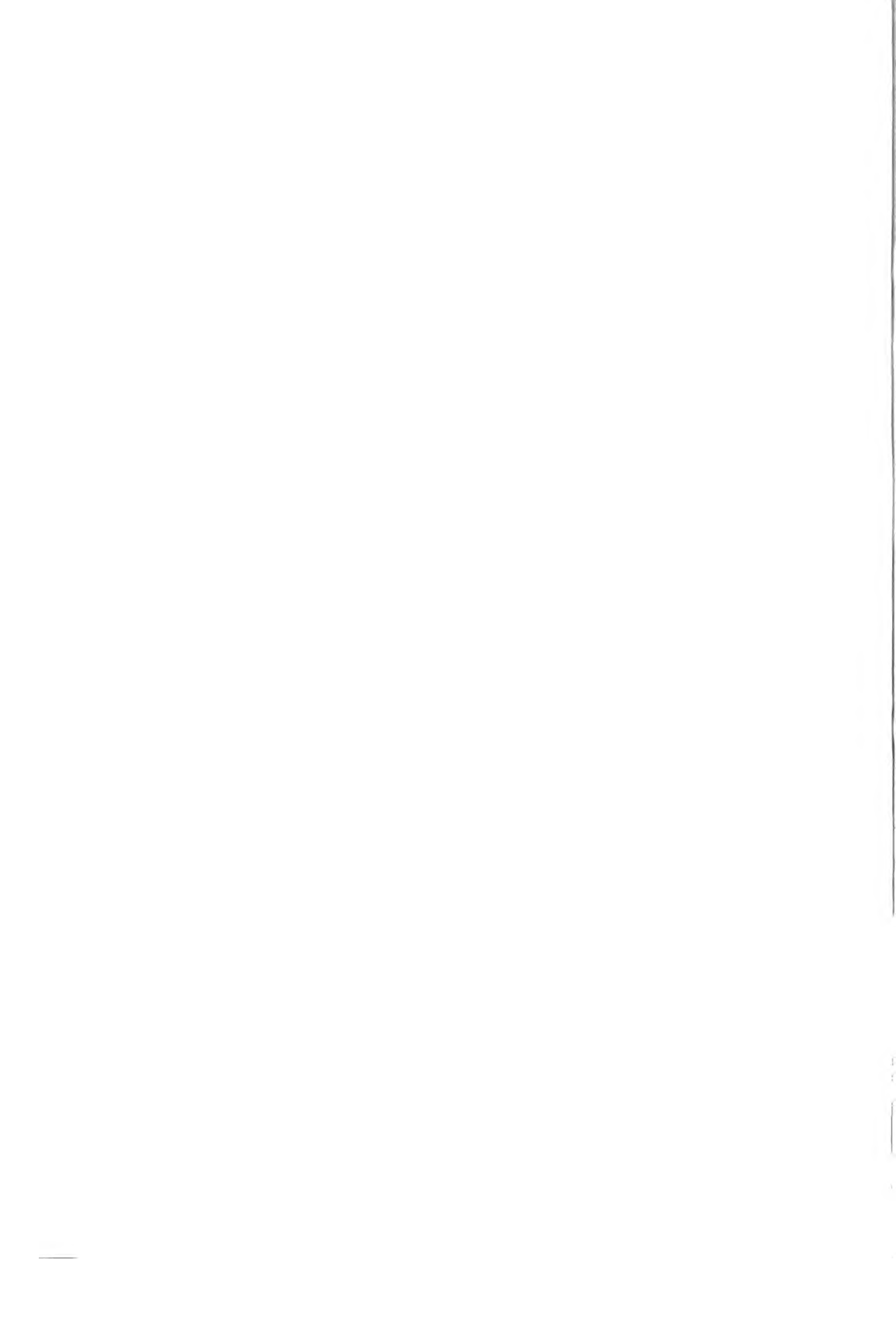
COLORADO MINE OWNERS

INFAMOUS PURPOSE

THE ROOT OF ALL ROTTENNESS

ETC., ETC.

125 East 23'd Street. New York.



"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

May, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL REVIEW.....	211
Chicago and Milwaukee Elections— Hearst Boom—Colorado Mine Owners Infamous Purpose— The Root of all Rottenness—Etc., etc.	
THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST LABOR IN COLORADO (Illus.).... Henry O. Morris	215
THAT 5x4 MERGER JOKE..... The Editor	225
LYMAN ABBOTT AND SOCIALISM	228
THE SECRET OF THE MOUNTAINS (Illus. with Portrait)..... L. W. Whitehead	229
WOMAN AND SOCIALISM	231
THE FOREIGN PERIL (Illus.).....	235
WILSHIRE, JACK LONDON AND "THE PAUPER WORKERS OF EUROPE" Frank F. Stone	237
CARTOON AND COMMENT.....	242
BOOK REVIEWS (With Portrait of Jos. R. Buchanan).....	246
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	250

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is printed in Toronto and published monthly by the Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at \$1.00 a year, or for sale at all news-stands at 10 cents a copy. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.50 (6s.) a year.

Remittances should be made by postal or express orders.

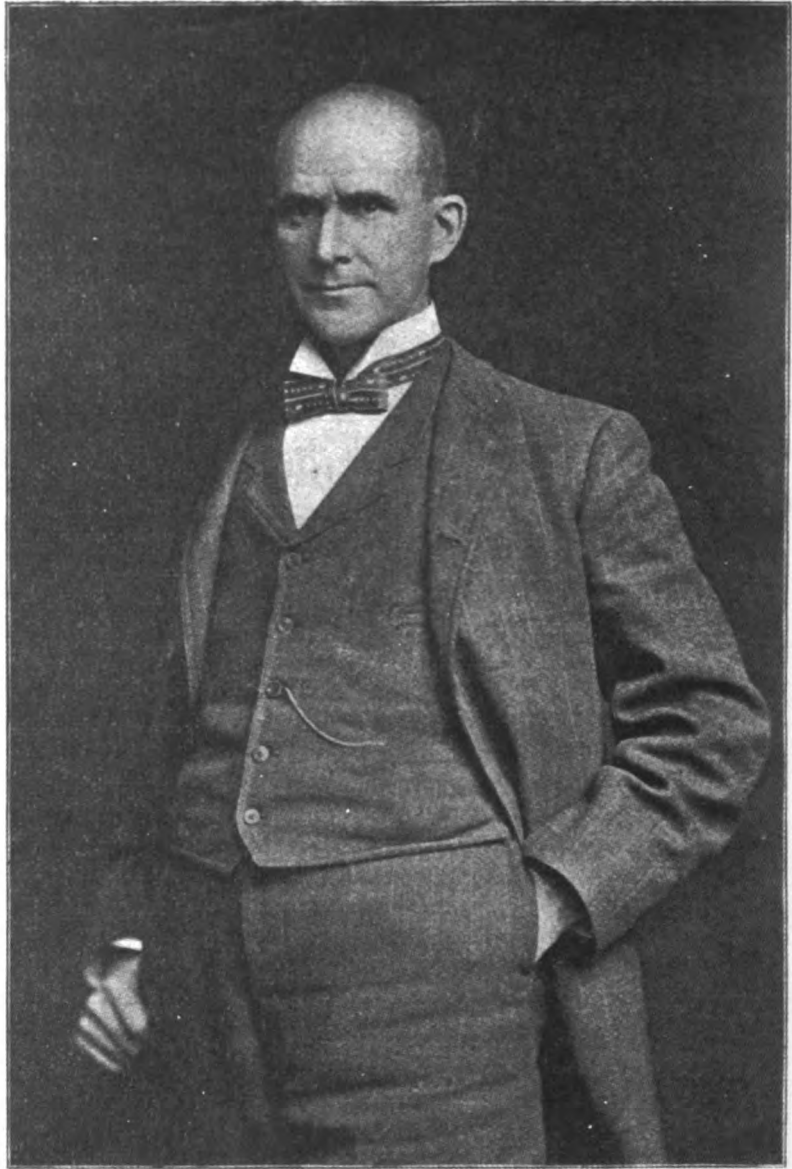
Subscriptions received after the 25th of the month will commence with next month's issue.

When changing address always give the old as well as the new address.

When renewing please state specifically that the remittance is for a renewal. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



EUGENE V. DEBS.

Mr. Debs will, in all probability, be nominated for President by the Socialist National Convention at Chicago, May 1. Better than any other man in this country at the present time Mr. Debs personifies the spirit and ambition of the progressive working class, and his personal character and ability as an orator pre-eminently fit him to be the standard bearer of the Socialists. He has sacrificed much for the cause of labor, and the admiration with which he is regarded by the workers of America is characterized by a remarkable degree of genuine affection. He is 48 years old. In his young manhood he was the protege of the late Senator Voorhees of Indiana, who had a high regard for the young man's honesty and capacity. Debs, however, was not content to follow in the old conservative path outlined by his political patron. He embraced Socialism as the result of study during his confinement in the Woodstock Jail for his alleged contempt of court in the conduct of the great strike of the American Railway Union. Since that time he has been indefatigable in his championship of the working class political movement, which finds its present expression in the Socialist Party.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 5.

TORONTO, MAY, 1904

\$1 Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

THE CHICAGO REFERENDUM vote of four to one in favor of the municipal operation and ownership of the street railways has excited attention throughout the country. While financial

THE ELECTION
IN CHICAGO

reasons will probably prevent the wish of Chicago for public ownership being realized for a long time, still the very fact that the greatest industrial center in the country is so pronouncedly socialistic in its sentiment is most significant and especially so because this sentiment is of such comparatively recent development. It is likely that two-thirds of our cities would, upon a referendum vote, declare for municipal ownership and operation of their water and gas works, their telephone wires, and their street railways. However, it is only rarely that the citizens have the opportunity of voting directly upon a question, since, with the exception of Los Angeles, San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, few cities have the right to demand a referendum vote upon questions of public interest. The citizen usually must vote for some self-seeking, oily scoundrel who is a

sufficiently subservient tool of the "boss" to get the nomination for alderman upon one of the old party tickets. We say "must," because most citizens think that they must vote for either a Republican or a Democrat and their choice is limited to the picking out of the least bad of the two. The *New York Commercial* has this shriek upon the Chicago election :

CHICAGO'S SOCIALISTIC PLUNGE.

At the recent municipal election in Chicago—one of the favorite haunts of trades unionism and anarchy—a proposition was submitted to the voters authorizing the city government to construct, own, operate and lease street railroads, and the scheme was carried by a vote of three to one. There was no restriction on suffrage. Low-browed, shock-haired, beer-soaked wavers of the red flag, who don't have a dollar to their names, were allowed an equal voice at the polls on this radical proposition with intelligent, loyal, American-born citizens of substance.

Of course, the municipal-ownership scheme went through flying under these circumstances. An analysis of the returns shows that the great bulk of the vote in the affirmative came from the "uneducated" and propertyless classes. These voters had nothing to risk. What mattered it to them that the adoption of this socialistic experiment might plunge the city into bankruptcy? They pay no taxes and never expect to pay any, while under municipal ownership many of them hope to secure lucrative jobs and all of them, probably, hope to ride on street-car lines on three-cent or two-cent fares. If the experiment should prove unprofitable, let the thrifty, the enterprising and the well-to-do "stand the shot."

We have not measured the lowness of the brows of the voters of Chicago who took the "socialistic plunge," but would remind the *Commercial* that when we have woman suffrage it must use another vituperative adjective. Women like to be called "low-browed." It is the fashionable Greek style of beauty. Perhaps the *Commercial* might call the voters high-browed women and low-browed men. That certainly would be really quite nasty of it, and a few such editorials would no doubt send the whole pack of high and low brows back into the conservative ranks. One thing the *Commercial* is certainly right about and that is in styling the voters a "property-less class." That is exactly what we have been telling them for years. The great mass of the voters have nothing to lose and everything to gain. They cannot lose by voting for public ownership of property because they do not own the property which is taken and they are the public which will receive it. However, if we only had such vigorous editorials from all the newspapers as we usually see in the *Commercial* upon the industrial questions of the day there would be less excuse than there is now for the voters being unable to know how to vote.

IN MILWAUKEE THE voters in the recent city election knew so well how to vote that neither the conservative *Commercial* nor the radical Hearst papers thought it unnecessary to mention the fact that any election took place. Victor Berger, the Socialist candidate for mayor, polled 15,333 votes, as against 17,603 for the Republicans and 23,515 for the Democrats. The Socialist Party elected nine aldermen and five supervisors, and it is said that at the next election the Socialists

will certainly elect their mayor. A vote for the Socialist Party is much more significant than one merely for public ownership of street railways. The Milwaukee vote is a vote for a revolutionary change in our social institutions, from the present competitive system to a co-operative system. It is true that it is also a vote for public ownership, but public ownership is only desired as a means to an end, namely, the co-operative commonwealth. The Chicago vote for public ownership is a vote for public ownership as an end in itself and hence, while it was a vote carrying three-fourths of the citizens with it, still it is not so significant as the Milwaukee vote for co-operation which only could muster a little more than one-fourth of the vote on its side. Another significant thing about the Milwaukee Socialist vote is that it shows an increase of several thousand since the last election. The Socialist vote does not usually grow that fast, but this year the full vote was counted as cast because voting machines were used. The fact raises the presumption that a large chunk of the Socialist vote has hitherto been thrown out or stolen by the old party election officials.

SUPERFICIAL SIGNS indicate that the bottom has dropped out of the Hearst boom for the Democratic presidential nomination, though it is not safe to count him out of the fight until the St. Louis Convention has met and decided on a candidate. At the present writing the Parker boom is the most conspicuous feature of the situation. The oyster is a vociferous and eloquent conversationalist compared with Parker, who has defied all efforts to draw from him any statement regarding his views on great public questions. He

BIG SOCIALIST
VOTE IN
MILWAUKEE

SHRIVELING
OF THE
HEARST BOOM

has delivered some rather radical trade union decisions from the bench, but their radicalism consists more in the fact that they deal with abstract principles rather than concrete instances, and the fact that he is a satisfactory candidate to the conservative Democratic element makes his nomination problematical. Bryan is against him and it remains to be seen whether the Nebraskan can control the St. Louis convention. One of the interesting recent developments is light on the attitude of Tammany Hall under the leadership of Murphy. Murphy is opposing an instructed delegation to St. Louis, and as this is in line with the Hearst fight, it begins to appear that Murphy, if he can see his way clear, will stand for Hearst in return for the support given to the Tammany ticket by the Hearst papers in the last New York municipal campaign. Another interesting development is the growing public recognition of the fact that Hearst is a mere name and that the credit for all of his public utterances, where they are entitled to credit, is due to that remarkable young man, Arthur Brisbane, the editor of the *Evening Journal* and general editorial director of the Hearst newspapers.

IT HAS BEEN a matter of wonder to those who have watched the outrageous treatment of the union men in Colorado that the striking miners should tamely submit to the abuse and violence to which they have been subjected, but a gentleman recently returned from the strike field informs us that the mine owners are pursuing a course specifically designed to so exasperate the strikers that they will make armed resistance to the State authorities. If they can drive the strikers to open revolution, the mine owners

MINE OWNERS'
INFAMOUS
PURPOSE

figure that they can massacre them. It is a diabolical purpose and under ordinary circumstances would be beyond belief, but the outrages already perpetrated and the cynical disregard of the strikers' rights is abundant evidence that the capitalists and their allies in Colorado will hesitate at nothing to gain their ends. The strikers' officials are well aware of the plan to provoke them to armed resistance and recognize that a revolt of this sort would mean extermination, and are neglecting no opportunity to warn the miners against any and all acts calculated to give the capitalists an excuse for putting their infamous plan into operation. The strikers have had ample aggravation to justify armed resistance, but discretion is the better part of valor and it would be one of those blunders which are worse than crimes to resort to arms when the capitalists control the military power of the State.

BY FAR THE BEST work he has done in his studies of political corruption is Lincoln Steffens' article in the April number of *McClure's Magazine*. It is his best work because it is more comprehensive and traces to its source—by the simple reasoning that a bribe-taker presupposes a bribe-giver—national, state and municipal corruption. The keynote of his article is found in the assertion that

THE ROOT
OF ALL
ROTTENNESS

“Our political corruption is a system, a regularly established custom of the country, by which our political leaders are hired, by bribery, by the license to loot, and by quiet moral support, to conduct the government of city, state and nation, not for the common good, but for the special interests of private business. Not the politician then, not the bribe-taker but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and the sustenance of our bad government. The captain of industry is the man to catch. His is the trail to follow.”

Mr. Steffens takes the case of Missouri as a sample, and he shows conclusively

that all the corruption is to advance business interests, and he shows Havemeyer of the Sugar Trust and Ziegler of the Baking Powder Trust as two of the chief agencies in the debauching of politics in that state. If we had not become accustomed to such rottenness the revelations made by Mr. Steffens would be absolutely staggering, but anybody who knows anything at all knows that it is the business interests which, while prating of patriotism, are always trying to secure, through bribery, the working of their will in the administration of the public powers, executive, judicial and legislative. Mr. Steffens' article should be read by every American citizen who has any desire to see a decent condition of things in this country, and in connection with it should be read the striking article on "Graft in Private Business" by "the president of a large corporation" in the January number of *The World To-day*. Truly, as Mr. Steffens says, corruption is a system, a system for and by the business interests—the capitalist system itself. When we realize this we can see the utter inadequacy of any mere reform measure or the election of honest men—like Joe Folk, for instance—to executive or other public positions. Reform would merely mean that the trusts would get for nothing what they now have to pay the politicians for, because even the most rampant reformer intends to conduct the government for the protection and promotion of what he is pleased to term the "legitimate" business interests. What Mr. Steffens apparently does not see is that a government for the business interests—even an "economically administered" government—is a government for the capitalists, and that a government for the capitalists is not a government of or for the people. There are but two interests which the powers of government can be made to serve; the

business or capitalist class interests and the working class interests. As long as the classes exist the struggle for the control of the public powers will continue. Working class government, since it would be a government for the majority, would be preferable to a capitalist class government, which is a government for the minority. We are not limited however, to a choice between the two, because we can have a government for all the people. To have such a government, though, means that we must have a co-operative, instead of a competitive, system of industry. Capitalism, or the competitive system, means class war and class government. Socialism, or the co-operative system, means social peace and purity, and a government conducted for the "general welfare."

— — —

ANOTHER INTERESTING condition that Mr. Steffens exposes is the corruption of the rural press, as exhibited in their contracts with Zeigler, the President of the Royal Baking Powder Co., the editors agreeing for pay to run as editorial matter articles condemnatory of the use of alum baking powders. It appears that the Royal Baking Powder Co. manufactures cream of tartar powder, and, in fact, has a practical monopoly of that kind of powder. But people were inclined to use alum baking powders because they were apparently just as good and certainly much cheaper. Thereupon Ziegler started a crusade against alum powders, alleging that alum was injurious to health. He "got" a number of "scientists" to endorse his position and had various and numerous articles inserted in the press, all to the effect that alum baking-powder was injurious to health and covertly suggesting that the law should prevent its

THE WORK
OF PATRIOT
ZIEGLER

sale. The next step was to organize bogus Health Societies in the pay of Ziegler to petition for legislation against alum powders. Senator W. J. Stone (Bryan's friend) and a couple of other persons constituted the "Health Society" in Missouri. Now Ziegler was not so simple as to think that members are in the legislatures for either their own health or the health of the community. If any anti-alum laws were to be passed, then somebody had to "cough up some dough." Ziegler seems to have "coughed up" pretty freely, for most State legislatures have passed such bills as he wanted, but in Missouri he seems to have coughed too loud for he has been indicted for bribery. So far, however, he has successfully resisted extradition from New York. An amusing feature of the whole matter is that while Ziegler in his campaign of education has pretty well won the American people over to a pious belief in the deadly character of alum baking powders, as a matter of fact there is absolutely nothing in his "theory" at all. An alum powder is just as healthy as a cream of tartar powder. Alum, it is true, is unhealthy, but during the process of cooking the alum disappears and there remains simply a trace of hydrate of aluminum, a quite innocuous substance. But Ziegler has done his work well; the people are "protected" and the legislators are "cared for" and the Royal Baking Powder Co. declares big dividends on watered stock.

ONE NEVER KNOWS what he can do till he tries. Governor Peabody, of Colorado, had seemingly reached the limit in the outrageous abuse of his power, but he went to the extent of arresting and deporting dear old Mother Jones, probably just to show that he was a little bit worse than his worst enemies

had accused him of being. Mother Jones was acting within her legal rights in advising the strikers to stand fast, but she was absolutely dauntless and was not cowed by the military and the other hirelings of the mine owners in Colorado. She continued to raise her voice against outrage and infamy, so she was seized and deported. If Peabody and the mine owners had had a little Siberia handy they would probably have sent her there. It is reported that Mother Jones asked John Mitchell to put her case before President Roosevelt but Roosevelt is too busy using the powers of his office to secure his re-election to pay any attention to the case of Mother Jones.

THE SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION will assemble at 10.00 A.M., May 1, at Brandt's Hall, corner North Clark and Erie streets, Chicago, Ill. It will without doubt be the most important gathering of Socialists ever held in this country and while, of course, it will stand pat in its adherence to the principles of internationalism and scientific Socialism, it is likely that the platform will reflect peculiar American conditions in a larger degree. The movement has slowly but surely been acquiring a national character and it is this character which will likely find definite expression at Chicago. Nobody denies that under the American political system there has developed a mass of worthy tradition and a devotion to republican institutions which profoundly affect the actions of the electorate. That the centralization of wealth and the evolution of industry have come in conflict with our traditional liberties and are threatening

NATIONAL
CONVENTION
SOCIALIST
PARTY

—if they have not almost destroyed—republicanism, no intelligent observer of conditions can deny. The people prize individual liberty and they may be depended on to see to it that “a government of the people, for the people and by the people shall not perish from the earth.” Liberty cannot be restored to the citizen and republicanism cannot be maintained except by breaking the power of the reigning industrial despotism, and the Socialists are alone in offering a sane and practical way of breaking this power. Hence it is that the fate of everything worthy in American political institutions and American national life is bound up in the Socialist cause. It would be political suicide for the Socialists to neglect the opportunity to make themselves the champions of the American idea which, after all, is the enlightened world idea. As the germ of every industrial system has been in the preceding method of production, so the germ of the coming industrial democracy is in the present industrial and political organization. Everybody feels the economic pressure of the trusts but not so many realize that political freedom has been largely subverted. The latter process has been more subtle but all the more dangerous for that reason. We love life and we won't allow the capitalists to deprive us of it. We love liberty, also—probably even better than life, which is nothing without liberty—and both are bound up in the effort of the working class to capture the political powers and inaugurate Socialism.

IT IS ESTIMATED that it takes the labor of sixteen million men to feed and clothe the one million armed men now engaged in the Russo-Japanese war. This means that seventeen million men

are withdrawn from the industrial forces of the world. It is not difficult then to see what a tremendous relief war is to our industrial system which is dying by inches of a plethora of capital. It is like a blood-letting to a man with apoplexy, but, like the blood-letting, it is simply a relief and not a remedy. Roughly speaking, it takes about two dollars a day to keep a soldier in the field. A general European war would involve putting at least ten million men in the field, and this would cost twenty million dollars per day. What a tremendous cataclysm such an event would mean to industry can only be a matter of the vaguest conjecture. One thing is certain, and that is the cost would be too great for any prolonged conflict. War loans would have no effect in prolonging a general war. A foreign war loan simply means that the capitalists of the lending country agree to set the workingmen in their country to work supplying the necessities of the borrowing country in consideration of a return at some subsequent time of such goods or their equivalent in cash with interest. If all countries were at war there would be no surplus labor to be thus disposed of. A domestic war loan means simply that the local capitalists can deliver the products of the nation's own laborers which they control by means of their ownership of the national means of production. However, when a war lasts any length of time the demand for products so exceeds the nation's ability to supply that a foreign loan is nearly always a necessity.

WE ARE GIVING space this month to additional articles regarding the outrageous condition of affairs in Colorado where the mine owners, with

the assistance of Gov. Peabody and the State militia, have inaugurated a veritable reign of terror in the effort to destroy the Western Federation of Miners. Never in Russia were the outrages of the Citizens' Alliance duplicated, but so far there has been no general protest against the flagrant disregard of the most elementary decencies being shown by mine owners and the agents through which they operate—the militia and the Citizens' Alliance. A recent article by Charlotte Teller in *Harper's Weekly*, which we elsewhere reproduce in part, throws some light upon the character of this Citizens' Alliance. It further revealed its character about the middle of March at Telluride. The Alliance, after a secret meeting, chartered a train, and putting aboard it some seventy-five members of the Miners' Union, sent them out of the country, warning them never to return on pain of death. A despatch to the *New York Sun* describes the incident in the following fashion :

To make this warning more impressive the Alliance members fired a number of volleys at the departing train.

The decision to deport the unionists and their sympathizers was reached at a meeting of the Alliance last night. This meeting was largely attended. The strike situation was discussed and it was the consensus of opinion that something radical must be done. The running out of town of the union agitators and their sympathizers was finally suggested and promptly agreed to.

The meeting adjourned and the members went to their homes, secured weapons and later met at a place previously agreed upon. The Alliance men divided into three parties and the raid on the homes of the strikers began.

The midnight invaders used little ceremony at any of the houses. If admission was not promptly accorded, the doors were smashed in, and where the slightest resistance was offered, shotguns and rifles were brought into play. Among those deported was Stewart Forbes, the secretary of the miners' union.

It must be remembered that the men treated in this summary fashion are American citizens with supposed constitutional

rights. They were not guilty of any disorder and were simply refusing to work on the mine owners' terms, yet the Citizens' Alliance, adopting the methods of the Ku Klux Klan and the old Vigilance Committees, treated the members of the union as if they were horse thieves.

THE STRIKING MINERS have submitted to other outrages in addition to that described in the foregoing. Before the outrage of deportation a number of strikers were arrested for vagrancy and

one who asserted his manhood and refused to work at filling a ditch

was chained like a wild beast to a telegraph pole. Stewart Forbes, Secretary of the Telluride Miners' Union, telegraphed the fact to the headquarters of the Federation in Denver, saying : "See Peabody. One of our men shackled to a telegraph pole. Are we going to stand this any longer? All arrests made by civil authorities." To this William Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer of the Miners' Federation, made what seems to have

been the only reply possible under the circumstances. He wired : "If you cannot get redress from the court, you still have recourse to the law of self defense.

Richardson (attorney for Miners' Federation) leaves Denver to-night for Telluride." When Richardson reached Telluride he was assaulted on the street by a thug employed by mine owners as deputy sheriff. With Richardson at the time was a well-known Socialist merchant, A. H. Floaten, who was also assaulted.

The only offence of these men was that they had successfully defended a young man hauled into court on a charge of vagrancy. The Telluride paper, which is an organ of the mine owners, editorially endorsed the assault on Richardson and Floaten.

The only offence of these men was that they had successfully defended a young man hauled into court on a charge of vagrancy. The Telluride paper, which is an organ of the mine owners, editorially endorsed the assault on Richardson and Floaten.

THE WAR IN THE Far East makes everything in Japan of interest and we have found previous occasion to point out that industrial conditions there show that the Japs have reached the same degree of civilization enjoyed by Occidentals. In the Occident the spectacle of workers thrown out of work through the introduction of machinery is familiar, and they are having something of the same sort of experience in Japan now where the jinrikisha men are losing out through the building of street railways. The *Heimin Shimbun*, of Tokio, reports that many of the jinrikisha men have taken up other occupations, and then remarks: "But we must remember that there are many jinrikisha men who cannot easily change their occupation and they are now on the verge of starvation." Unquestionably industrial conditions have accommodated themselves in the past to improved methods of production, but it is always an uncomfortable experience when the handicraftsman must wait several years without eating until he is assimilated into the new order of things.

A STRIKING EVIDENCE of the oft noted similarity between the mental processes of the capitalistic and the proletarian anarchist is provided by *Freedom*, the anarchist paper of London, which quotes, "apropos of Marx's absurd theory of 'concentration of capital'" a comment by the *New York Press* on the statement issued by the United States Steel Corporation. The capitalist-anarchist *Press* rejoiced its proletarian-anarchist contemporary, *Freedom*, by the following to show that there has been no concentration of capital:

The dividend action affects directly 37,237 holders of the common stock, and indirectly about 35,000 holders of the preferred stock, not counting 28,000 employers who purchased the preferred shares under the profit-sharing plan; while the report of earnings and orders excites direct interest among the Corporation's 160,000 employes, and indirectly arouse attention among the employes and shareholders numbered by the millions.

That these figures mean nothing in support of the contention that there has been no concentration of capital has been repeatedly shown. The fact that the books may show 37,000 or any other number of stockholders does not mean that there are actually that many individuals holding stock. Even if it did a few of the individuals would own the majority of the shares. Any one at all familiar with such things knows that it is a practice for big interests to have their stock registered as belonging to various individuals. A recent argument in support of this anti-concentration theory was put forth by a misguided man who triumphantly pointed to the number of stockholders to prove that the railroads of the country are virtually owned by the people and it seemingly never occurred to him that the same set of stockholders which own one road were more than likely to be found owning the others. It doesn't matter how much the figure jugglers practice their legerdemain, the fact remains that to him that hath is being given, and Rockefeller continues to own a larger and larger chunk of this country of "ours."

EXPLAINING THE CAUSE of the failure of the messenger boy's strike against the Western Union Telegraph Co. in Chicago, one of the juvenile strikers observed: "We obeyed the laws and there's where we made the mistake. The only way a strike can be won is by slugging." When so many adult workers by their acts show that they agree with this messenger boy it is absurd to lecture the child, but it does seem that the organized "children of larger growth" should be able to see that strikes can be won by obeying the laws when the laws are made by the people who are in the habit of going on strike. That is the Socialist way, and that is the only sure way, not only to win strikes but to inaugurate a condition where strikes and kindred barbarities will be unnecessary.

The Conspiracy Against Labor in Colorado

HENRY O. MORRIS

THE causes which led up to the strike of the Western Federation of Miners are familiar to many, but only a select few are acquainted with the conspiracy of the Mine Owners' Association with the Colorado State authorities, and the apparently perfect understanding existing between James H. Peabody, in Denver, and Theodore Roosevelt, in Washington.

The military invasion of Teller and San Miguel counties was the first practical illustration of the workings of the new military law known as the "Dick bill" which passed Congress in January, 1903, and the Colorado application of it was undoubtedly an experiment aimed to ascertain just how far at this time it might be safe to go in the oppression of labor.

The state and federal authorities must now be fully satisfied on this point, for the people of Colorado as a whole have made no protest.

For many years the wealthy mine owners of Colorado have been anxious to get rid of the miners union in order to purchase their labor in the open market like any other commodity necessary to their business. But until the perfection some years ago of the combination of smelting interests styled the American Smelting and Refining Co., otherwise known as the "Smelter Trust," the opportunity for aggressive action never came.

In 1899 the Colorado legislature passed a law making the legal workday in mines and smelters eight hours. The smelter owners refused to comply, and several small strikes on the part of smelter work-

men was the result. These were finally settled by an agreement of both sides to make a test case of the law in the courts with the result that the Colorado supreme court promptly declared the eight hour law unconstitutional.

The next move made by the advocates of the law was to submit to the voters of Colorado an amendment to the state constitution which would enable the legislature to legally enact an eight hour workday. In the state election this amendment was carried by a majority of over forty thousand votes. But the legislature which followed was influenced to repudiate the action of the voters. This bill was an exact copy of the law now in force in Utah, and which had been declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

In certain circles it is well known that had the bill passed it would have been vetoed by Governor Peabody. It was further asserted that the sinews of war which were used to elect Peabody and "take care" of the legislature were furnished by the Mine Owners' Association and the Smelter Trust under ante election pledges to assist them in destroying organized labor.

Immediately after the election, a meeting of mining magnates was held in the Brown Palace Hotel, in Denver, and a notorious character named Sherman Bell was chosen as adjutant-general of the state. The Governor ratified the selection. Bell was at that time employed on the Independence Mine, at Cripple Creek, owned by the Venture Company, of London, with a salary of \$5,000 per annum. It was agreed by and between

the mine owners that the salary of Bell should continue during his service as adjutant-general.

Before the subsidence of the headaches caused by the champagne fumes of the Peabody inauguration banquet, the first attempt was made by the mine owners and the smelter owners to annoy the members of the Western Federation of Miners. The trouble began in Colorado City where the smelter employees were largely members of the miners union. A systematic persecution was begun.



CHARLES H. MOYER.

President of the Western Federation of Miners, who was arrested on a flimsy charge of desecrating the American flag. He was ordered released upon habeas corpus proceedings, but Gen. Bell, in command of the militia, defiantly disregarded the order of the Judge and swore that the representatives of the Court could only get Moyer over the dead bodies of himself and his soldiers. Bell, who thus defies the Court, is a close friend of President Roosevelt, and a former member of the Rough Riders.

Sometimes as many as thirty or forty Federation men would be discharged and their places filled by non-union men. For a time the men submitted. Then came the strike. But there were no acts of violence on the part of the strikers—no property destroyed, no threats made.

Nevertheless, the Governor called out the militia, and the new adjutant-general, with his military hangers-on, were soon parading about the streets of Colorado City.

During the military occupation of the town, the people who sympathized with the strikers were harassed in every way possible. Business men were held up at the point of the bayonet, the miners' hall was invaded and every effort was made to induce retaliation.

It could hardly be expected that the members of the Western Federation of Miners who were working in the mines of Cripple Creek would continue to mine the ore which kept these non-union mills at work, so notice was served on the mine owners that unless they ceased shipping ore to the unfair mills at Colorado City, the union miners would strike. This notice was ignored by the mine owners and in September, 1903, every union miner employed in the mines which furnished ore to the mills at Colorado City walked out.

No sooner was this strike begun than Governor Peabody called out the entire militia forces of the state, some three thousand men and boys, and dispatched them to Cripple Creek despite the protests of the civil authorities who declared themselves amply able to preserve the peace. This force of soldiers was in charge of Brigadier-General Chase and Adjutant-General Bell who immediately caused the erection of a military jail, called the "bull-pen." Into this prison went the leaders of the strike, and a reign of military lawlessness began, the like of which this country has never seen. The President of the United States furnished the arms, equipments and uniforms. The militia did the rest.

The expenses of this campaign were paid by "certificates of indebtedness" drawing four per cent. interest, and the cash for these certificates was paid by the mine owners. Thus was furnished the unprecedented spectacle of a governor farming out the militia forces of his state to one of the parties to the quarrel.

To quote the Governor: "I told the Mine Owners Association I would not send troops to help them break up the union unless they furnished me the money with which to do it."

The strike began in September and is still in progress. Of course, non-union men were imported to take the strikers' places, but their work has proved exceedingly unsatisfactory, and little ore is being mined.

Owing to the incompetency of a non-union engineer, a cage load of fifteen miners was allowed to fall in the Independence Mine, killing the men instantly. Many other accidents, caused by unskilled labor, have occurred, one of these being an explosion of dynamite in one of the levels of the Vindicator Mine at Cripple Creek, where two men were killed.

From the outset the mine owners and the military sought to influence public opinion in their favor by many threadbare tricks and subterfuges, such as hiring Pinkerton detectives to blow up worthless buildings, sham attempts to wreck railroad trains and other like diversions, leaving to the daily papers and Associated Press agents the task of sending such "news" over the country. They have doubtless deceived many people into believing that the miners as a class are desperate criminals. It can truthfully be said that save for a fisticuff or two there has been no violence done by striking miners either to life or property. Numerous strikers have been arrested and charged with numerous crimes, but without exception they have been dismissed on trial.

On the other hand the military have committed many outrages—the militia officers were the worst offenders. Adjutant-General Bell, General Chase, Major McClelland, Major Naylor and others urged their men to acts of violence. Women were insulted and assaulted and even little children were abused by the soldiery.

A reputable citizen of Cripple Creek remonstrated with Major McClelland, telling him that his acts were unconstitutional. "To hell with the constitution," replied the Major, "I am acting under orders from Governor Peabody. We are

here to break up this damned strike. What in hell do we care for the constitution?"

The qualified martial law (whatever that may mean) was interpreted by the militia to justify them in overriding the civil authorities, and by force of arms they sought to terrify the civil courts—not only the justice courts, but the district courts also. On one occasion an attempt was made to release a citizen who was illegally confined in the "bull-pen," by resorting to the habeas corpus act. District Judge Seeds sat on the bench. The court house was surrounded by the soldiers and several hundred militiamen were marched into the court



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

Secretary-Treasurer Western Federation of Miners, upon whom a large part of the burden of the fight with the mine owners in Colorado has fallen.

room. This display of military force did not prevent Judge Seeds from doing his duty, and the result of the trial was in favor of the prisoner. He was ordered released from custody.

Brigadier-General Chase, however, refused to obey the order of the court and ordered his men to take the prisoner back to the bull-pen. This was only one of many violations of law on the part of the defenders of "law and order."

An adequate recital of the horrors incident to the strike would fill a large volume. For a time the mine owners seemed to have exhausted their resources, and could no longer find the cash with which to take up the "certificates of indebtedness," and Peabody was obliged to call in the army. Up to present writing, the certificates of indebtedness amount to about seven hundred thousand dollars. This vast sum has been spent to no purpose, and the state and federal authorities are chagrined at their failure.

The state is dull, and the merchants are paying the penalty for quarreling with their friends, the miners. Co-operative stores are being operated in several towns, and the union people and their sympathizers are giving them hearty support, leaving their enemies, the Citizens' Alliance merchants, to shut up shop.

In the southern and western coal fields, the United Mine Workers are out on strike, and industry in Colorado is almost at a standstill.

Pueblo, Colo.

Pueblo, Colo., March 23.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—Since I last wrote you, things have been hot in Colorado. The last move of our corporation-owned governor, James H. Peabody, is the ordering out of the *entire* militia force of the State to break the coal miners' strike in the Southern counties. He recites in his "proclamation of war" that a state of rebellion exists in Los Animas county, when, as a matter of fact, the only acts of violence were two assaults on union men by hired detectives, and the wilful murder of a poor Italian miner after he had been evicted from his miserable little home, and was fleeing for safety.

The governor also admits that the State troops are hired to the owners of the coal mines, and states that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, owned by Rockefeller, and the Victor Fuel Company, have agreed to pay the State \$100,000 for the services of the Colorado National Guard.

In other words, the governor has farmed out the militia.

I enclose you a clipping from the *Rocky Mountain News*, which goes to prove my statement. Until now it has never been openly admitted that the military were solely for that purpose. But the proof is positive.

So far, three counties are under martial law, viz., Teller, Los Animas and San Miguel. We look to see Pueblo come next. You can then receive no letters from me because the soldiers would censor them.—H. O. M.

THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE

Charlotte Teller, who was sent by *Harper's Weekly* to investigate the Colorado situation, has the following to say of the Citizens' Alliance:

The mine owners and mine managers of Colorado who want to be free of the unions and unhindered by their growing power have joined the Citizens' Alliance.

Store keepers and small proprietors of restaurants who do not like union clerks, union waiters and union labels have joined the Citizens' Alliance.

Lawyers, doctors and ministers, who know nothing of the labor movement, and still believe the newspapers print the truth in regard to it, have joined the Citizens' Alliance.

Even some former union members have given up their cards and have joined the organization, which has its branches or locals in 23 towns of the state and claims in Denver alone a membership of 14,000.

The Citizens' Alliance is a secret organization, a "union against all other unions," as Herbert George, the chief organizer in Colorado, says. The rank and file of the membership are only half conscious of this aggressive side of the organization. Most of them believe that it is purely defensive and

protective. A few believe that it is philanthropic and that its real aim is the one expressed in the constitution, viz.: "To promote the stability of business and the steady employment of labor, whether organized or unorganized, by encouraging friendly relations between employers and employees, and to discourage lockouts, strikes and boycotts and all kindred movements which savor of persecution."

But in Colorado at the present time there is no organization which has such aggressive agitators in the field as this one. Nor is there an organization whose membership has so much to lose in being hoodwinked by its leaders. Nor is there any secret society which boasts as does the Alliance of having spies in other organizations and of drawing its membership from other organizations.

In some of the towns where the Citizens' Alliance is especially active there have been open threats made against the lives of union men, and in one or two towns the members were advised in a semi-official way to go armed. Herbert George admitted that in Telluride, Colorado, one of the seats of the metalliferous strike, the Citizens' Alliance prevented an early settlement of the strike. The Alliance sent two of its members to the governor and told him that riot and fear



MOTHER JONES.

For her intrepid championship of the cause of the striking miners in Colorado, she was arrested by the military authorities and by the order of Gov. Peabody deported from the State.

ruled Telluride and that the presence of the militia was necessary to protect life and property—not one word of which was true. It is said that the mine managers in this instance were as much surprised as the union men. But they recovered from the surprise sufficiently to take advantage of the military protection and opened their mines with non-union men. The Alliance it is, then, in this Colorado town, as in several others, that has made the trouble and has cost the taxpayers of the state hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The Citizens' Alliance of Victor sent resolutions to the United States senate asking that Senator Patterson be unseated because he had asked the judiciary committee to investigate the present anarchy and disorder created by the Alliance and supported by the militia.

Besides doing these things, it has so clearly marked the line between those for and those against unions that it is doubtful whether they can ever be obliterated. It has put its "blue" card in the stores whose proprietors belong to it, and in so doing it has aided unionism.

Hereafter in Colorado there will be no excuse for any boycotting by the union. The Citizen's Alliance has cut off a certain part of almost every community and said: "This is a faction opposed to organized labor." Such a statement, whether made in words or deeds will do more to throw organized labor back upon itself and upon its supporters than any amount of propaganda within its own circles.

A common enemy does more to unite those in opposition than any enthusiastic leader can possibly do.

Already, out of the strife between the Alliance and the unions have sprung a half-dozen union stores which will all be put on a strictly co-operative basis after the strike is settled.

The private secretary of J. C. Craig, the President of the State Federation of Alliances, told me that wholesalers belonging to the Alliance would not be allowed to sell to union stores. He said, when asked how it could be prevented, "We know how to compel them!" The Citizens' Alliance is coercive. As another instance: A tradesman in Pueblo told me that friends of his—a butcher

and a grocer had been compelled to join the Alliance. The Citizens' Alliance has a blacklist, and if a tradesman has once put himself on the side of the organization which stands for the destruction of unionism he must obey the commands of the leaders or be "at outs" with both sides; there is no neutral ground.

The Citizens' Alliance of Colorado is doing a remarkable service to the cause of unionism and industrial co-operation. It makes it imperative that every person, thinking or unthinking, should take sides. Many who have become disgusted with the hypocrisy and its practices go over to the other side, whereas without this climax of dissension, they would have continued to consider themselves neutral.

Yet, for all its energy and feverish activity against the opposition, the Alliance is inherently self-destructive. It demands continued co-operative effort from a group of natural competitors. Suppose, for instance, two competing grocers in a town of 2,500 persons join the Alliance and by so doing give up all their labor patronage. At the end of six months there must of necessity be a closer fight between them than ever before. Now, let a difference arise in some Alliance meeting, they will naturally be antagonists. There will be a break; and, sooner or later, they will realize that the Alliance has ruined their trade.

Sooner or later, too, the rank and file of the membership will come to a realization that they are acting as the claws of a cat's paw for the large corporation and the capitalists whose self-interest gives the animus for the whole movement. Aside from the natural business competition which will break up this organization when the first flush of animosity toward labor is past, there will be an inevitable crash whenever a political campaign assumes shape. Even at the earlier meetings it has been hard to keep politics out of discussion. The issues raised by the strikes and by the Alliance will be made political issues, then there will be a new alignment. The growing political consciousness of the unions is one of the things which the Alliance feels it must combat.

But the disintegration of the Citizens' Alliance in Colorado will not take from the unions what their organization has already given—the expression of class-solidarity and the impetus toward new conquests.

THAT 5x4 MERGER JOKE

THE Merger decision of the Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case has many funny sides to those who have read the dissenting justices' opinions.

In the first place to understand properly the joke we must never lose sight of the fundamental cause of the merger: viz., over-production of railroads. There were too many roads in the Northwest and unless they combined there would be a scramble for freight, a cutting of prices, general demoralization and bankruptcy. We must remember that this terror of rate-cutting was the cause of the merger, and that there exists to-day the very same necessity for combination that there did when the merger was formed. The Supreme Court decision cannot alter that condition in the least. Either a new method of combination must be arranged or the roads will soon be fighting again like Kilkenny cats and the fight will continue till the death—death meaning the absorption of the dead by the living. As a matter of fact, when we remember that the fight is between Morgan on the one side and Rockefeller on the other and that neither one of these giants would dare engage in any serious encounter one with the other for fear the fall of the vanquished would bring down the whole financial firmament, we can see how absurd it is even to conceive of any real fight starting up. Men do not commit suicide, financial or physical, at the order of Congress, or even of a 5 x 4 Supreme Court.

The fact of the matter is that there are more than enough roads in the west to do the business, and this must result

either in a suicidal cutting of rates or a combination—either life or death. If we are to have railroads we must have a combination, and whether it takes the temporary form of a "gentlemen's agreement"—we say temporary, for such agreements never last long—or whether it takes the form of a permanent holding company, such as would have been the Northern Securities Company had it been allowed to live, is of no great moment.

Just now it looks to us that inasmuch as the Securities Company must part with the control of either the Northern Pacific Railway or the Great Northern Railway because it was formed to take over competing and parallel roads, that the simplest way out of the difficulty would be for the Union Pacific Railway to issue bonds and take over all the securities now held by the Securities Company. The Union Pacific Railway Company has been in existence for years, and no one could allege that it had been formed to effect the combination, and as the Supreme Court seems to base its decision largely upon what the *intent* of the incorporators of the company was at the time of the incorporation the purchase of the assets of the Northern Securities Company by the Union Pacific would be legal from that point of view. The Union Pacific, already owns one fifth of the Northern Securities Company. Why should it not own the whole issue? However, we make no charge for this advice to Rockefeller, Morgan & Co., so they are at liberty to disregard it.

A similar view is held by our old friend Walter S. Logan, President of the National Bar Association, a man—con-

sidering the position he holds, a corporation lawyer—who is probably the greatest radical we know. He talks the talk of a Socialist when it comes to denouncing wealth, but when it comes to suggesting a remedy Logan is as great a child as Hearst.

Logan says that the decision will cause a re-adjustment of political lines, but when he adds that after all it amounts to nothing because the law can be so easily evaded we do not grasp his logic. Logan says:

"But the law does not go far enough. If Morgan and Rockefeller adopt one of the several ways that are open for evasion of the law the people will have no remedy. Any trust company, for instance, that has been in existence for some time and that was organized for general business, could buy the assets of the Northern Securities Company at a receiver's sale, and that method, it seems to me, will be the one adopted as being most simple. The Erie Railroad could also, I presume, buy it if its charter is broad enough to permit of such investments. But there would be no doubt about such a company as the Union Trust Company, for instance, having the power."

If this, then, is the true state of the case, and the vaunted decision simply means an auction of the Northern Securities Company to some Trust Company, to what end has been all this rejoicing of the Hearst journals, and why has it been necessary for Attorney-General Knox to hasten to announce that he and Roosevelt were not going to "run amuck?" One would think auctions were dangerous. The great advance in the price of the Northern Securities stock after the decision does not seem to indicate any great fear of either auction or amucks.

WANTED: A LAW LIMITING
LOVE

When I first went out to California, some twenty years ago, the settlers down in Tulare County were saying that all that was needed to change their country

from a desert to a paradise was water and good society. Some irreverent tenderfoot replied that the same was true of Hell. But that is not to the point. Tulare finally got some water, then it got more water, and now it has too much water. The water has caused the alkali to rise to the surface and thousands of fertile acres are irretrievably ruined. The prayer now is that Tulare may be delivered from water. Theirs is something like the experience of the Jamaicans who imported some mongooses to rid the island of rats and now they are praying for something to rid them of the mongooses, which are much worse than the rats ever were. The mongoose makes chicken raising an impossibility. Life without chickens to a Jamaica gentleman, particularly if he is a colored gent, has no charms.

But all this is apropos of the Supreme Court merger decision. Not long ago we were all saying that what this America needed was capital to develop its resources. That's what they told old Jim Hill when he went into the Northwest. Hill proceeded to give them capital good and plenty, and now there is a bigger howl up in Minnesota about the danger of too much capital (particularly if it happens to be in the hands of Jim Hill) than there ever was from the Tulare farmers about too much water, or from the Jamaica negroes about too many mongooses.

It's the old story of enough of a good thing being better than a feast. Now anyone could see how this might apply to dynamite, but few would be likely to think of too much "affection" being dangerous.

No doubt it took no Supreme Court to make some think that money might be dangerous if allowed to accumulate in too large a pile, but here is a peculiar case

related by the veracious *New York Sun* of such an innocent thing as the affection of a poor old horse becoming as dangerous as a Northern Security Merger:

APPLETON, Wis.—John Eggert, a farmer of Centre, is one horse and one fence poorer than he was, but possesses instead a deep, ragged hole in one of his fields. The horse was an aged beast whose life was a burden to it, and which was useless to the farmer. Its name was Peter. It would not die, and no one would buy it or take it as a gift.

Eggert decided to have it shot. Then his troubles began. Neighbor after neighbor declined to act as executioner. Eggert himself was willing, but his knowledge of firearms was small. He spent sleepless nights trying to evolve a scheme for getting rid of the horse. At last he perfected his plan and proceeded to put it into execution. First he obtained a stick of dynamite and tied it to the horse's neck. Then he lit the fuse and ran.

The horse was an affectionate beast which loved its master, and it joined gladly in the game. Eggert, terrified, doubled his pace. The horse whinnied with pleasure and quickened its steps. Eggert panted and wheezed, but ran the faster, fear lending strength to his legs. And so it went on for one of those minutes which seem an eternity.

At last Eggert reached a fence, scrambled over it, and lay panting on the other side, when a roar as of a Japanese fleet in action broke the stillness. Eggert felt of himself to see if he was all there, and then looked around. The horse, the fence, and a good share of his farm were gone.

We would suggest that the Supreme Court appoint a commission to examine all old horses to measure how much affection they may hold, for it is here shown conclusively that when that article is collected together in too great a chunk it may endanger life. We now know that the Supreme Court says it's all right and safe enough for the community to allow a company to own one railway, even if that road has an absolute monopoly of the traffic, but its dangerous to allow one company to own two roads, even though Minnesota is broad and wide enough to permit the building of a dozen competing roads into it. The Supreme Court has given us a glimmer as to how many railroads one may have—now let it bend its energies

and say how much love an old horse may contain and still be allowed its liberty.

We are also awaiting with bated breath its decision upon the case of John Turner, who was arrested for disbelieving in things.

It's a fine thing to have a Supreme Court that is always at hand, to regulate the universe.

THE NEW CRIME OF BEING TOO STRONG

The unique feature of the merger decision is that it condemns a man for merely having the power to do wrong, quite irrespective of whether he actually does the wrong or not. It is as if the law would decide that pugilist Jeffries must cut off one hand because with the great power he has in his two hands he might hurt somebody.

The constitution especially provides that the right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed. I have the constitutional right to walk down Broadway with a loaded revolver in my hand. It is true I may not carry it concealed in my pocket, but that is simply a local law to protect people from slugging me on the supposition that I am unarmed. I have the right to carry arms, but I must carry them openly, that people may see and beware.

Now money is a weapon, the greatest and most perfect weapon ever man invented to protect and guard himself against harm, and to do harm to his enemies. Hitherto it has been supposed that a man had the right to have all the money he could legally acquire, and that he could carry it in any shape he wished. That his ownership of money endangered either an individual or the community was no bar to ownership. Any fool can see that Rockefeller with his money *might* injure the state, but the mere fact

that he *might* do a thing with his weapon is no legal reason for taking it away from him. He is not a little boy playing with papa's loaded pistol.

But the Supreme Court now says that the mere possession of a dangerous thing like money shall be regulated, just like a city says how much dynamite you may keep in your cellar.

Justice White points this out as follows in his dissenting opinion:

The fallacy of all the contentions of the Government is, to my mind, illustrated by the summing up of the case for the Government, made in the argument at bar. The right to acquire and own the stock of competing railroads involves, says the summing up, the power of an individual "to do" absolutely as he pleases with his own, while the claim of Government is that the right of owner of property "to do" as he pleases with his own may be controlled in the public interest by legitimate legislation. But the case involves the right to acquire and own, not the right "to do." Confusion of the two gives rise to the errors it has been my endeavor to point out.

But Morgan & Co. do not seem to be much worried. Their securities have gone

up in value about fifty million dollars since the decision was made. They have no reason to kick. It would be only decent of them to give half the profit to the Roosevelt campaign fund.

The decision leaves the railroads still in the hand of Morgan & Co., but says they must be held in the left hand hereafter instead of the right. Morgan evidently thinks he can learn to use his left hand even better than the right if he is only given time, and he will have plenty of time now.

Some day we may learn that the danger to the state does not exist in the *manner* in which Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. hold the railways, but that they are allowed to hold them at all. If the state wishes to render itself safe there is but one way and that is to own and hold the railways itself.

"Let the Nation Own the Trusts" is the remedy, and the biggest Trust is the Railway Trust.

LYMAN ABBOTT AND SOCIALISM

Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*, is visiting in Southern California. Lyman Abbott is recognized as one of the world's foremost thinkers. He was considered to be the only man of mental calibre large enough to take the place left vacant by the death of Henry Ward Beecher. The following is from a lecture delivered by Dr. Abbott the other day in this vicinity:

"Gentlemen, our industries must be democratized; if different small bodies of men are to control all our domestic necessities, where

goes our democracy? . . . The democratizing of industry means the distribution of wealth; the problem is no longer that of accumulating wealth but of distributing it. . . . The labor problem can never be solved as long as one set of men owns the tools and another set uses them. When all those connected with one industry become together owners and users, then will come the harmony and union which have been so long striven for."—*Los Angeles Socialist*.

THE SECRET OF THE MOUNTAINS

L. W. WHITEHEAD

Oh, Mighty Hills that rear your heads sublime,
Out-towering all, sensing my soul with awe,
Companions with heaven supern! Yield ye
I pray, even to me, to these strong thoughts
That soar on fettered wing to seek them out,
The secrets of thy spells! See! I will ask,
Will question thee, o'erbold but humble still,
Thus seeking I may find, asking receive,
For well I know thou'rt sentient with the past,
The ancient, mystic, pulsing, throbbing past,
The making of the worlds; the flight and
whirl
Of stars; th' elliptic comet's dazzling track
Across the highway of the infinite, and back;
The alchemy of life, when, in the deep
Vast crucible of time, there flashed at length
The ruddy ore that should enrich this globe
And, mayhap, people all eternity
With love and joy; the stories that were writ
Along the distant centuries in lives
Of men fresh from the early fount of life
All radiant with divine new birth.

All these
Are imaged deep within, old memories
That thou dost hold secret and still, profound,
These, when I think of them, I know as part
Of what I'd learn from thee, but yet, not all,
Not all! Is it thy beauty that my soul
Enthralls? What is thy beauty, rugged, lofty
Hills? A serried broken line so sharp, so clear,
High in the ether—what is that? Steep sides
Aslope with zigzag, criss-cross lines all brown
In yellow sun, what are all these? And yet
I sit and gaze and fill my soul with joy
I know not how or why; what is the spell?
I have been near to thee, have stood beneath,
At foot of some sheer slope, no broken line
Or shadow flecking its bare side, and gazed
All up and up, till, with the breathless height
I seemed to reach the heaven that bid me kneel
And worship and adore; what was the spell?
Oh! I know the beauty of thy deep ravines
Where scattered giant rocks, in centuries'
sleep,
Pillow their heads on one another's breasts,
While vine and moss and fern caress and
soothe,
And saplings shade and wave, and tall and
strong,
Old, time-worn, stalwart trees reach out their
roots
Be-gnarled, atwist, like gentle octopus,
If such there be, entwine them round and
round;
And erstwhile giddy, hurrying, flashing
streams
Come down and bathe, and cool and paint
their smooth
Grey sides with green and brown and gold,
such gay

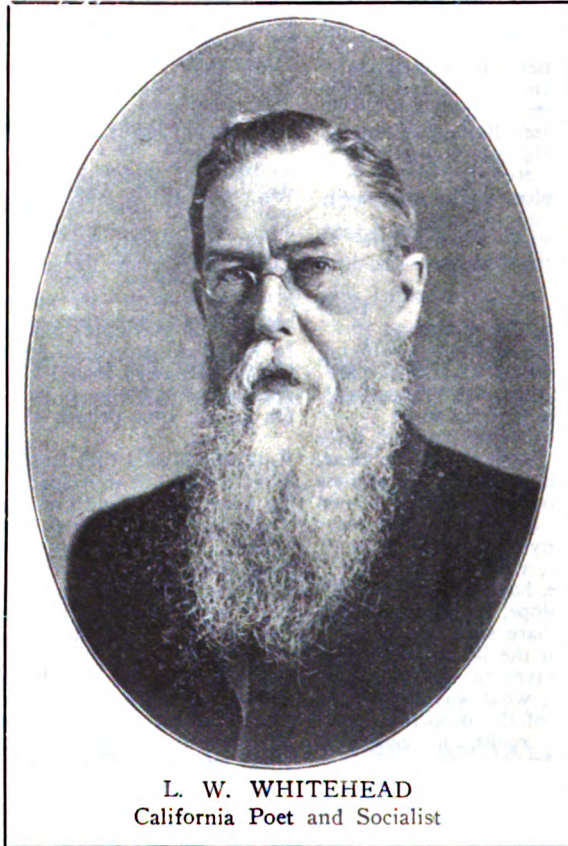
Enamelling of rainbow tints, such deep
Cool pools atween their mighty lengths; how
sweet
Their sleep! But this, Oh silent hills, is not
Thy spell! I know thy canons hidden sly
From all but those who seek; thou would'st
not share
Them with unheeding souls. What wealth of
love
Thou lavishest those sanctuaried deeps
Within! Oh waving shadows of the trees!
Oh tall bepainted sunlit stems that wave
Their leafy heads aloft as who would try
To rival thy steep sides, up which there climb,
As scaling hosts, shoulder to foot, more rocks
More mammoth rocks, as they had sometime
been
Stricken all suddenly amid besieging joy
With strange hypnotic sleep, that they might
show
To us poor pigmy men, what mighty powers
Gathered to frame the hills!

Oh, fairy ferns
That climb and climb again, all uniformed
In woodland greens, in merry mimic sieging
Of the entranced rocks! Oh, flowers that grow
And bud and bloom in sun or leafy shade!
Oh scents that drench the sweetness of the
air!
And oh, ye falls that leap! Ye living streams
That bound out into space, instinct with joy,
To pour with thunder-music to the pool,
The foaming, flashing pool so far beneath,
Whose outer waters lie, so quiet, still
And undisturbed, as human hearts that *know*,
That say with him of old, "'Tis vanity!
All! All is vanity! And only peace
Is worth!" All these are spells I know,
friends all
All dear, familiar friends: not these the spells
Whose wonder secrets I would win from thee!
I see thee garbed in thy winter robe
Thy upheaved backs, all purple-black anon,
Now draped in snowy sheen, so dazzling white
By day, at eve to borrow all the sun's
Own glory, out-rivalling the arching
Bow that spans the hills with mystic promise,
The foothills of the heavens for gods to tread!
I see thy lofty peaks that bide in scorn,
Majestic scorn of mundane hopes and fears,
High in eternal cold, piercing the sky,
The upper, silent sky, that knows no note,
No echoing note, of all the woes and joys
Of seething human life, piercing the blue
With conqu'ring glory, monarchs in its midst!
I read the histories of the hardy men
Who, habiting thy crags and great plateaux,
O'erstride the laws of tyranny and shake
Them free from shackles that this nether
world

The heaving, tossing, restless sea, whose high
Tremendous rollers, thundering ashore,
Are trivial, tiny, panoramic things
Whose loudest cannot stir the echo of
Thy silences, the great, wide, rolling sea
Enslave, and live a life that is their own.
I know the wonder of thy breathing heights
That gaze, uplift in peace, far out and o'er
The loves and hates of men, cities that throng,
River and fruitful vale, desert and plain;
Those silent heights that ever hold at bay
To whom 'tis thine alone to say, "Thus far!"
This and all these, it still *will* seem to me,
Are added spells that I must *learn* and *see*,
That memory and thought have woven round

New sounds that cannot reach the outer sense
Which yet I hear!

"Oh man! We stand eterne,
Fixed, unite with earth, as God and good
Are one, as thou art one! Through all upreared
We have, for aye, bordered the spirit realm
And known the holy tread of feet, glad feet
That message all the mighty thoughts that
wend
Through the eternal years; unseeing, yet
All conscious of our part in universe
Divine, we wait and man is waiting, too.
As time and change have passed and change
has passed



L. W. WHITEHEAD
California Poet and Socialist

Thine own inspiring spell, thy mystic spell,
And still I crave of thee thy secret, still
My soul would seek to know from thee the
link
That holds me when I banish thought and do
But know thee near.

And as I ask and dull
Mine ears to other sounds, what is it that
I hear? And as I close mine eyes to all
And look within upon th' illumined walls,
Shekinah walls, where sacred secrecy
Shuts in the infinite, what is it that
I see? Letters of light in language new
That yet my soul can read, interpreting!

Us by, we still proclaim and have proclaimed
For aye, the unity of all! Akin
Are all, the rivers and the seas, the plains
And we; the nations of this teeming world,
Kin every race; kin all the stars of heaven;
Thus by our silent years we speak to you,
Thus by our glad upreach as thou dost still
Upreach, we speak to you and speak of *faith*
Of joyous, waiting, patient, hopeful faith!"

This was the secret that the mountains
showed
To me, the secret that they sung to me.

Pasadena, Cal.

WOMAN AND SOCIALISM

JULIAN HAWTHORNE

I MEET occasionally on my travels a certain elderly humorist—and by that term I must be understood to mean a humorist in the antique or Ben Jonson sense; a man who acts according to his humors; who is ruled by whim, prejudice or caprice; and not, in the modern sense, a man who makes jokes, good or bad. This elderly humoristic gentleman, then, is always an object of delight to me, because he has notions of his own, and promulgates them with a naive zest and color that make this pallid, conventional world in which most of us live seem baseless and futile, for the moment. Either he is slightly deaf or else his preoccupation with his own ideas makes him appear so. At all events, he is a most likeable and profitable companion—an intellectual tonic with no ill effects the morning after.

“Socialism, eh?” he said, when I mentioned that I had been following with sympathy the development of that cult. “Yes, I’ve heard folk talk about that. Never could quite get at what they meant, though, for my part. What do you say it is, now, for instance?”

I replied that, to my thinking, one reason why Socialism might be regarded as a truly universal posture of the human mind (in the not remote future) was that each true Socialist had his own private idea as to just what Socialism portended. I then offered him a succinct outline of what I supposed its more catholic tenets to be. He listened, sitting in his chair at the cafe table—we were drinking a glass of hot water and lemon together—with his old felt hat tilted back from his projecting forehead, his hands

clasped over the head of his walking-stick, his spectacles pushed up on his brow, and his keen grey eyes, in their wrinkled setting, narrowing themselves occasionally to follow the trend of the argument. Once in a while he would omit a grunt of qualified approval; but for the most part, I am bound to confess, the pushing out of his grey bearded lips, and the snortings that proceeded from his wide and sceptical nostrils, led me to infer that I was not succeeding too well in my attempted demonstration. When I had finished, he took a swallow from his tumbler, removed his spectacles and polished them on the lining of the tail of his old frock coat, put them on his nose, and bent upon me, through them, one of his most penetrating and challenging glances.

“So, that’s your notion of the thing, is it?” said he. “Well, what I’d like to know is, how are you going to manage about your women? How about the women, eh?”

“My dear Mr. Klenk,” exclaimed I—Gamaliel Klenk is his name—“it is from women that we expect our most unquestioning support. Think of the saving of household labor that they will experience. They will have leisure to——”

“Leisure! Pooh, sir!—I say, pooh!” snorted Gamaliel. “What honest woman did anybody ever hear of that wanted leisure? What they want’s occupation, sir—eh?—the more the better. Keep ’em busy while they’re awake, and let ’em dream of more business while they’re asleep—that’s it! That’s the way to make a woman happy! And if your Socialism won’t do that—and it won’t, sir—why,

you'll have to run it without 'em; and nothing that hasn't had women at the bottom of it has ever paid its way yet in this world, and it never will! I was born of a woman, I tell you, and I know what I'm talking about!" And he thumped his cane dogmatically on the floor.

At this, I plucked up a little spirit.

"I'm aware that one can have a choice as to modes of dying, Mr. Klenk," I said. "I have heard of a poet who died of a rose, in aromatic pain; and Shakespeare makes Enobarbus say that Cleopatra had such a celerity in dying as to lead him to believe that Death must do some loving act upon her. But I never heard that there was more than one way of being born, and for my part, I am confident that a woman had just as much to do with my coming into the world as was the case with you. Occupation? I didn't mean to imply that women under Socialism would necessarily be indolent. Socialism, by relieving us of most of the burden of laboring for the bare means of subsistence, will afford us opportunity to study the arts which beautify and ennoble life; you must admit that there's an immense deal to be done in that direction, and woman will doubtless become the most energetic worker in that field. But she won't have to wear out her life slaving in the kitchen and laundry, and in darning the holes in our socks. The base, menial drudgery that falls to the lot of woman under the present dispensation is one of the main obstacles to her full development, and thereby to that of the whole race. Her intellect would be as good as man's, and better very likely, if it were allowed a chance to expand. Socialism would permit her to do what is really suitable for her—what she would enjoy doing—instead of forcing her to toil at what she detests. It was in that sense that I used the word leisure, Mr. Klenk."

Gamaliel Klenk smiled grimly.

"A good bit of what you've been saying is nonsense," he affirmed; "and it's

all of it moonshiny. You fellows are too fond of flying up in the air; if you want to convert fellows like me, you've got to keep to facts and details. Now, how about shopping under Socialism, eh? Ever think of that?"

"Shopping?"

"That's what I said, sir—shopping! What made Eve listen to the serpent in the Garden and eat the apple? Leisure—that's what it was; the kind of leisure you're recommending. She had no washing or cooking to do, had she?—there was no household drudgery to keep her intellect from expanding, was there? Your Socialism couldn't give her more opportunities than she had there, could it? But the trouble with her was just what it would be with your socialistic women nowadays. There were no shops."

"Certainly, there were no shops in Eden, Mr. Klenk," I agreed. "But why should there be? Before the apple, there was no need of things to wear—not even fig-leaves. Whatever was required for the necessities and enjoyments of life was afforded free by nature. Cut-throat competition, and all the ignoble devices to which it leads were unknown."

"Shops, I say," reiterated Gamaliel, appearing not to hear what I was saying. "What the poor girl wanted was shops. That was where the serpent got in his fine work; and as soon as he hears that there's to be Socialism, and no shops, he'll be back here again, hot-foot; make no mistake about that. There'll be no shops, because there'll be no competition. There'll be one quality of goods—the best quality; and one price, the lowest price, or no price at all for what I know. There'll be no show windows, because there'll be no need for wheedling folks into a place, or making 'em believe that things are better in one place than in another; no eloquent salesmen or artful salesladies to conjure money that she oughtn't to spend out of her pocket, or bonnets and mantles that she doesn't need onto her head and shoulders. Why,

she won't even have any currency to squander, so far as I can make out; it'll all be done by some new, patent, scientific process of credits and tickets-of-leave. Nothing would be cheap and nothing expensive; so where would be the fun of getting anything? Where would be the satisfaction in coming to meeting in a new Easter outfit, if every other woman knew that just as good might be had anywhere for the asking? What comfort could a woman take in a hat as big round as a cotton umbrella, if no other woman envied her for it? But that isn't the half of it. You ought to know as well as I that what a woman best likes in her shopping is not actually buying things, but making believe to buy 'em. She likes to have the dealer take 'em down from the shelves and spread 'em out, and hold 'em up, and talk pretty about 'em, and tell her how exclusive they are, and how they'd become her; and then she tries 'em on, and says they don't seem quite right, and she'd like to look at something different; and so she goes on through the whole lay-out, and ends up with a paper of pins. That's an old story. What a woman out shopping wants is a chance to work her imagination, and to be tempted, and to think how nice it would be to yield, and to hate Mrs. Rockefeller for being able to get all she set her fancy on, and to lay schemes for clever bargains, and to get the better of her husband. What would a woman's life be worth without bargain-day sales, I'd like to know? What sort of circulation would the newspapers get if there were no advertisements in 'em for the women to read and figure over? Advertisements? Why Socialism would wipe 'em out of existence as clean as a school boy wipes out the picture of the teacher he's been making on the black-board, when the teacher turns round. What woman would want to buy a magazine, I'd like to know, if there was nothing in it to read but the articles? And there'd be nothing else, sir—not a line. Why should anybody advertise anything which it's your concern more than his that you should buy? God bless my soul, sir, what would your Socialist streets look like, with no show windows and no signs and no barkers outside the doors,

and no posters on the boardings, and no crowds of women folk pushing and squeezing and staring and gossiping and longing and hesitating? Can't you see that shopping, and all that goes with it, is the only thing that puts up a barrier between civilization and barbarism? A woman has a soul; and if you don't keep it fed on shopping, it'll eat up you and Socialism and morality and religion and everything else that the world's been acquiring since Noah came out of the Ark. It's the stop-gap between us and the deluge. 'I can't go shopping,' your wife or your daughter says to herself; 'well, what shall I do?' You may say, if you like, that she'd set to work to practice the arts that ennoble and beautify life, and all the rest of that tom-fool rigmarole; but I know better, and if you had a soul of your own, you'd confess that you know better, too."

Hereupon Mr. Gamaliel Klenk rapped with his cane for the waiter, and paid for the lemonade. It is not much use arguing with blind dogmatism; and though I could easily perceive that his argument was as full of holes as a sieve, and was ready, if he would give me a little time, to prove them so, he would not wait, and, besides, his deafness took a bad turn, and he seemed to hear nothing that I said. So he went on his way, thumping his cane on the pavement at every step, and looking out beneath his wide hat brim with his keen, intolerant old eyes, as if he suspected every other man he met of being a Socialist—as might very likely be the case. And I was left to my reflections.

Upon the whole, I think it might be prudent to retain, if not actual shopping as now practised, something sufficiently like it to keep our wives and daughters from repining, until they had had time to get interested in nobler things. And it would seem almost a pity to obliterate the noble art of advertising, just at the moment when it is approaching the stage of being an element in art education. But it will all come out right; I have boundless confidence in the resources of the leaders of Socialism, whatever my friend Gamaliel may say. Indeed, I half suspect even him of talking, to some extent, through that wide-brimmed old felt hat of his.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE QUESTION

Editor WILSHIRE'S—I notice you sometimes explain things to readers of your magazine. Please tell me in it how women will be supported under Socialism. I know the claim is made that they will no longer be dependent on men—that is, on their husbands.

And I must say I think that will be an improvement. But how will it be done? I will tell you how it is now. They are married and commence housekeeping, and in less than two days the woman finds she is no longer a "free American." She must be "chief cook and bottle washer" without the pay she would receive if not married to her master. If he gets tired or feels sick, he can often leave work for a time and rest. But little matter how she feels, she must get up and get to work. Should she ask for help, is generally told that "my mother had as many children as you have, and she got along without help." If he wants to spend a few dollars for whiskey, billiards, cards, or in any other *manly* way, not a word must be said. He earns the money and, of course, has a right to spend it as he wishes. But, if she asks for a little money to get some necessary clothing, how soon she is informed that "money does not grow on bushes." Or, perhaps, it is the old song: "You must think I'm made of money. Where is that quarter I gave you last week?" And if she should be sinner enough to want money to buy Socialist books or papers—well, that is beyond pardon.

Now, how can the woman—I mean the wife and the mother—be independent under Socialism? The unmarried woman can work for what she wants, not being troubled with other duties.

Penn.

MARY HELEN.

It is probably not too much to say that the majority of wives have to endure the degrading dependence described so simply and yet so forcibly by "Mary Helen." The promise of emancipation which Socialism offers appeals to her as it certainly should appeal to the vast army of her sisters who chafe and suffer under the same conditions.

Normally, matrimony means dependence for the wife. When a husband is generous and considerate this dependence may not be galling, but the vast majority of husbands are neither generous nor considerate. When they are not wife-beaters they are generally petty tyrants

who consider a wife as something they own, something they are privileged to treat as a slave.

When we have power over another we generally abuse it. The ordinary workingman in his industrial life is frequently hectored and abused by a tyrannical boss. If he rebels he loses his job. In his turn the ordinary workingman wants to hector and abuse somebody or something and as his wife is about the only one over whom he has power he "catches even" by venting his ill temper on her. She must submit because rebellion means starvation or worse.

No woman will voluntarily submit to such petty tyranny as "Mary Helen" describes in her letter, and the fact that she does submit shows that she is not free. When she is economically and politically free she will be dependent upon no man for the opportunity to live. Such freedom is what Socialism offers her. She will work under Socialism, but she will not drudge. In strength she will perform that labor she is best able to perform, in weakness she may confidently lean upon the State. If she chooses to live alone it will be her privilege, if she needs companionship she can get it without sacrifice. In a word she will be man's equal. Marriage will be a contract of equals who will have equal responsibilities. When she brings children into the world the State will be her debtor, and its indebtedness will be paid by throwing around her every comfort that unlimited plenty can supply, and every safeguard that science can devise, and, of course, without thought of making a charge against her.

Being compelled to perform her appropriate share of the common work, woman will have a voice in determining the conditions of that work. She will be a citizen with all a citizen's privileges in a commonwealth where (the problem of subsistence no longer pressing for solution) all may live their life as seems to them best in the search for the beautiful and the worthy.

C. D.

"THE FOREIGN PERIL"

THE late Senator Hanna in a magazine article sought to stigmatize the progressive element of the labor movement in this country by referring to it as "an imported article." In a reply Max Hayes, the well-known Socialist agitator of Cleveland, takes occasion to

tells its own story, as does that of James O'Connell or Dan Keefe; Max Morris shaved "kowitz" from his surname after he came from Jerusalem, and Abraham Korunitzky "Americanized" to plain Henry White after he came from Russia; Andrew Furuseth is a Swede, and Henry Barter was born in London; Richard Braunschweig ist von Schleswig-Holstein and John Tobin is charged with being a Canuck, as is also Frank Morrison.



OLD CASTLE GARDEN, WHERE IMMIGRANTS FORMERLY LANDED.
The Site is now occupied by the Aquarium and Battery Park.

point out that the trail of this foreign serpent is also over the "good" labor leaders who are mixed up with the employers in the Civic Federation. Of these "good" labor leaders Mr. Hayes says:

Most of them are born foreigners, or the sons of their fathers who came from abroad. Gompers is an English Jew who speaks German, an unpardonable crime. Mitchell's folks were Irish, and he hasn't yet scraped all the accent from his tongue; Duncan says "hoot, mon," and Tom Kidd wore kilties and blew the bagpipes in Scotland; Dennis Hayes' name

Then there are the Duffys, the O'Briens, McMahons, the Klapetskys and Eichelbergers, the McGoverns and Mulcahys, and the Mofats, and Healys and Callahans, the Schmidts and Nuernbergers and an endless string of other names that suggest "an imported article."

This is an imported problem and Congress ought to deal with it at once before these United States are submerged in organizations with individuals "bred among conditions which do not and cannot exist in America."

First thing we know this "imported article," union labor, will be followed by another foreign custom—political action!

A great many people are professing to

fear that the influx of foreigners constitutes a menace to American institutions and there are many proposals to still further restrict immigration. As a matter of fact, however, the foreign element, rather than threatening American institutions, can generally be depended upon to support enthusiastically those political principles and institutions which are supposed to be peculiarly American. Foreign born citizens have played an honorable part in our national life and most of the immigrants who come to this country bring with them a deep-rooted love of liberty in their hearts and the ambition to gratify this love in the "land of the free and home of the brave."

The ordinary immigrant, however, is so constituted that he cannot see the dif-

ference between industrial and political despotism, and when he finds that his boasted liberty in this country is only the liberty to work for a starvation wage, he revolts and begins casting about for some means to realize the liberty that he came over here to get. If he is an intelligent immigrant he comes to the conclusion that Socialism offers the only

plan by which he can have both industrial and political liberty, and so he begins to "whoop her up" for Socialism. The immigrant who is not intelligent is just like the ordinary stupid American citizen, in that he continues to vote for Democratic and Republican parties. As both these parties profess to stand for the "perpetuity of our sacred institutions" they see no danger in that element of the foreign population which votes the old party tickets, and this leaves the intelligent element as a "menace" to our institutions.

As a matter of fact, however, there is no danger in the tide of immigration which is coming to our shores. The mere fact that the immigrants have enough energy to pack up and leave Europe is in itself an evidence of a

"noble discontent" and an enterprise which demand a better order of things. In the tide which, in years passed, rolled through old Castle Garden were many men who subsequently attained eminence in business, state-craft and arms, and there are few coming these days whose hearts do not beat high with hope when first they see the statue of Liberty Enlightening the World in New York harbor.



Bartholdi's Statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," on Bedloe's Island.

Wilshire, Jack London, and The "Pauper Workers of Europe"

FRANK F. STONE

EDITOR WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE—Sir: Your article under caption, "Fortunate Pauper Workingmen of Europe," in the October issue, which a recent absence in Europe prevented my seeing at the time, only once again reminds me how sadly misformed most Americans are on the actual economic status (the bedrock, bread-and-butter position) of the European wage-earners. The American writer, or enquirer, ascertains that the worker of—London we will say—often earns but \$5.00 a week. He then proceeds to compare this with the \$10.00 or \$15.00 of the American wage-earner, and to draw conclusions. Here, he commits a blunder whose effect must be detrimental to Socialistic propaganda by tending to make the American worker "feel so good" relatively, that he will be apt to regard Socialistic exposition as nothing more than the "clap-trap of calamity-howlers." I have these very words out of the mouth of an American workingman. "Wouldn't wonder," he said, "if Johnny Bull, with his \$5.00 a week, let alone 'Froggy' and 'Sauerkraut' with still less, should go Socialist. I'd be ready myself to try any old thing, if I had to live on such wages." You see, with prosperity and the full dinner-pail, he didn't see that Socialism concerned *him* at all.

So I say, that what the American writer needs to know (or, if he already knows, to realize more thoroughly) before drawing his comparisons is that the English workman (for brevity sake I will confine myself to one European nationality) can buy more in variety, as well as in quantity, with his

\$5.00 or \$6.00 than Brother Jonathan can with his \$10.00 or more. That you yourself have not quite grasped this fact, I gather from your article where you ask, "How the European laborers, getting small wages and paying *high prices for their food and clothing*, yet appear to be in a better physical condition than do the generality of the American working class." Now, here you give American readers a false impression, and Jack London, that young literary giant, in his "People of the Abyss," is scarcely less misleading. Not that he appears to share your impression as to comparative physical condition, but that he, too, when citing the low wages in England, does not offset with sufficient clearness the superior purchasing power of money there. Now, after living close on 30 years in England, chiefly in London, and nearly ten years in Canada and the States, I claim to speak from knowledge when I say that "living" in England is vastly cheaper and infinitely more various than in America. I have lived at times with the poor, and all my life near them in a sense that often involved close personal relations with some of the poorest; and I have, thus, reason to know, not alone how the prices of commodities affect the poor, but just what commodities the poor most affect—in other words, how they lay out their money. And while I don't question the correctness of Mr. London's itemized weekly budget of expenditure for a family of five, in some specific case, I do suggest that I could vary his items in a way to make them much more typical of the mass. Nor would my data be

drawn from "away back." I was in London in the latter part of the old year, about the time the Editor of WILSHIRE'S was there, and I found it then even more true than formerly, that living in London is dirt cheap as compared with America. True, one can pay high prices in London (as elsewhere) if one likes; and for that matter, the American visitor, with more money than knowledge of the town, will be "laid-for" and fleeced even as will be the English visitor in New York. Yet, for all that, the man who knows his London can there make shillings go often as far as dollars in the States, or a long way in that direction.

Mean details may seem petty, but a few will be needed to bear this out. I could furnish them almost endlessly, but will forbear. Take that article so all-important with the poor—bread. Compare the English quartern double-loaf, 4 lbs. for 9c. (often only 8c., and at times only 7c.) with the American 1 lb. loaf for 5c.—20c. for 4 lbs. And mark you, the English loaf must be full weight, *weighed before the customer*, and any deficiency made up from a loaf kept in cut for the purpose. Then, butter, cheese, sugar, jams, sauces, and confectionery and preserves, generally, are vastly cheaper. Here comes in the variety: the Englishman can buy lots of little dainties for a few cents, which the American of slender means would have to pay quite heavily for. Tea, such as in America, costs 60c. to \$1.00 per lb., may be bought in London at from 24c. to 40c. Petroleum (lamp oil) that costs here from 15c. to 25c. a gallon in quantities of 5 gallons, may be got in London in tiny quantities, down to one quart, at the rate of 11c. to 12c. a gallon. In London you can buy a suit of clothes *made to measure*, well cut, tailored and

padded, for \$8 to \$12, such as in New York or San Francisco would cost \$25 to \$35. Ready-made suits at anything down to \$2.50. A fair, medium quality felt hat, that in America would cost \$2.50, sells in London for \$1.08, often less. Dunn's "famous," a fairly good hat, sells at 90c. English boots and shoes cost about the same as here, but wear twice as long. Underwear, gloves, ribbons, laces, silk and cloth piece-goods, general drapery, carpets, etc., are away down, in some cases to one-third of American prices. Then beer (ale or porter) in one-pint screw-stoppered bottles, at 48 cents and 60 cents per dozen, against \$1.20 to \$1.50 here. Cheaper still, if fetched in your own jug.

So might I go on through all the range of eatables, drinkables, wearables, house or personal furnishings, and all that goes to make up the material needs of a people. Even toys or jewelry are no exception. A shilling buys there more than half a dollar here. Butchers' meat (beef, mutton, pork) that used to be cheaper in America, is no longer so, to say nothing of the inferiority of the American article. I have asked Americans how it is that the beef one gets in America is so poor beside that obtainable in London, seeing that so much of the beef eaten in London comes from the other side. The only likely-sounding explanation was as follows: "I guess we export the best—the young bull beef—and eat the old cows ourselves." Perhaps that is it. Here, again, is a strange thing: Fish in inland, multi-million-crowded London town, is cheaper—vastly cheaper—that in an American coast town. When I was in London last autumn, I saw, on a fish-stall in Leather Lane, Holborn, fine, fat herrings, with the "blood in the eye" to attest their prime freshness, offered in lots of six,

at 4 cents a lot. They would have cost 25 cents in Los Angeles or San Francisco, and 15 cents to 20 cents in most American towns. Even fruit, with the exception of prunes, peaches, apricots and grapes, is as cheap in London as in California. Walnuts, almonds and figs are cheaper; so, too, are raisins and grocers' currants.

Of course, my London prices are not drawn from Bond Street, nor Piccadilly, the poor don't go shopping in that quarter. My American friends are simply "knocked" (to use a Cockneyism) when I tell them of the orderliness, cleanliness and cheapness of living in London, as I found it on my recent visit after nearly ten years' absence; and of the cheery boast of John Burns, so proudly made and reiterated to me when I met him in the lobby of the House of Commons: "We're improving the old town, eh? Aren't we, now?" The "we" meaning, primarily, the London County Council. "But," they say, "Mr. Wilshire speaks of high prices for food and clothing over there, and the 'The People of the Abyss'—the dreadful things Mr. London tells us—they're not true, then?" "True, all true," I tell them, but with a difference and with modifications. Mr. London gives us a graphic description of certain aspects of London life, drawn at a very acute angle. Drawn apart from its relation to other phases and quieter shades, it is inevitable that the picture should stand out in somewhat startling relief before the reader. It is not the fault of Mr. London; and I, for my part, have absolutely no objection in so far as this—"one-sidedness," I had almost said—may in any way so effect a shaking-up of gray matter, or a waking-up of national conscience, as to lead to better things. Only in so far as its effect may be the reverse of beneficial,

by giving American readers a mistaken idea flattering to their national complacency, and to that extent hindering the progress of their economic enlightenment, do I venture to intervene. I feel that *I know*; whether I can so present my thought as to make others know—that is something I don't know.

The foregoing particulars are, perhaps trivial, but they are essential and germane to the issue, and are furnished to answer, in some sort, your query; to correct your readers' misconceptions due to your way of putting that query; and yet again to elucidate for American readers of "The People of the Abyss" something not cleared up in that masterly and, in most respects, luminous, picture of certain aspects of life among the London poor; said "something not cleared up" being the question left in the readers' minds: "How, under heaven, do the English workers, so poorly paid as they seem to be, contrive to find life—I will not say desirable, but—even possible?" The secret lies all in the greater commodity-purchasing power of money in England, the relative "cheapness of living," by virtue of which the English worker can command a variety in his eating and drinking that adds a zest to life in many respects dull and stunted enough, God knows; and that, too, on a wage that, in America, would restrict the recipient to a diet of baked beans and soda crackers. Not only in his eating and drinking either, is life bearable for the Britisher, for he gets some little (tho', of course, quite inadequate) recreation, Mr. London's suggestion to the contrary, notwithstanding. If the West-end theatres are too expensive for him (and they are) the cheapness of commodities does leave him, once in a while, the wherewithal to pay for a 4c. or 6c. seat in one of the "Em-

pire" theatres now so numerous in the suburbs, where two clever and interesting (and since the County Council came, clean) vaudeville performances of two hours each are given nightly. He may even afford a 1c. or 2c. bus or car-ride, should the theatre of his choice not be close at hand; another object lesson for the American who generally pays 5 cents or more for every ride. I might mention other of these suburban theatres where fairly good performances of the "legitimate" drama may be witnessed for 8 cents, 12 cents and upwards.

Then, again, if he is given to spending part of his evenings at the public-house (saloon) as, largely owing to want of room and recreation at home, he too frequently is, he can bask for an hour in the glitter of gaslight, colored glass and mirrors at his favorite "house" discussing politics or horse-racing (it is too often the latter, unfortunately), and his glass, or rather tankard, of beer, 2 cents, and tobacco for the evening 3 cents, will together have cost him no more than his American cousin pays for a single cigar at a corner stand, or for a solitary glass of beer.

The English workman pays 2 cents for a shave, 6 cents for a hair cut, and 2 cents for a shoe shine.

The above is no glorification of cheapness, neither is it a glazing of the squalor and hardship inherent in the lives of the poor of England; it is simply an elucidation—or aims to be—offered at this juncture lest American readers be led to "imagine a vain thing," viz.: that they are so vastly better off than their European brothers as to be less in need than they of Socialism.

Now, another word. When American readers take it (and they do) from Mr. London, that the poor of England "do not know the significance and sacred-

ness of home"—that the little household gods, "the picture of mother or sister," are not treasured by them, they miss the point that Mr. London in the "Abyss" articles, is dealing not with "the poor" generally, but with the *homeless* poor (for in England the denizen of the common lodging-house is rated practically homeless). Like his American counterpart, he is "here today, gone tomorrow." So far from true is it that the English poor as a class lack the home sentiment, that, on the contrary, those of them who emigrate to America, often drag with them half across the globe, their odds and ends of family possessions, not for any intrinsic value, but just for the old home's sake. And the one thing above all that shocks them in the land of their adoption, is to see, not alone the poor, but the well-to-do; not alone the solitary ones, but families, living in furnished rooms, hotels and boarding-houses, with no stick of personal belongings to put, for them, the stamp of "home" upon any given abiding-place; ready to pack their wardrobe and fly to any other boarding-house in any other place where the glint of a dollar catches their eye. I know many such people. Aye, and young couples marry and set up "housekeeping" in "rooms" and hotels, with no personal effects beyond their knick-knacks of wedding presents. How's this for the "shrine" of home! The homelessness of Americans (there are many exceptions, of course), and the ever-readiness of families to separate and scatter in the chase for the dollar, unceasingly compels the sad-eyed wonder of the home-loving Englishman.

"A week's wages between him and pauperism," says Mr. London. Truth, sober truth; yet, let not the American worker waste his pity except in the way

of fellow-feeling; for how much better off is *he*? The English wage-earner (thanks to the ready-money system), when he loses his job, has at least his last week's pay to face the position with, whereas the American too often only takes his last week's or month's pay to hand it over to the grocer and butcher in payment for commodities already consumed. The fact that the American often has an asset in the shape of some sort of lien on his home, called by a stretch of imagination, "owning it," complicates rather than relieves the situation. If the new job is slow in materializing, the necessity of raising the instalments on his partly-paid-for home, only drives him deeper into debt and difficulty, till he loses the whole.

The moral of all this is—Let not the American worker lay the flattering unction to his complacent, patriotic soul, that he is much better "fixed" than his brother of Europe. If the devil has got one, the deep sea threatens the other; and any shade of difference there may be, draws daily nearer to a vanishing point with the *fast-growing internationalization of corporate capitalist interests*.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Since writing the foregoing I have since seen WILSHIRE'S for January, where Mr. London, in his closing chapters, says: "The English working classes may be said to be soaked in beer." This is not true. Had Mr. London said: "The most ignorant and degraded of the English working classes" his dictum might stand. This, probably, was his meaning.

As regards Dr. Barnardo's Homes, I fancy somebody connected therewith must have found Mr. London rather "easy" in swallowing that story about the 13,000 and odd street waifs emi-

grated by the Homes, with "*not one failure in fifty*." "A splendid record," says Mr. London. Yes, if record and fact would tally; but does Mr. London's knowledge of economic conditions in Canada and the States enable him to believe that immigrants—were they even angels from heaven, let alone gutter-snipes from London—could succeed in a proportion of forty-nine in fifty? Certainly, Americans and Canadians themselves, native and to the manner born, do not show anything like such results. These stories are kept, doubtless, by the Barnardo people for the ears of possible contributors to the funds, or for unwary penmen whose writings may induce such; that Mr. London was caught is an incident. He is mistaken in rating the Barnardo institution as "an exception" to the philanthropic futilities of the time. If the results claimed were as actual as, in fact, they are impossible under the present capitalistic system, that organization would still be a farcical futility, rescuing its waifs in *nines* while "civilization" is turning them out in *nineties*. Nor would more of these Homes meet the case. The Barnardo institution is an organized begging-machine of marvelous method and wide ramification, that already exploits to the full the charity available for this particular branch. It is, at best, a poor sort of social salvation that "rescues" a child from the London streets to plant him on a Canadian farm to work 16 hours a day in summer, and hibernate on board wages during the other seven months of the year. (This when he escapes the packing-houses of Chicago, the rolling-mills and nail-shops of Montreal, or the sweat-shops and slums of New York.) If it is better to be "brother to the ox," than brother to the hyena, in just so far then may improvement in the lives of these "rescued" waifs be claimed.

F. F. S.

CARTOON AND COMMENT

NO one of the American cartoonists shows in his work the rare quality of humor that characterizes the cartoons of F. Opper, who draws pictures for the Hearst papers, and no doubt a large measure of the wide circulation enjoyed by the Hearst organs is due to the work of Opper. One of the best recent examples of his work is in the series entitled "Popular Plays for the People." This is entitled "No Wedding Bells for Her," and beautifully hits off the intimacy between Attorney General Knox and the Trusts.

After the decision of the Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case, Knox issued a reassuring statement to the effect that the government did not intend to "run amuck." This was as much as an admission that Roosevelt needed the Northern Securities decision to enable him to go into the coming campaign and point to his record as a "trust buster," but that he would do nothing calculated to disturb business interests. There was a time when the people were supposed to exercise some

influence in the conduct of the government at Washington, but now little or no attempt is made to disguise the fact that the people are small potatoes and few in a hill when it comes to bucking against the Trusts as an influence in the shaping of our government policies and activities.

There is a great outcry now being made in New York over what people are pleased to call the Real Estate Trust. Rents have been raised on an average of about 20 per cent. in the tenement district within the last few months



"No Wedding Bells for Her."

—F. Opper in *New York American*.

and as a result thousands of people were evicted upon the first of last month. Mass meetings were called and hot resolutions were passed declaratory of the greed and rapacity of the landlords. It is alleged that they have banded together to make a concerted raise in rents and there is a call for an injunction against such a "merger," the recent Supreme Court decision being instanced as an example of what might be done by law to protect the tenants. Now undoubtedly

it is exactly as logical to call upon our Supreme Court to deliver us from owners of land as from owners of railways. The principle in each case is exactly the same. But the absurdity of it all is that first we give to a capitalist class the power to rob us by demanding exorbitant fees for the use of their railroads, their land and their oil refineries and then when they

take advantage of the power we have given them we raise a howl and plead for mercy. If we give ourselves over to tigers and then complain of being hurt we would get little sympathy on the plea that we did not think the tiger would take advantage of the confidence we placed in him. Giving anyone unrestrained power is



THE RURAL ROCKFELLER

What! Five dollars a gallon for gasoline! That's outrageous!
 Wal, there's another store ten miles further on. Mebbe ye
 might get it a little cheaper there. —Mot. Jr.

always a bad thing, bad for the giver and bad for the receiver. The wonder of today is not that Rockefeller and Morgan take so much but that they leave so much. It is instinctive with all to exercise our power and whether it is Rockefeller with his monopoly of oil or a storekeeper on a country crossroad the rule is to charge all the traffic will bear. The New York landlords are simply following out the general rule. It is said

that the ground landlord where most of the evictions have taken place is Mr. Astor and he is excused under the plea that he has not raised the rent but that it is the act of his speculative lessees. However we may be sure that when the next year rolls around and Astor finds he can get more rent as a result of the greed of his lessees that he will not insist that they pay him less and distribute the difference to the poor tenants.

The Democratic party is the party of the "Common People," in other words of the Small Capitalists, as opposed to the Republican Party, the party of the Monopolists. The Working-class theoretically should have their own party, and theoretically the Socialist Party is that party, but inasmuch as the vote cast for the Socialist Party is so small compared with the vote of the working class we may say the working-class has no party. It simply tags on to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party as the spirit may move it. Some day it will be wise and make the Socialist Party its party, but we are not yet in the "some day." However, as the small capitalist is an animal rapidly

ically the

becoming extinct, it is a matter of course that the Democratic Party, as the representative of a moribund class, should be itself moribund, and it is. It should be dead now, but various accidents serve to keep it alive beyond its natural term of life, somewhat after the manner that a dying man is kept alive artificially by inhalation of oxygen. Just now the oxygen that is keeping the Democratic Party alive is Mr. Hearst with his yellow journals and his money. The accident of Hearst largely accounts for the prolongation of the life of the Democratic Party. If we took away the negro question, which gives the Democrats the solid South—and which is also purely an accident because logically the South should be the supporter of the Republican

Party, the party of capital—and if we took away Hearst the Democratic Party would be sleeping quietly in its grave. But it does not recognize its desperate state. It comes up smiling defeat after defeat, and is just as happy as if it had experienced a victory. A funeral or a marriage is all the same to Sandy, and victory or defeat is all the same to the intoxicated, old, moribund Democratic Party.

The accompanying cartoon from the *Crisis*, a new Socialist paper published in Salt Lake City, is strikingly illustrative of the political situation. The wall will soon crumble and the people will then see where the stream of their product goes. The cartoon also shows about the correct proportion in the division of the product between Capital and Labor, and it will serve to make the thoughtful reader inquire why it is that in spite of the tremendous increase in the productivity of Labor that Labor's share of its product has not increased in the same tremendous degree. A little study in an endeavor to find an answer to this question will show the explanation to lie in the fact that wages are not determined by the size of the product the laborer turns out but instead



AFTER THE CELEBRATION.

"I canna remember—hic—what the bride was like, Donald!"
 "Whist, mon, it wisna a merriage! It wis a fun'ral."
 —London Sketch.

are determined by what the unemployed man will work for. That is to say, there are a great many more men than there are jobs and the man out of a job is always trying to get the employed man's place, and if he can do the work as capably and is willing to do it for less money he is going to get the place. This constant competition between the workers acts as an effectual check against their

ever getting what some foolish persons say they are already getting ; that is, “an ever increasing share of an ever increasing product.” There is really no

to all they produce and that the wages system has outlived its usefulness they will be able to live a life of security and plenty. They ought to be living such a



THE OLD WALL IS CRUMBLING.

The Workers will soon see through the game. —The Crisis, Salt Lake City

reason why the workers should share life now, but they can't live it as long as their product with anybody at all, and they vote for the old parties which believe when they once see that they are entitled in the wages system.

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES, by Morris Hillquit. Funk & Wagnalls' Company, New York. \$1.50.

The appearance of a "History of Socialism in the United States," by Morris Hillquit, will probably provide for many the first knowledge that Socialism in this country has any history at all, much less a story which requires for its telling a volume of near 400 pages. For those who have casually observed the growth of the Socialist movement in Europe and America, and desire more specific knowledge of its meaning, Mr. Hillquit's book will provide an admirable and authoritative presentation of the principles and policies which characterize the small but clamorous and growing organization known in this country as the Socialist Party. The author has written a history, and not an exegesis, but it is a history of such a searching character that a reading of it gives a clear idea of the cardinal points of the Socialist philosophy. A number of our thoughtful politicians and publicists have expressed the opinion that the Socialist movement will shortly be a factor to be reckoned with, but the prevailing opinion is that Socialists, when they are not mere Utopian dreamers, are only the noisy and mischievous spokesmen of an irrational discontent. For this prevailing view the Socialists themselves are doubtless largely responsible, because up to this time—aside from a few monographs and propaganda pamphlets—they have produced practically no literature. Considering the vast number of books, exegetical and controversial, to which the Socialist movement in Europe has given birth the poverty of the American movement in this respect is all the more marked and it has reasonably been assumed that in the absence of a respectable literature the movement in this country lacked the moral and intellectual force to produce it. On this account the service which Mr. Hillquit's book renders to his movement is of particular value. It not only demonstrates that the movement is capable of producing a literature, but gives a comprehensive and clear statement of the premises upon which the Socialists base their conclusions. This is most timely, for it is a question whether there is any contemporary question of similar importance about which there is such widespread ignorance.

There are two distinct phases of the Socialist movement—the Utopian and scientific—and the author naturally divides his work into a

Part I, devoted to a record of the Utopian expressions of communism in this country, and a Part II, which treats of the modern movement which finds its inspiration in Karl Marx's analysis of industrial conditions. The record of the communistic experiments, their struggles and failures, is a story of absorbing interest and constitutes the most satisfactory history of the subject yet written. The author has a remarkable capacity for concise statement, and he sets forth tersely, but adequately, the theories of Robert Owen, who established the settlement at New Harmony, Ind.; of Charles Fourier, who numbered among his disciples Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, William Channing and the other Brook Farmers; and of Etienne Cabet, the apostle of the Icarian movement. In addition, the origin and history of the various sectarian communities are set forth in the same satisfactory fashion. Naturally the melancholy failure which attended the communities calls for explanation, and on this point the author says:

"The founders of all communities proceeded on the theory that they would build up a little society of their own, eliminate from it all features of modern civilization which seemed objectionable to them, fashion it wholly after their own views of proper social relations, and isolate themselves from the surrounding world and its corrupting influences. But the times of the Robinson Crusoes, individual or social, have passed. The industrial development of the last centuries has created a great economic interdependence between man and man, and nation and nation, and has made humanity practically one organic body. In fact, all the marvelous achievements of our present civilization are due to the conscious or unconscious co-operation of the workers in the fields and mines, on the railroads and steamships, in the factories and laboratories the world over; the individual member of society derives his power solely from participation in this great co-operative labor or its results, and no man or group of men can separate himself or themselves from it without relapsing into barbarism. This indivisibility of the social organism was the rock upon which all the communistic experiments foundered."

There are other keenly philosophical observations and conclusions regarding the influence of the communistic mode of life upon the moral, physical and intellectual development of man, and then the author passes to his treatment of the modern movement.

This modern movement is so radically different in inspiration and aim from the Utopian Socialism of Saint Simon, Owen, Fourier, etc.,

that the author confesses a difficulty in finding the connecting link, if, indeed, such a link exists. Several individuals who had cast their lots with some one or another of the communistic experiments, are found to have advocated independent political action by the working class—the essence of Modern Socialism—but as a rule the Utopians perished with their idols, transmitting nothing of thought or action to their successors. The essential difference between the two movements is set forth with masterly directness in this wise:

“Utopian Socialism was based on purely moral conceptions, and derived its inspiration from the teachings of Christ or other codes of ethics; its existence was equally justified in the Eighteenth century as in the Nineteenth, and in this country as on the old continent. Modern Socialism, on the other hand, is primarily economic in character and cannot take root in any country before its social and industrial conditions have made it ripe for the movement. The present Socialist movement depends for its support upon the existence of a large class of workingmen divorced from the soil and other means of production, and permanently reduced to the ranks of wage labor. It also requires a system of industry developed to a point where it becomes onerous upon the workingmen, breeds dissatisfaction, and impels them to organized resistance. In other words, the movement presupposes the existence of the modern factory system in a high state of development, and all the social contrasts and economic struggles incident to such a system.”

It is pointed out that these conditions did not exist in the United States during the first half of the last century, but when they began to appear the development was extraordinarily rapid. “In 1850,” says Mr. Hillquit, “the population of the United States was but little over 23,000,000; half a century later it rose to over 75,000,000. In 1850 the wealth of the country amounted to little over \$7,000,000,000, and was pretty evenly distributed among the population; in 1890 the national wealth exceeded \$65,000,000,000, and more than one-half of it was concentrated in the hands of but 40,000 families or one-third of 1 per cent. of the population. In 1850, 55 per cent. of the wealth of the United States consisted of farms; in 1890 the farms made up less than 24 per cent. of the wealth of the country. In 1860 the entire capital invested in industries in the United States was little over \$1,000,000,000; in the space of the following thirty years it had increased more than sixfold. In 1870 the supply of labor was too inadequate for the demand; three decades later there was a standing army of over 1,000,000 idle workingmen. In 1870 strikes and lockouts were hardly known in America; between 1881 and 1894 the country witnessed over 14,000 contests between capital and labor, in which about 4,000,000 of workingmen participated.”

In spite of these favoring industrial conditions the Socialist movement did not develop

the strength which characterized it under the same circumstances in Europe. This backwardness is attributed by the author to the fact that the political equality enjoyed by the workingmen provided “one less motive to organize politically on a class basis” and that “the periodical appearance of radical reform parties often had the effect of side-tracking the incipient Socialist movement into different channels.”

Of the sections of the history which trace the development of the movement from 1850 up to the present date it is unnecessary to speak in detail. They provide a story which has an even greater degree of interest than the record of the Utopian movement. The author has been a participant and often a potent factor in the movement for the past fifteen years, but he possesses the judicial faculty in a high degree and his treatment of the events of recent years is characterized by remarkable impartiality. If space permitted it would be interesting to relate the facts of the struggle of the Socialist Labor Party with the Anarchists and the final victory over the advocates of violence. The account shows that the nation is indebted to the Socialists, more than to any other agency, for the present innocuous condition of the Anarchist organization in this country. The final chapters sketch the rise of the Socialist Labor Party and its decline when it declared war on the trades unions; the great strikes and the development of the organized labor movement during the last decade of the nineteenth century; and, finally, the rise and present condition of the Socialist party, which, acting in thorough sympathy with the trades unions assumes to itself the part of the political wing of the general labor movement. The author is a successful lawyer of New York and his book is marked by a scholarship and a conservatism of style and statement which will make it a standard work of reference for students of the Socialist movement.

CHARLES DOBBS.

THE STORY OF A LABOR AGITATOR,
By Joseph R. Buchanan. The Outlook
Co., New York. \$1.25.

It is an inspiration to read Mr. Buchanan's book. It shows what a brave man moved by an indomitable will can accomplish. I say accomplish, for while the results of his agitation for the last twenty-five years are not as tangible as might be, still no one who is conversant with the situation can help admitting that the betterment of the condition of labor in the United States which has occurred in the last twenty years is more due to the untiring efforts of Joseph R. Buchanan than any other man.

From the time he left his father's farm in Missouri, in 1878, to the present day he has never slackened in his efforts to uplift the hand of labor, and I doubt if there is any man so universally honored and respected by the

workingmen of this country. For years his fearless *Denver Labor Enquirer* was the best known of the radical papers in the West, indeed if not the whole country. The story of the life and death of this paper furnishes a most interesting tale. To me the story of Mr. Buchanan's life afforded a peculiar pleasure as his philosophy of the whole labor subject, gained by an experience for many years of close association with the labor movement, is so in accord with my own that he aroused my sympathetic attention in a manner that no other author has ever done. There are no other Buchanans alive today to write such thrilling tales of the labor movement in America, and I think that not a single reader of this magazine who wishes to be closely in touch with the history of labor in the United States should fail to read the book. It has a vivid account of the many railroad strikes that Mr. Buchanan led in Colorado in the critical decade, 1880 to 1890, and also a brief story of the Haymarket tragedy and the efforts the author made to obtain a pardon for the victims of that judicial murder. Mr. Buchanan is now the editor of the economic department of the

American Press Association and is living in New York. I was present the other night at a dinner given to John Turner, and Buchanan made quite the speech of the evening, and showed that when the time comes labor still has in him an orator who can voice its wrongs in tones of the most convincing eloquence.

The book will be sent postpaid from this office on receipt of price, or will be given free to anyone sending us three dollars for six yearly subscription cards.

G. W.

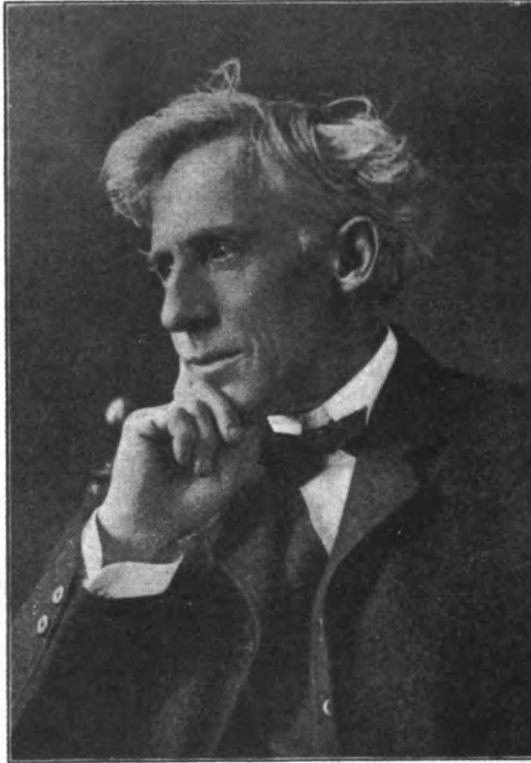
A LITTLE GARRISON, published by Frederick A. Stokes & Co., New York. \$1.50.

This is the book which has convulsed Ger-

many. The author, Lieutenant Bilse, has just served six months in a military prison for telling the truth, as was proven in the interpellation in the Reichstag.

Some of the most effective passages in "A Little Garrison" deal with the abuse of privates by officers. Here is an example:

When he awoke in the morning it was past ten. Borgert began to rage. Almost half the day was gone now, and yet he had meant to do so much. Had this ass of a servant again forgotten to awake him?



JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN

With that his head ached and he felt nervous and out of sorts. Throwing his dressing gown loosely about him, he went into his servant's room and found Röse laboriously penning a letter. When his master entered the poor fellow shot out of the seat and stood bolt upright.

"I wakened the Herr First Lieutenant at seven o'clock, but the Herr First Lieutenant wanted to continue sleeping and said I need not come back any more to annoy him."

"That's a lie, you swine; I will teach you to do as you are told." And he seized a leather belt lying on the fellow's bed, and with it struck Röse violently, then kicking him and letting the belt play around his face

and neck until broad, livid marks began to show.

Röse preserved his military attitude, and stood his punishment without in the least resisting. But that was a further cause of anger to Borgert, and the latter dropped the belt and with his fist struck the man several hard blows in the chest. Then he took the man's letter, half finished as it was, crumpled it up in his hand and threw it into the coal-scuttle.

"Step upstairs lively and tell Herr First Lieutenant Leimann that I want to speak to him. Tell him if possible to step in here for half an hour before he goes to town."

"At your orders, Herr First Lieutenant."

THE ISSUES OF LIFE. By Mrs. John Van Vorst. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Price \$1.50.

Through the medium of this new novel Mrs. Van Vorst discusses the "new woman" in particular and the race suicide question in general. It was Mrs. Van Vorst's previous book, "The Woman Who Toils," which moved President Roosevelt to write that "race suicide" letter. Mrs. Van Vorst has a decided talent for sociological investigation, but not so much can be said of her ability as a storyteller, in fact, "The Issues of Life" is somewhat amusing from a literary standpoint. To show the contrast between the old-fashioned woman and the "new woman" she introduces her heroine into an organization supposed to be composed of types of the modern club woman. These women voice the cant of the times about the right to develop one's own individuality and who are interested as faddists in all contemporary questions. There is really no reason why a woman should not be in touch with the progressive thought in all the departments of modern investigation, but for Mrs. Van Vorst there is no compromise. The club woman is wholly wrong, and the old-fashioned "hausfrau" is wholly right, according to her view of things. Just to show how dangerous it is to be a club woman, Mrs. Van Vorst makes of each one of her new women a horrible example. One of them blows out her brains; another in disgust marries a coachman; still another sells herself to a gilded youth when her husband is ruined; another is consigned to hopeless invalidism as a result of a forced miscarriage. Another drives a worthy young man, named Reggie, to the dreadful deed of plunging her over a precipice in an automobile; and still another, through trying to put into effect half-baked conceptions of hygiene, loses her only child. The heroine of the book is drawn into this maelstrom of woman's club life, but at the proper moment is rescued by her husband and taken

back to the farm, presumably to raise many more happy, healthy children. "The vice of our generation," says the model husband, in the next to the last chapter, "is individualism—personal ends exclude social and even family sentiment. The natural meaning of existence is the union of the man and woman, that the woman may bear children while the man defends the home. The moment either one diverges from this destiny harmony is destroyed." The doctor in the story, who believes in children and lots of them, is quoted as blaming the American husband as in a large degree responsible for the scientific faddism of the woman. He says: "There's no man so ardent as the American; there's no woman, in spite of her reputation of being spoiled—there's no woman so neglected as the American man's wife. She has two rivals: business and science. She tries to make the most of her situation by mimicking her rivals. The business man's wife is capricious and a spendthrift; the scientific man's wife is a pedant. These are the two types America has produced!"

SOCIAL PROGRESS, by W. D. P. Bliss, Social Progress, 287 Fourth Ave., New York City. 170 pages. Cloth. \$1.50 net.

W. D. P. Bliss, editor of *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, has prepared for Dr. Josiah Strong, a year book called *Social Progress*, which is really an encyclopedia in itself. It condenses into 170 pages all the main social, economic and industrial facts of this country and of the principal other countries. It shows that wages have not risen in spite of "prosperity," that J. P. Morgan alone controls \$6,268,000,000. It gives startling facts regarding the disintegration of the family. The Socialist facts are by Wm. Mailly, Gaylord Wilshire and A. M. Simons. It makes a book in which every Socialist will find valuable figures for propaganda purposes. We shall review it at some length next month.

LITERARY NOTES

In his book, "Greater Russia," of which The Macmillan Company are issuing a new edition next week, Mr. Wirt Gerrare tells about a secret railroad owned and managed by the Russians, which runs through Manchuria to Peking. Foreigners are not allowed to ride on it; Mr. Gerrare had to disguise himself as a Russian, cross the border in another way, and then contrive to get on the train when no one was watching. No other foreigner has been on this road, and its existence came to be known through Mr. Gerrare's book. Just what bearing this branch of the Siberian railroad will have on the present war will probably transpire when the Japanese land forces encounter the Russians.

In response to many inquiries we would re-

peat that Jack London's "People of the Abyss" is published by Macmillan & Co., New York, at \$2. It is beautifully illustrated, and on heavy paper. The publishers will send it post-paid to any address for the price mentioned.

"Foundations of Modern Europe" is the title of a book which has grown out of a series of twelve lectures delivered in the University of London by Dr. Emil Reich. The Macmillan Company has just published it. The author's attempt is to sketch the main facts and tendencies of European history that, since the year 1756, have contributed to the making of the present state of politics and civilization. His main object throughout is "to indicate not only the body of the general facts, but more particularly their soul, their meaning."

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

A WORD TO OUR READERS

We would like some one to mail us, to complete a file—a copy of the November (1901) number of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE.

Do not forget to write to our advertisers. This magazine can only be sold at its present price owing to its patronage from advertisers. See that their faith is justified.

LUCKY MR. WRIGHT

Conspicuously good work was done in the matter of getting new subscribers for WILSHIRE'S during March, by Mr. H. Nelson Wright, of 20 Fair St., Paterson, N. J., and he was awarded the two watches by the Circulation Department in accordance with the

provisions of the announcement made in the March number. Mr. Wright, however, being well supplied with time-keepers, and having a knack for photography, decided to exchange the watches for an Al Vista camera.

London, England,
March 1.

The undersigned, subscriber to WILSHIRE'S through Justice, begs to express his thanks for, and high appreciation of, the February number. Original intelligence illumines trite or well-worn tracks; stimulating reflection on the reader's part.

C. LOFTUS READE.

1057 Jasmin St.,
Los Angeles, Cal.,
March 14.

The March number is at hand. Such artistic dress, neat finish; faultless in style. A lifelong teacher and student and a professional man, at 64 I ought to be able to judge of the merits of your magazine. If unable to contribute anything more than the paltry sum asked for, I am not barred from expressing my unbounded delight as well as my appreciation of its peculiar merits. Your editorials in point of style, depth and grasp, clearness and precision, with a literary simplicity and classic style of finish, and a profound philosophic



DR. H. E. WRIGHT

A Hustling Socialist of Sacramento, Cal.,
who won a watch in the January-
February Subscription Contest

knowledge and grasp of the economic forces at work in this co-operative revolution—all these appear in your editorials and make you without an equal as an editor in any country.

J. A. BEDIENT.

Camden, Me.,
April 1.

The March number was a hummer. The debate, "When Will Socialism Come?" was fine. Your editorials are the real thing; in fact, I do not find a dull page in any number and I wonder why anyone that ever reads just one number of your magazine can ever exist without it.

E. H. BRAMHALL.

Portland, Ore.

I like your magazine better and better every month. It is really divine service to humanity to give them such a meal twelve times a year.

(REV.) R. M. WEBSTER.

PRICE 10 CENTS

WISHIRE'S

JUNE

THE SOCIALIST
CONVENTION
REVOLUTIONARY
ROOSEVELT
"CHECKERS," NEW PLAY
WITH NEW
MORAL

Editorial Review

THE WESTERN UNION TELE-
GRAPH POOL ROOM SCANDAL
THE STANDARD OIL DIVIDEND
MEXICO NATIONALIZING
RAILROADS
THE DEPRESSION IN IRON
DEATH IN DUST

125 East 23'd Street. New York.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

June, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL REVIEW.....	253
SOCIALISM INEVITABLE DESPITE SOCIALISTS.....The Editor	266
CHECKERS--A NEW PLAY WITH A NEW MORAL.....The Editor	270
THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING AN ELEPHANT.....The Editor	272
PROSPERITY IN IRON, FURNITURE AND ORANGES NIT.....The Editor	273
POVERTY (Poem).....Lillia De Witt	276
A SHOT AT SHAKESPEARE.....Frank Stuhlman	277
"VIA TRIUMPHALIS" (Poem).....J. E. Chase	280
SPIRIT OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.....James Taylor VanRensselaer	281
WE ARE MEN (Poem).....Stewart J. Spence	283
BOOK REVIEWS.....	285
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	287

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is printed in Toronto and published monthly by the Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at \$1.00 a year, or for sale at all news-stands at 10 cents a copy. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.50 (6s.) a year.

Remittances should be made by postal or express orders.

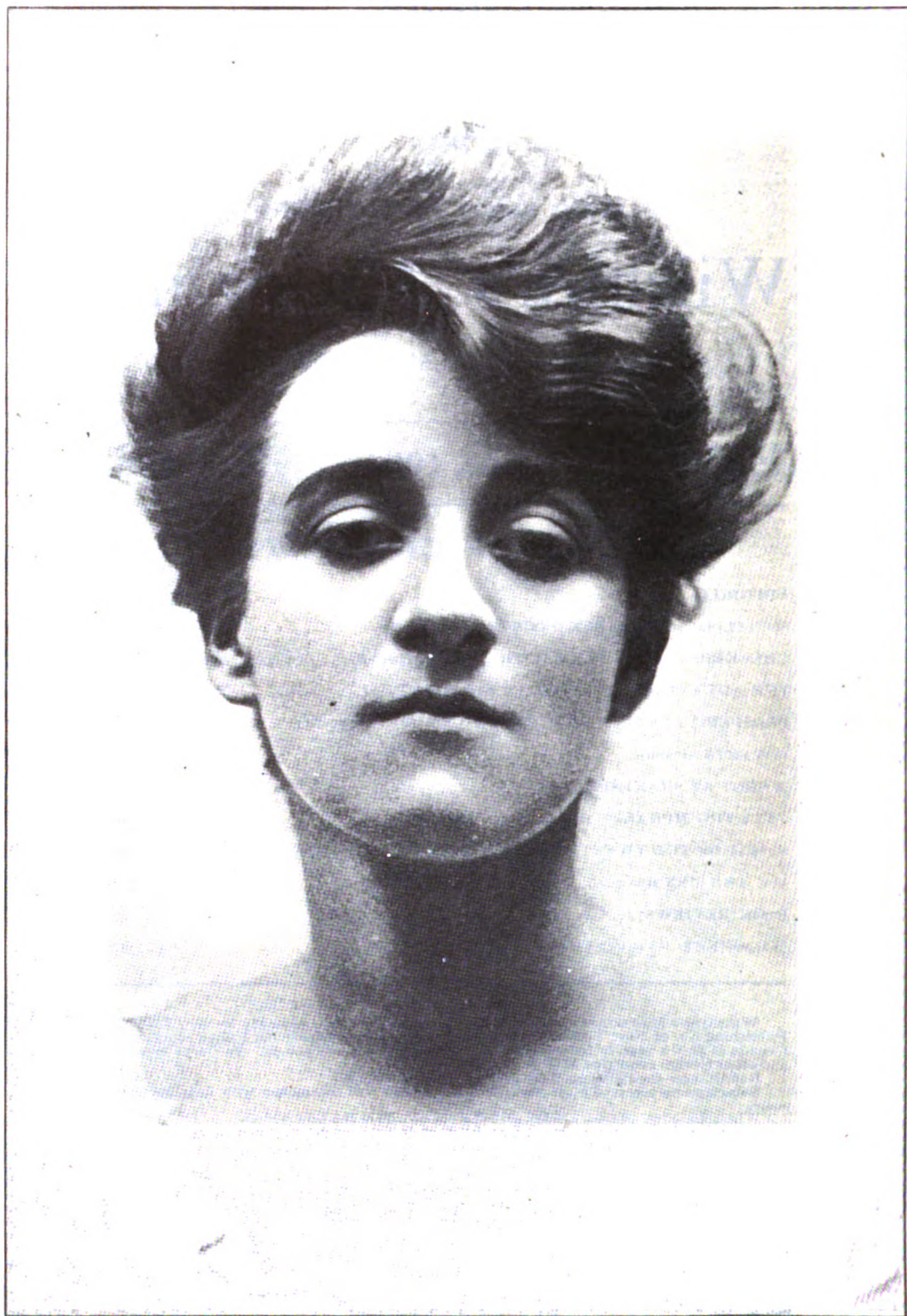
Subscriptions received after the 25th of the month will commence with next month's issue.

When changing address always give the old as well as the new address.

When renewing please state specifically that the remittance is for a renewal. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



MISS KATHERINE MULKINS

Hall, Photo., N.Y.

See page 270

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 6.

TORONTO, JUNE, 1904

\$1 Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

THE CONVENTION of the Socialist Party which assembled in Chicago, May 1st, in many ways exhibited the tremendous progress Socialism has made during the last four years. Practically all the States were represented, except one or two of those in the South.

The delegates were a fine type of men and women, for among Socialists women have equal rights with men both as to membership and holding office. There were 171 delegates, and it is noteworthy that of these 125 were of American birth. When I myself first became connected with the Socialist Party, sixteen or seventeen years ago, there was practically no one in it except Germans and very few of them. In passing from California to New York there was hardly any Socialist organization worthy of the name. Now there is scarcely a town or hamlet in any of the Northern States which has not a representative of the Socialist Party. Professor George D. Herron, of New York, drew up the following platform which was accepted unani-

mously and without debate by the Convention :

THE PLATFORM.

I.

We, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born ; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact ; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or

voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the

workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that complete economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called Trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades

unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they

may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. And we appeal only to what we, and the men and women whom we represent, are ready to give and have given. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is: at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

It is rather astonishing that there was not a voice of objection against this platform inasmuch as there was a considerable element who were opposed to the insertion of "immediate demands" in the platform, their argument being that appeals to voters upon the grounds that the Socialists would give them certain advantages during the continuation of the present system was bad policy, inasmuch as it would tend to distract their attention from the main issue, viz., the Co-operative Commonwealth. It was also argued that Socialists are not here to patch up the competitive system but to do away with it altogether, and that there are plenty of other reformers to do the patching. For some reason or other the people who were against "immediate demands" did not make their fight upon the platform, but reserved their ammunition until the program was presented. This "program" is not in any sense a platform, and I could not see the consistency in their attitude. The Socialists are bound to elect a great number of men to legislative office in the next few years, and out of this number there will be some

who will be ignorant as to what line of policy to pursue while in office. They know that they are there to vote for what is best for the workingman and to vote for what will hasten on the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth, but as to the general policy of supporting certain reform measures, if the Party makes no declaration, they are left to their own devices to determine what is to be done, and very often this individual determination of theirs may not coincide with the collective ideas of the whole Socialist Party. For instance, an eight-hour bill might be introduced and some extremists might vote against it, taking as their position that they are not there to ameliorate the conditions of the working class, but to allow conditions to become as bad as possible in order that a revolt will be more likely. That this is not the position

of the Socialist Party is not only declared in their platform but also in their program, which was adopted for the guidance of the members who might be elected to legislative office. Inasmuch as this program is not promulgated for the purpose of getting into office, but simply for the purpose of instructing members who may be already elected to office, I cannot see that there was any good reason for objection to it. My own

opinion is that it would have been better to have eliminated "immediate demands" from the platform and to have inserted them only in the general program, a document quite aside from the platform itself. EUGENE V. DEBS was nominated for President, as foreshadowed in this magazine in the last issue. Taking in consideration all things, the present position of the Socialist Party, etc., there can be no doubt that Mr. Debs is the

strongest available candidate that could have been nominated. He is an excellent speaker and has a winning personality. Benjamin Hanford was nominated for Vice-President. He is a printer by trade and resides in New York City. He is one of the most effective speakers in the Socialist Party and represents the strongly defined working-class philosophy of Socialism perhaps as well, if not better, than



BENJAMIN HANFORD

anyone in the Party. His position is one that undoubtedly conforms to the ideas of the majority of the Party, therefore he is a most fitting candidate to represent them. Certainly it is true that until the people of the United States understand very clearly that the "working-class" is defined by Socialists as including all who produce yet do not own property, there will always be misunderstandings. The farmer to-day

and the small shopkeeper work harder and get less for their labor than many wage earners and yet they do not recognize themselves as belonging to the working-class. On a question of definition, it seems to me that the Socialist Party can make more progress by adapting its phrases to current usage rather than make current usage adapt itself to its own peculiar terminology. Mr. Ernest Unterman, a German, and Mr. Hillquit, a Russian, were nominated as delegate and alternate respectively to the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam next month. While the ability and learning of these two men cannot be denied, and, in fact, it may be admitted that there are not two other men in the Party as well equipped intellectually as they, yet there are certainly strong reasons that America should put up with more inferior material and send men of American birth to represent her at an International Congress. I am quite sure if Canada had sent me here to America as a typical Canadian, or England as a typical Englishman, to represent them simply because I happened to live in those countries a number of years, that Americans would hardly have received me as a Canadian or an Englishman. However, this is a small matter, for as yet International Socialism is not much of a factor in either national or world politics. Four years ago Debs was nominated by the Socialist Party and polled some 82,000 votes. Since then the Socialist vote has increased so much in the State elections that there is every indication that the vote this time will be considerably over 350,000. If Mr. Hearst is nominated by the Democrats it will not go much above this figure, but on the other hand, if some conservative Democrat is nominated, the vote for Debs will probably run considerably over the 600,000 mark.

THERE ARE a great many people in this country with enormous incomes that must be invested and after once the investment is made it becomes permanent. It is natural that in the course of time a great many stocks and bonds will be removed entirely from the market by this form of investment, and the ultimate outcome is a complete stagnation on the Stock Exchange. All the good things will have been sold and all that is left will be known to be bad.

THE DECLINE OF
SPECULATION

The following from the New York Sun is apropos :

The initial transaction in St. Paul yesterday was made shortly before 2 o'clock, and the opening of the stock was the signal for a mock demonstration of enthusiasm on the floor. There were several other ordinarily active stocks that did not open until after 1 o'clock. "These late opening incidents," a critical board member remarked yesterday, "denote primarily, of course, acute speculative inactivity, but they have also another significance, which, I think, is not generally appreciated. They serve to emphasize the fact that the floating or speculative supply of stocks like St. Paul is steadily diminishing. Stocks of this character are being constantly taken out of the Street for investment. If there was as much St. Paul in brokers' hands today as there was, say, five years ago, do you suppose the initial transaction in the stock would have been delayed until nearly 2 o'clock? That couldn't reasonably happen in any stock that is widely held by speculators. It is not so long ago that St. Paul was the pivotal speculative stock of the market. It isn't any more. Traders complain that it is not the stock for trading in that it used to be, which is true, for the reason that the floating supply has been so reduced that its movements are governed absolutely by a small coterie of insiders. The investment importance of such a stock increases as speculative interest departs from it."

When brokers get down to the Exchange at 10.00 o'clock and have to wait until 2.00 o'clock before anything is doing, it won't be long before they will commence to figure whether their Stock Exchange seats are worth much of anything or not. Some day Wall street may be as dead as a street in the buried city of Herculaneum. When Rockefeller has bought all there is to buy, what

functions will Wall street have to perform?

AN INTERESTING development has been the discovery that the Western Union Telegraph Co. derives several million dollars a year from its labor in supplying information to gamblers' pool rooms in New York City and throughout the country. The usual price is \$40.00 a day. There are 300 pool rooms in New York City alone and it does not take much figuring to determine what a profitable business this is to them. The directors of the Western Union Telegraph Co. comprise representatives of all the great financial interests in the country, those men to whom Baer says that God has intrusted the wealth of this country to manage in such a way that there may be the greatest divine glory. At first these Divine Directors professed ignorance of the pool room business, but now the press has so very clearly shown to them the business that their servants have involved them in, it has become a matter of dropping all pretence of "respectability" if the racing reports are kept up. It is not astonishing that "morality" in this instance beat "dividends" and that the W.U.T. directors have decided to shut off all racing news from the pool rooms. We much doubt the final disappearance of pool-selling, however, before the millenium.

TWO VERY OPPOSITE characters died last month, one Prof. York Powell, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and Sir Henry Stanley, the African explorer. Powell is well known not only for his conspicuous work in university circles but for his broad sympathy in the Socialist

movement. He was one of the few professors at Oxford who stood for democratic ideas. He was a contributor to this magazine, and his apartments were always thrown open to me whenever I happened to have been in Oxford. Powell was a most delightful companion, and I can remember no more pleasant evenings than those I spent in his study talking Socialism up to very small hours of the morning. He had little hope of things in America ever settling themselves except after a very violent social and industrial catastrophe. He was of a robust constitution, and his death comes as a painful surprise. Sir Henry Stanley, on the other hand, was a man who apparently thought but little of social questions, so little, indeed, that there is probably no one more unpopular with the masses in England than Stanley. Although he was elected to Parliament his votes came from the upper class, and it was almost always necessary for the police to call out the reserves to protect him from being mobbed whenever he dared address out-door meetings. His unpopularity arose probably more, however, from his reputation for having been ruthless in the destruction of life in Africa rather than from an indifference to life in England. This note is not given in any way to detract from Stanley's efficient work as an explorer, but simply to give possibly a side light upon the estimation of his character held by a large part of the English people, which is not known to Americans generally.

PRESIDENT HADLEY, of Yale College, some time ago proposed that society should ostracise the Trust magnates as a punishment. That this was absurd it is unnecessary to say, and how doubly absurd it was is seen

STANLEY AND
POWELL
CONTRASTED

OSTRACISED BY
THE TRUST

by the following from the *New York Journal*:

The governors of the Ardsley Club to-day would give no explanation why the name of S. S. McClure, the publisher, posted six months ago for membership, had been withdrawn.

It was learned, however, that the aristocratic board of managers, at a meeting, decided that the publisher of the Ida M. Tarbell articles, revealing the inside history of the Standard Oil Company, could not be desired as a member in a club controlled by men as closely allied to the Standard Oil interests as John D. Archbold, William Rockefeller, Percy Rockefeller, George Gould, Frank J. Gould, Edwin Gould, Frank M. Van Beuren and Charles Schwab, all of whom are either governors or active and prominent members.

It is the Trust magnates themselves who are able to do the ostracising, and that they can do it effectively is seen by the way they treated the publisher of *McClure's Magazine*.

IT IS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED by medical men that the greatest enemy to human life in civilized communities is dust. Not only is dust in itself very deleterious to health, but city dust carries so many disease breeding particles that it is doubly dangerous. In the streets of the European cities much is done to obviate this fault by keeping them very much cleaner than we Americans do ours, and also by more care being taken in removing the garbage and ashes from the houses. I was very much impressed with the ingenious way in which this is done in Carlsbad, Austria. The ashes are removed in a covered steel wagon and the receptacle in which the ashes are placed, in the house, is also of steel, about three feet high and one foot square. This receiver is covered by a sliding top and when the wagon comes to take the contents away, it is taken from the cellar of the house by the two men who accompany the cart, and who lift it upon the top of the cart and there upset it, but nothing

comes out until the top is slid to one side and at the same time a corresponding section of the top of the covered cart is pulled out so that the contents are discharged into the wagon without a particle of dust escaping to the street. As soon as everything falls into the cart the two tops are slid back and a passer-by would not know that any disagreeable material had been taken from the house, except for the slight noise which is heard when the tops are drawn. Here in New York, as in other American cities, you will see in the most fashionable streets, where hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent upon other sanitary arrangements, a cart, overflowing with ashes, garbage and filth scattering all over the street, drive up to a magnificent residence, in front of which will stand a barrel of filth, also overflowing. Then the man from the cart upsets this barrel on top of the heap on the cart, filling the street full of ashes and effluvia from the garbage. It is astounding how we Americans can go to such trouble and expense in certain matters of health and then be so careless in such a small but important detail as this. The principle of removing the ashes and dirt from the houses seemingly is solved completely by this Carlsbad plan, and now it is said that a Michigan man has invented a pneumatic street-cleaning machine devoid of any brush or broom appliance. When the cleaner is drawn over the surface it draws up the dust and dirt by means of an exhaust, which takes the place of brushes and brooms. The device draws the dust and dirt into a repository, where it is held until dumped into a cart, and so the dirt is not allowed to stand in unsightly piles around the streets waiting to be hauled away by wagons. The inventor claims that his machine will clean a street so thoroughly that it will

not need sprinkling, but the surface to be operated on must not be damp. We have no doubt under the Socialist regime that dust will be as carefully removed from our streets as it is from our houses and as it should be from our factories. The same idea of air being used to take dust from the streets is now being installed in our modern hotels. Air is pumped out under pressure throughout the house and at the end of the hose a receptacle is laid over the carpet, which takes all the dust away, both from the top of the carpet and underneath, leaving the room perfectly free from dust. That disease breeder, the broom, must go.

THE ESSENTIAL REASON of this magazine as opposed to all other periodicals, whether Socialist or otherwise, is that it came into being from the editor's recognition of a tremendous approaching crisis in the history of the world, owing to overproduction.

A WORLD
TRUST

This overproduction is the result of improved machinery and conjoined to a competitive wage system. We have increased our means of production without having correspondingly increased our means of distribution. Hitherto we have obviated this defect of distribution by using up our surplus in the building of new machinery, but this is now rapidly coming to an end inasmuch as we have more machinery than we know what to do with. Every day we have fresh evidence of this startling fact, and I take the following from the *New York Commercial* :

London, April 20.—A secret conference, of the highest importance to the steel manufacturers of the world, began its sessions yesterday. Its object is to arrange for the reservation of home markets, the prevention of dumping, and the fixing of uniform export prices. The countries

represented are Great Britain, Germany, the United States, Austria and Belgium.

The project originated with the German syndicate, the *Deutscher Stahlwerksverband*, of which Herr Thyssen is the chief representative. The French manufacturers are sympathetic, but are not represented in the conference because their exports are small. *Pourparlers* began three months ago, with the result that dumping was greatly restricted during the past two months.

The original proposal was to regulate prices only in the neutral markets. The British manufacturers objected that this proposal was not feasible unless it included Great Britain, where Germany dumps 1,000,000 tons a year. Germany agreed to this in principle, and a conference was summoned for a discussion of the whole question of export prices in all markets, including those of plates, rails, structure steel and semi-products.

The first difficulty was the non-existence of a combination of British manufacturers, who include twelve groups. There is a fair prospect that this will speedily be overcome by the efforts of Sir Christopher Furness and others. The second obstacle is that several English manufacturers are also great consumers who have profited by the dumping of foreign steel billets on the English market. It is believed that these will be sufficiently compensated by larger profits of manufacture, which will fully offset their loss of advantages as consumers.

The third difficulty is the problem of a control or check on the operation agreement. This is under consideration. It is pointed out that the British manufacturers worked successfully a few years ago under a so-called gentlemen's agreement on this subject, which did not provide for fines and penalties. It is admitted that this plan would not work in a world-wide combination.

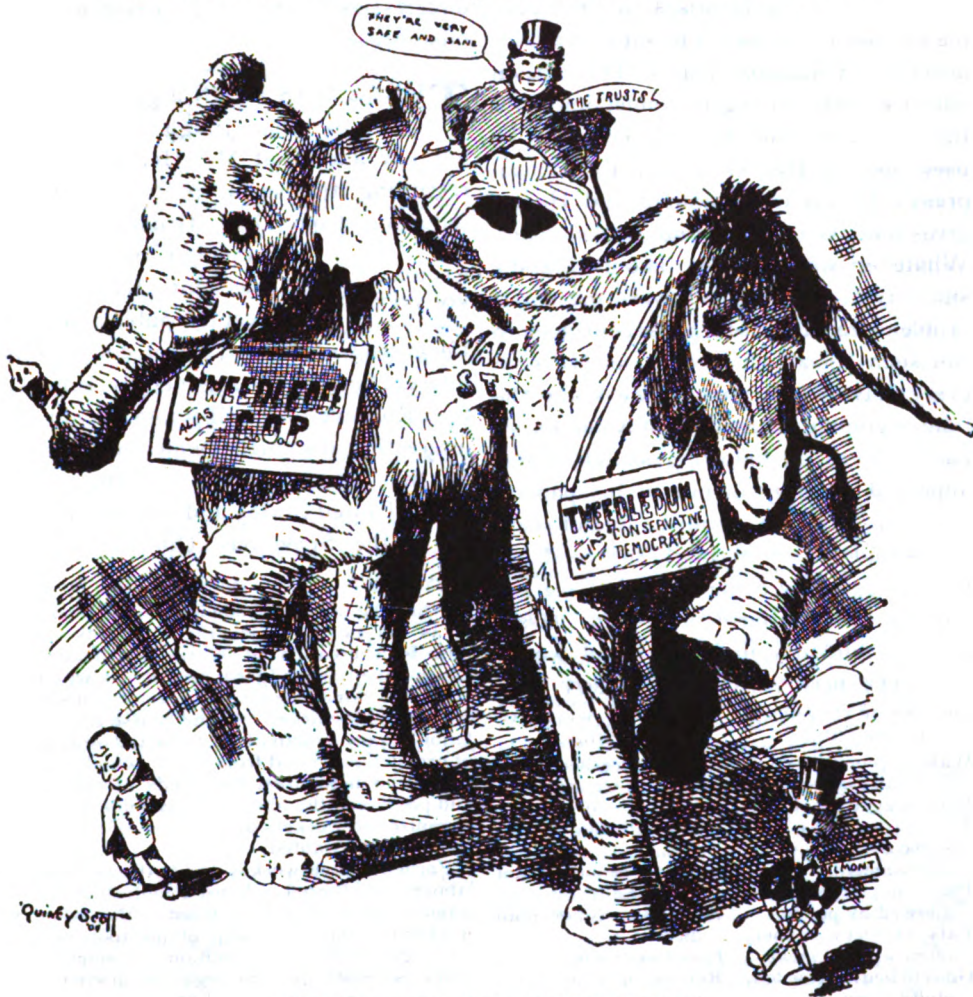
A parallel agreement to the one proposed is now in successful operation between the manufacturers of wrought iron pipe. This encourages the steel makers to believe that a great combination in their trade is practicable. The conference is expected to last some time.

It is interesting to note that if this conference is successful in its object, it will disappoint one of the hopes of the United States Steel Trust, namely: that during dull times at home, it will be able to dump its surplus upon the European market and so keep its works running right straight along, whether we have prosperity or not. The same difficulty which caused the convention of the sugar men a few years ago is now confronting the steel men. When all of these different world producers find themselves in the same predicament, then will be seen the absolutely inadequacy of any "reform"

measures to meet this condition of affairs. We must abolish our restrictive competitive system and substitute in its place a system of distributing to the producers what they produce. There is but one

MR. HEARST IS STILL conducting his remarkable campaign for the Presidency with his customary vigor, and it will be very curious to see what he will do if he misses the nomination, and this

YES. IT'S A QUEER BEAST.



TWEEDLEDEE AND TWEEDLEDUM.
IT'S FIXED UP SO THAT ANY TRUST CAN RIDE.
 Patented by David B. Hill.

alternative, the co-operative system. Co-operation implies necessarily the ownership of the means of production by the producers. Let the Nation Own the Trusts.

is what the knowing ones all say will be the case. He has gone so far in his repudiation of the Parker Democracy that if, finally, Parker is nominated, what his course will be it is difficult to

prognosticate. Logically he will be bound to support the Socialist Party candidate. But this, of course, cannot be. Even if he wished to do such a thing he knows that such a course would involve the financial ruin of his many newspaper enterprises, for the people are not ready as yet to support a half-dozen great Socialist dailies. The cartoon which we are running in connection with this article is one that will certainly be used against Hearst by the Republican press if Parker is nominated and Hearst gives him even the most nominal support. Whatever we may say about Hearst's sincerity in his attitude toward the social problem, certainly when he continues to run such socialistic articles as are seen every day in his papers, we know the time is coming when he simply cannot go back. Even the following sketch, which appeared recently in one of his papers, puts him so clearly upon the line of seeking social reform through the readjustment of property ownership, that we can understand the alarm of certain classes at his ascendancy in the political world.

CITY BOY VS. COUNTRY BOY.

ROUTINE OF TENEMENT-HOUSE CHILD.	ROUTINE OF WELL-TO-DO CHILD.
Wakes up oppressed in ill-ventilated room.	Arises refreshed and eager for morning bath.
Eats meagre breakfast.	Eats nourishing breakfast.
Tired and weak at school for lack of nourishment.	Goes to school alert and healthy.
Plays in street when allowed by police.	Plays in sunshine until dusk.
Eats scanty supper, often without meat.	Eats hearty dinner.
Goes to bed in crowded, stuffy room.	Retires in a well-ventilated room.

It is well enough to say that Hearst would simply propose reforms which would give the tenement-house child the same routine as the child of the rich, but it makes little difference what Hearst would propose. It is important to remember that the average man, on reading such

an article, will say that the remedy is to abolish the distinction between the rich and poor and give the children of all the people the advantages which the children of the rich now have, for the country can well afford it. Hearst is a factor that some Socialists are inclined not only to underestimate but to unintentionally misrepresent.

THERE HAS BEEN a great deal said as to what Judge Parker does not say and what Mr. Hearst does say regarding the social problem, but the following from Gen. Grosvenor's new campaign biography of **RADICAL PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT** recently published in the *Congressional Record*, is of considerable interest because it is generally supposed that Roosevelt himself wrote it. In this interesting document, which will go out at the public expense to the voters of the United States and enlighten them as to the Strenuous One, occurs the following :

While the labor problem in a very broad sense is as old as the human race itself, its modern form is a creation of steam and machinery, which have replaced local production within the home for family needs with factory production for a general market. In the course of this evolution the ownership of the tools and other means of production passed from their actual users to those who understood the needs of the market and possessed the ability to assemble materials, organize the workers and dispose of the product where it was wanted.

Formerly each worker was both capitalist and laborer, and therefore himself controlled the conditions under which he worked. But when the worker lost the ownership of his tools he could no longer control the conditions of employment, and it is his struggle to regain such control and to gain a larger share of the joint product of capital and labor that constitutes the modern labor problem.

This is the problem that President Roosevelt, in his first message to Congress, described as the most vital problem with which the country has to deal. Few statesmen of this or any other country have grasped that problem as firmly as has Mr. Roosevelt.

This statement of the labor problem could not have been better made by the

editor of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. The difficulty is that while Roosevelt states the proposition all right he offers no solution. If "in the course of this evolution, the ownership of the tools and means of production passed away from their actual users," then we would like to know why it is that when Mr. Roosevelt knows this he does not propose some method of getting the ownership back to where it belongs. In the President's Minneapolis speech in 1901 he said :

"The vast individual and industrial fortunes, etc., create new conditions and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and nation toward property."

We would ask if the old attitude toward property is changed, how else could it change except to have those former owners, "users" who have been expropriated reinstated in their property? We are afraid that a voter who is thinking of casting his ballot for President Roosevelt under the supposition that he is a conservative, may possibly have something to ponder over if he should read this article. Bryan himself has never said anything half as radical as has Roosevelt. Bryan means what he says, however, and says nothing much, so he is nearly innocuous. Roosevelt means nothing, so he is quite innocuous.

SENATOR T. C. PLATT says that the whole strength of the Democratic Party lies in the spirit of Socialism which is springing up throughout the country. If this is a fact then the Democratic Party has a much more brilliant future before it than we had anticipated. With the exception of Mr. Hearst, with his semi-socialistic program, we can see no indication that the Democratic Party has any more socialistic features than has the Republican Party.

THERE IS ONE GREAT GAIN the Socialists have made the last few years. A vast number of people are learning to know something about Socialism. Of course, it is one thing to teach a man that the national ownership of public utilities is involved in the Socialist program and quite another thing to convince him that such a proposition is good. Until comparatively recently, many people believed that Socialism was simply a plan to break open banks and distribute

THE N. Y.
WORLD
WAKING UP

the money of the rich to the poor at so much per head. Articles like the following from the *New York World* are fast giving the people a more definite idea as to what the Socialists are demanding. It is not as clear as it might be, but it is much better than any which appeared a few months ago :

THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM.

Such incidents as the vote of Chicago by a four-fifths majority in favor of the municipal ownership of street railroads warn us that the time is past when it could be said that America had no room for the spirit of Socialism.

It is true that we have no Bebel heading a solid phalanx of over eighty Socialist Representatives in Congress and backed by three million organized Socialist voters. We have no Jaurès or Millerand. We have little to match the state railroads that are common and the state telegraphs that are universal in Europe, the German state insurance and old-age pensions, the postal savings banks and parcels posts to be found almost everywhere abroad, the municipal car lines, wash-houses, model tenements and lodging-houses of Glasgow and other British cities, the great municipal business blocks of Birmingham, the city stock yards and abattoirs of Paris, the sewage farms of Berlin or the public manufacture of agricultural machinery at Budapest.

But still the spirit of social unrest is manifestly growing among us. Even the organized Socialist parties cast votes enough in 1902 to have decided any Presidential election between the revival of the Democracy under Tilden and its eclipse under Bryan. Within the past two years the Socialists have elected about a hundred candidates to office, including three members of the Massachusetts Legislature and the Mayors of five towns in four States.

But the Socialist parties are the least significant part of the Socialist movement. It is the extent to which Socialist ideas have permeated

the great parties and the common thought of the people that really counts. "Jones of Toledo" was a Republican, but when he ran as an independent candidate for Mayor on the platform of the Golden Rule he got more votes than the candidates of both the regular parties combined. Tom Johnson was a Democrat, and was elected Mayor of Cleveland on the issue of municipal street-car lines and three-cent fares.

Most of the Populists of the West were originally Republicans, and in 1892 they gave Weaver, an ex-Republican, over a million votes. The Democratic State Convention in South Dakota has urged the acquisition of all the railroads by the National Government. The last Democratic Convention in New York advocated the "national ownership and operation of the anthracite coal mines."

Our pension system is only a step from the general old-age pension of Germany. It is now costing us almost as much, even in advance of the returns from the new Roosevelt edict, as it would cost to pay a pension of \$100 a year to every man in the United States over sixty-five years old.

Our tariff system has brought up a whole generation in a Socialistic atmosphere. It has discouraged individual initiative and has taught young men to look to the Government for help instead of to themselves.

But the most persuasive of all the evangelists of Socialism has been trust finance. Socialists recognized it as their ally from the very start. In its feeble infancy it inspired "Looking Backward." Theoretical Socialists would have found it hard to wean Americans from their inherited love of personal independence, but when Wall street enabled them to say with plausibility that the issue was not between public and private enterprise, but between monopoly for the public benefit and monopoly for private profit, it put a weapon into their hands of which they have made effective use.

As the editor of the *World* says, there is no doubt that the most persuasive of all the evangelists of Socialism has been the Trusts. When the people really recognize that it is a choice between public and private monopoly, there is no question but that public monopoly is going to win. In another article the *World* has the following to say :

In the most remarkable "get-rich-quick" interview which was ever printed in a newspaper, Thomas W. Lawson, of Boston, told the readers of last Sunday's *World* why high financiers intrust millions of dollars to each other with never a scrap of paper to show for the money. Said Mr. Lawson, speaking of a case in which the profits to the group of rich men were to reach \$46,000,000 :

"The reason is not that one wants to trust the other, but because he has to. If they put their

agreement in writing and made a record that could be taken to court they couldn't get the \$46,000,000."

What this means is thus explained :

"I mean that, as society and the law are constituted, it is an absolute impossibility for a few men to make \$46,000,000 profit legally."

The money for the profit, Mr. Lawson declares, "must have belonged to the public, the people," and it must have been "taken away from the people by a handful of men * * * by what we may call a Trick of Finance."

Reduced to simplest terms, Mr. Lawson's proposition is that not even men able to swing millions can by their exercise with the dollars force returns legally above the rates set by natural laws of increase.

Now it cannot be questioned but what with the awakening of the people to the faults of the existing system, which the *World* gives us in such articles, we are sooner or later going to get to the point where we will decide to make a change. The *World* suggests no plan whatsoever, not even does it think the election of Mr. Hearst as President would do any good. We are keeping the existing system because we do not realize how bad it is. When we finally realize that it is a bad system, and a very bad one, we will then commence to look around for a new system and it will be in order for the *World* and other newspapers which are giving such articles as the above, to suggest some other plan than Socialism as the new system for us to adopt. If they have no other plan then they must come to Socialism.

THE SUPREME COURT has decided that the Anarchist Law which was used against John Turner, is constitutional. This means that any foreigner who is shown to be an Anarchist, can be excluded from the United States. The law establishes a dangerous precedent, but that it will ever have any practical bearing upon the future social problem is a matter of doubt. We Americans will probably solve our own

THE TURNER
CASE

problems without any need of calling in foreigners for instruction. However, the bill itself is a remarkable confession of the weakness of our political institutions if we fear the words of foreigners overturning them. It is an easy step now to legally suppress free speech of the native American.

and fifty per cent. greater than for the corresponding year of ten years previous. All of this is again in line with the general theory that the United States is approaching a great crisis of overproduction. In our efforts to free ourselves from the burden of unconsumed goods, we are going to engulf Europe and all the world in a great industrial catastrophe.

THE STANDARD OIL Company has just declared a dividend of \$8.00 a share, which means \$8,000,000 goes to its stockholders this quarter, making in all \$24,000,000 in the last six months that the Standard Oil Co. has disbursed, and \$205,000,000 since and including the year of 1897. It does not take very much figuring to see how such tremendous profits enable the Standard Oil people to buy up everything worth having in the United States.

PRESIDENT DIAZ OF MEXICO, who is practically the dictator of that nation, has noticed that the private ownership of railways in the United States results in the political organization becoming subordinated to the industrial organization, and has resolved to prevent his own overthrow by inaugurating a system of national ownership of railways in Mexico. It is interesting to note that this event has come about because one

THE DEPRESSION in the domestic market has naturally resulted in our manufacturers seeking foreign countries as a market for their wares. Foreign exports for the year will probably run over \$440,000,000. The only year in which these figures have been approached was 1900, when they reached \$433,000,000. This year's exports to date are two hundred

MEXICO NATIONALIZES ITS RAILWAYS man, Diaz, is at the head of the political organization and is in a position to do as he pleases regarding the industrial organization from the fact that he is in autocratic control. The same condition of affairs is seen in Russia where the Czar, being in absolute political control, has seen to it that the State owns the railways and many of the industrial undertakings which in the United States are in the hands of Rockefeller, Morgan & Co.

IS IT ALWAYS PROGRESS?

Where wet wood-violets fringed a river shore
 And lilies clung about the dripping oar—
 You see a line of smoking chimney shafts,
 And hear the factory's muffled evil roar.

Isabella H. Fiske in *Home and Flowers*.

SOCIALISM INEVITABLE DESPITE SOCIALISTS

BERNARD SHAW SHOCKED some of us a few years ago by saying how wonderfully Socialism grew in spite of all the efforts of Socialists. I suppose few of us who have been for any length of time in the Socialist movement but will understand the true inwardness of Shaw's remark.

The Socialists have the virtue of being honest in their politics and the advantage of a sound basis for their arguments. The flowing tide is with us and inexorably so and very fortunate for us that it is so, for if ever there were a body of men who do things to set the tide against themselves it is we Socialists. When we wish to say the rich we say the *bourgeoisie*, and when we wish to say a workingman we say a *proletaire*, and then we wait for the crowd to stand and gape at our wisdom in being able to use words that nobody in it understands.

Professor G. D. Herron has an excellent article in the May number of the *International Socialist Review* apropos of the foregoing, and I herewith give an extract and furthermore counsel all to send on ten cents to Chicago and get the entire article.

We must make sure, when we as Socialists come to the working class, that we come as the servants of its own struggle for emancipation; and make doubly sure that we do not come seeking to use its struggle for the accomplishment of ambitious ends of our own.

The Socialist movement must come speaking the language of the people, the familiar accents of the daily life, and not come in the mere language of economic dogma. We have become almost as

prone as the priests to rehearse traditional phrases, very often not knowing the meaning of the phrases we use. Instead of dealing with the facts and conditions before our eyes, in the language of the common life, we repeat abstract propositions that neither capitalist nor workingman understands. We give the impression that Socialism is a social theory to be imposed instead of an explanation of society and its struggles. No matter how profound our philosophy or propositions, we must state them in the customary and familiar terms and words that the people use in work and business if we expect the people to understand us. The effect or authority of a statement is not to be measured by the pretentiousness of its wording. The social resolution will not come through the constant reiteration and re-translation of the doctrines of Marx. It is not to come by declaring from lecture-room, or street corner, or propaganda tract, that there is but one social revolution, and that Marx is its prophet. Nobody tried harder to make clear the need of adaptation in Socialist effort and phraseology than Engels. And it is adaptation we must learn—learn to set forth the principles and facts of Socialism in a very human language. It is, indeed, rather remarkable that we who have insisted that Socialism must come as a working class movement should go to the working class with a language that is academic; and that we should train the workingman to attempt to reach his fellow-workers through an academic phrasing, through a Socialist orthodoxy, that is really meaningless to the educated classes themselves. Socialism is not coming as an orthodoxy, but as a breaking forth of fresh life upon the world. It is the break of human spring-time, after the long winter of human slavery. Its language must be as fresh, as sweet to human hearts and hopes,

as the first words of the child, or the first bloom of the lilac or the rose.

To this end, must our American movement translate its efforts and appeals into the terms of American life and experience. This principle of adaptation requires no compromise in the fundamentals of Socialist philosophy. It merely requires that we speak a language, that we work with means, which the country we live in may understand. Our American development and experience have been very different from the experience of the European nations. Our American habit of mind is very different from that of Europe. I am by no means saying that our habit of mind is more desirable than that of Europe; I am merely saying that if we are to change the American mind into a Socialist mind, we must appeal to mental states that actually exist in the American, and make our Socialism intelligible to his way of looking at things.

For instance, American institutions and history pivot upon the idea of individual liberty. However false we have been to the idea, however hypocritical or servile we may have become before private wealth, it is still true that our political and industrial experience has been that of the glorified and independent individuality. Now Socialism should come to American life as the real and ransomed individualism. We should present Socialism as the co-operation of all men for the individual liberty of each man. We should send forth the Socialist as the herald and defender of the American liberty which has been so betrayed by capitalist politics and teachings. We should seize the sentiment and dynamic which imperialism has thrown away. We should come proclaiming the Socialist movement as the savior of our lost liberties. We should set forth economic co-operation as a means to the end of complete individual liberty for all men.

And then, as Socialists, we need to give more attention to questions of efficiency. Martin Luther used to declare that the devil had all the good music and the Christians all that was not fit to

sing; and it sometimes seems that capitalism has all the efficiency of administration and the Socialist movement all the inefficiency and bungling. If we are to present a coherent and conquering front before organized capitalism, we must learn how to so make use of our forces that the right man will be given the right work to do. It is not enough for a man to ostentatiously proclaim himself a Socialist, in order to give him the administration of the party, or the editorship of a newspaper. Some things are necessary to the power and success of the Socialist movement besides merely being a Socialist. The success of the movement depends upon the efficiency of organization and administration, as well as upon subscription to Socialist doctrines. We shall never get anywhere through misplaced responsibility, misdirected activity and badly organized public meetings. We must learn how to find a work for each comrade, that is true; but we must learn some sense in giving the work of administration to men who have been fitted by some sort of experience and training to do it. The wonder is that the Socialist movement grows so rapidly with so much bad management. We must learn from capitalism to put a premium upon efficiency; learn to give the various posts of service to men who are fitted to efficiently fill them.

For instance, if a speaker is sent for to come some hundreds of miles to speak at a mass meeting, it is not good sense or efficient propaganda to have him preceded by some half-dozen local speakers, so that when he arises to speak it is to a jaded and impatient audience, which he must keep until nearly midnight if he is to deliver his message. And the familiar plea that this must be done in order to be democratic, and to avoid personal jealousies, is a wretched reflection upon the comrades themselves. Democracy does not consist in the equal balancing of utterly petty and puerile jealousies. I cannot for a moment believe that such jealousies exist, nor can I think that any number of comrades have so stupid a notion of democracy. If I did, I should despair of what would happen if Socialism should come into power.

And, in every sort of a way, inefficient and disintegrating management, or rather hopeless mismanagement, has marked so much of our Socialist effort, that it is time we began to learn that the success of our movement depends upon efficiency of method and organization, as well as upon noise or soundness of economic doctrine.

The Socialist can no longer neglect what we might call the ethical or spiritual appeal. Our healthy distrust of mere sentimentalism, our certain knowledge of the disasters of Utopianism, has led us too far from the flaming altar at the heart of our Socialist movement. That altar is the sense of justice in the common life. It is to this sense of justice we must appeal, if we are to evoke the cleansing revolutionary flame that is to purify the world. It is upon the burning and obvious righteousness of our cause that we must depend for its power to conquer. The Socialist movement must have a spirit as well as a body; it must have a soul inside of its economics. It must take the place of the old religions in its power to command the exalted faith and devotion of the people. Socialism may translate into life, into world-creating energy, that aspiration and idealism which religions have absorbed and robbed the world of. The instinct of justice, the yearning for a universal well-being, the desire for social perfection, is deep in the life of the common man. It is for the Socialist to draw upon this human fund of spiritual instinct and turn it to account. We must show that the economic basis of Socialism is also the sole ground of spiritual liberation and fellowship; the soil out of which ransomed love must grow and blossom in the life of man.

Our movement is founded upon the question of bread, it is true, but not because we hold that man lives by bread alone. It is that until the bread question is solved, through the free and equal access of all men to the means of life, every other question is but a part of the grand evasion, a part of the universal impudence, of the world's teachers. It means that until all men have free and abundant bread, no man may begin to

fully and freely live. The quality of our economic distribution is the true measure of our spiritual quality. Equality and abundance of bread are the test and source of brotherhood and real spirituality. The Socialist affirms that the question of bread, the question of economic freedom and justice, is the most commanding spiritual task to which man has ever been summoned. Socialism is the spiritualization of the world. It comes as the first actual programme for the liberation of the human spirit. For to own another's bread, is to own his soul. They who own the sources and tools of production and distribution, who own the things upon which the people depend, are the substantial owners of the world's thoughts, its laws, its social affections. To try to make a good world, while ignoring the economic basis of life, is but to be a hypocrite and a trifle. The way in which the world gets its work done, the manner and ratio of distributing the products of that work, the equality or inequality of bread and opportunity, are the real and only indices of the world's spiritual or ethical quality. We must show that our economic philosophy is the first actual demand that has ever been made upon man for a practical and common righteousness. We must show to the people, who have so long accepted what is as sacredly right, that the present kinds of righteousness are founded upon brute force, upon sheer economic might; that what is, is might, not right. We must show that, up to the present time, all that the world has called right has been founded in might, and show how the hid and almost unuttered common might must be changed into a righteousness of an altogether new kind. We must proclaim that it is not right that the few are degraded by their over-much, and the many wasted and blighted by the wretched little which they have won by anxiety and struggle; that it is not right that some people should own the things upon which all people depend; that there can be no basis for right living in a society that is the arena of economic competition and inequality.

No one but the Socialist is in a position which gives him any right to appeal

to the sense of right. No one but the Socialist can lay the basis and prepare the human soil for a righteousness that shall be real. It is therefore urgent that we should not neglect, much less scorn, the appeal which is ours, and only ours, to the sense of righteousness in the people. It is ours to feed the altar fire at the heart of the Socialist movement until the purified world shall walk in the light of it.

Is the human world great enough to match the greatness of its approaching opportunity? Does the spiritual fund that the centuries have accumulated bulk large enough to carry us through the door into the new world which the crisis of capitalism will open? Will mankind go back into the melting-pot, into new dark ages, and history enter another cycle of suffering and preparation? Or shall we enter the world of co-operative labor, of the fellowship that shall bear us beyond our sordid good and evil, of the ransomed love that shall make each human life a world-ecstasy?

It is the Socialist only who can answer this question; and no such question has ever been placed before man; no such test or trial of human worth has ever weighed the quality of men. It is the question which is to weigh the worth of the Socialist movement. If we have the power to be democratic, without being factional and petty; if we have the power to be mobile and fluid in our politics, without evasion or compromise; if we seek the triumph of the Socialist movement, and not merely the triumph of a political party in the name of Socialism; if we have power to forget ourselves in the hope of the good that is to come to the whole; if our effort is toward the creation of power in the people and not the gaining of power over the people; if the Socialist movement shall present to the world an altogether new and nobler quality of man;—then may we become the creators of the new world wherein dwelleth the justice of love, and its universal liberty.

They never fail who die

In a great cause: the block may soak their gore;
 Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
 Be strung to city gates and castle walls—
 But still their spirit walks abroad. 'Tho' years
 Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
 They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
 Which overpower all others, and conduct
 The world at last to freedom.

—Byron.

CHECKERS—A New Play with a New Moral

PROBABLY no form of art reflects the thought and emotion of a people more truly than the drama. Mr. Blossom's "Checkers," the popular play of the year, is worth an examination from the sociological standpoint. Last season was one of the worst financially for the theatres that has ever been known; hundreds of plays failed and companies were stranded on the road. "Checkers" was almost the single exception to the general rule. Rejected by fifteen different managers, it was finally accepted with much doubt and trembling. It's no small thing to make a mistake and take up a play that will not go. It means thousands of dollars lost to the manager who makes a bad guess. However, there need have been no fears about "Checkers," for, as said, it was the great success of the season. Now, why is this? Let us analyze. The acting is something, but good acting, no matter how good, will never make a poor play succeed. Mr. Ross, who takes the title role, is thought to have made a great hit, and the press has been full of his praise, but the part is probably more responsible for his popularity than his talent. The part plays itself. Miss Katherine Mulkins as the heroine has probably had as much to do with the success of the play as Mr. Ross, for she unites beauty and good acting in a very unusual way, although her part gives her little scope for the latter.

But granting the play is well acted, that does not by any means explain its remarkable success in having struck the popular chord. When we analyze it we are not surprised that fifteen managers

turned it down before the one brave one appeared who would accept the gift of the gods.

This is the plot shortly. Checkers is a young fellow who makes his living by following the races, finding out what horses are most likely to win and placing his bets upon them. The play opens showing the office of a hotel at Hot Springs, Arkansas. There is a rich young man, Kendall, there who seems to devote most of his energies to keeping outside of whiskey. He is Checkers' particular chum. He is not a pleasing youth in any way and a number of people arrive at the shrewd conclusion that Checkers keeps him drunk in order to bleed him. However, this is really a mistake, although apparently Checkers did not seem to try very hard to keep him from drinking until the heroine appears and begs him to use his influence to that end. He promises, but before he can find him Kendall has managed to stagger into a gambling house and come out again twelve hundred dollars to the good playing roulette. Then Checkers gets Kendall to return to his native town before he loses his winnings that he may sober up there. The next act shows Checkers also in the same town, he having taken a place as clerk in Kendall's father's store there in order to be near the heroine, who also lives in the same village.

However, the father of the heroine upon discovering how the ground lies orders Checkers away from the house and refusing to consider a gambler as a prospective son-in-law unless he can go out into the world and return within the

year with five thousand dollars honestly earned. There is an affectionate parting between the lovers wherein the heroine gives Checkers her locket, which is a California gold piece worth fifty dollars. Checkers goes out to make the five thousand and finds it difficult to make five cents, for the next scene shows him absolutely stranded, having been reduced to work at running an elevator for five dollars per week. He has promised not to gamble any more, but he cannot resist the temptation to go to the race track and the scene shows him there. He notices a well-known racing man get a telegram and guesses that it contains an important tip. The man tears up the message and throws it to the ground. Our hero picks up the pieces and upon assembling them discovers that a hundred to one shot, a horse, Remorse, is to win the race. After a severe battle with himself he finally decides to bet his sweetheart's gold fifty dollar piece upon Remorse, with the result that he wins five thousand dollars. Checkers' agitation during the race, with the crowd at the race track in the background of the stage, makes a very effective scene. Checkers then goes back to the village to see his girl and while there deposits his five thousand dollars in his prospective father-in-law's bank in order to rescue the bank from suspending during a run. The banker relents when he hears of Checkers' action and forthwith presents him with his daughter. Then another nice, pretty girl takes the drunken gambling Kendall

to wed and the curtain drops amidst tumultuous applause.

The story of Checkers is given at some length because it is very significant that a play having such a character for its hero should be so immensely popular. Certainly it is not so very many years back when the idea of making a hero out of a man who was a race gambler and who risked his sweetheart's souvenir in the betting ring would have been scouted as ridiculous.

The old style play had a hero who was a good young man of the John D. Rockefeller type, saved his money, never bet, and taught in Sunday School. It's probably been a number of years since the general public had much use for this kind of a hero, but the old novels and plays made their winnings by presenting such a hero, and the managers did not know the public taste was ready for a change.

We have given up believing that the race of life is to the good little boys who save their money, for we know too many who fail at that game and we know too many who win who never tried it.

Our ideal hero may not be a race track gambler, but we are commencing to realize that the good things of life are often more likely to go to the gambler than the virtuous.

This realization should not make us idealize the vicious, but try to institute a system of society in which the virtuous shall surely be rewarded, and in which there will be no wicked to punish.

The heart in thee is the heart of all; not a valve, not a wall, not an intersection is there anywhere in nature, but one blood rolls uninterruptedly and endless circulation through all men, as the water of the globe is all one sea,

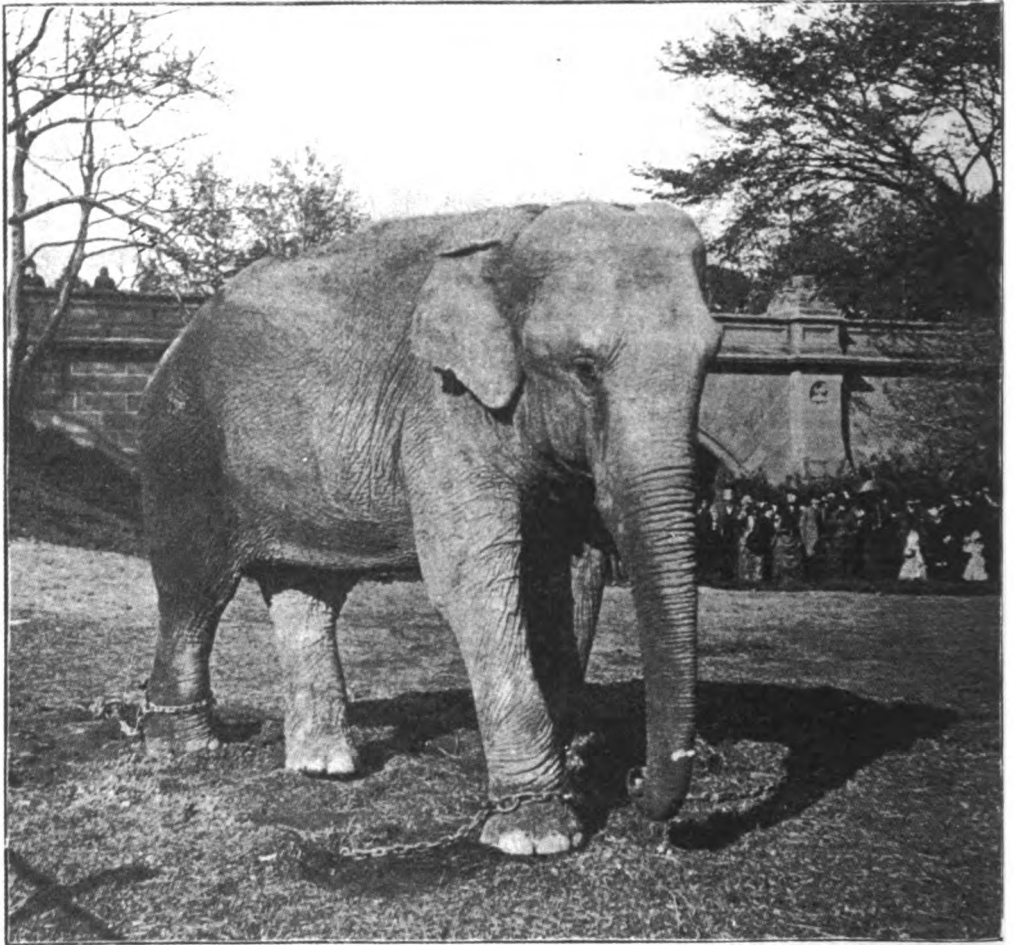
and, truly seen, its tide is one. — *Emerson.*

Men never break down as long as they can keep cheerful. "A merry heart is a continual feast to others, besides itself."—*Lord Avebury*

THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING AN ELEPHANT

THE philosophic mind cannot help remarking in walking through the beautiful Central Park of New York city, that while a great deal has been done to give joy to man in his leisure moments, for such necessities would be looked upon as a lunatic.

We are quite certain that many a poor man looks at the elephants, chained up in the park and sure of a living as long



still there is but little done for him that would give him the real necessities of life. We give free housing and food to elephants and other animals in the park menagerie, but the man who would ask as they live, who would be quite contented to wear the chain if he could have an assurance of the free living given to the elephant. It's an advantage to have the hide of an elephant.

PROSPERITY IN IRON, FURNITURE AND ORANGES—NIT

IT MUST be remembered that right now is the time when trade in this country should be booming if it is ever to boom.

If ever capitalists are to make money and workmen to have high wages now is the time for it.

Why?

Simply because all the conditions that should make for prosperity are present, good crops on the farms, with high prices and a heavy foreign demand for manufactured goods as the result of the war between Russia and Japan.

But do we see many signs of prosperity? Not much.

On the contrary wages are being reduced and profits are fast vanishing.

The great United States Steel Trust, that Leviathan of Trusts, after all its blow and bluster has only been able to lay up some 32 million dollars in three years of boom, and now finds itself running behind at the rate of 9 million per quarter, which means that in the next nine months it will have lost all the profits of three years. Of course when we say loss we must remember that included in the expenditure were the dividends upon the watered stock and interest on the bonds.

Mr. Hearst is trying to make a big point against the Steel Trust because it is reducing wages although it confessedly holds a big surplus. Hearst says the surplus is 90 million but that is as near as Hearst usually gets things, and a little difference of 40 million or so is nothing when we are discussing principles. The surplus is 57 million and 25 of this was paid in at the formation of the Trust,

so the surplus earned in the last three years is but 32 million or about 10 million a year.

Now 57 million is not much working capital for a billion dollar concern, and the most direct evidence of this is to be seen when we remember that it is now running behind at rate of 9 millions per quarter—that is if it continues to pay its 7 per cent. interest on the preferred stock. There is 400 million of this stock and 7 per cent. takes 28 million per year. However, we may count pretty well upon the cutting of this dividend next July, and, in fact, WILSHIRE's prophesied this to be inevitable some six months ago.

Where Hearst makes his mistake is in attributing all the industrial wrongs of the day to the individual men rather than to the system. He would have us believe that if he were president that while the capitalist would have his profits the workingman would always have good wages, for Hearst has no idea of abolishing either profits or wages. Now undoubtedly part of the wrongs of to-day are due to the greed of the capitalists, but the great part of the trouble exists in the competitive system itself, and if the capitalists were all as good and as generous as Hearst himself the laborer nevertheless would be robbed of his earnings by the workings of the inexorable competitive wage system.

The Steel Trust will be unable to pay dividends upon its stock, either common or preferred, unless there is a better demand for iron and steel than there is at present. This is no theory—it is simply mathematics. Let Hearst simply figure out how much a ton profit is made on

the steel now being turned out and show a different result.

However, it is not part of his game now to present the side of the capitalists. The people do not want any excuses made for the capitalists. They want to damn Morgan and Rockefeller and continue to think that the present competitive wage system is a heaven-born institution that would effect equal justice to all were it not for the machinations of the bad capitalists. How electing Hearst for president would help all this nobody knows, but most of the kickers will undoubtedly vote for him if given a chance at the November election.

However, while such votes are stupid, yet they are hardly as stupid as those cast by the kickers for Roosevelt.

The Hearst people know that something is wrong and are registering a kick. The Roosevelt people know that something is wrong, yet they say everything is lovely.

The Socialists are the only ones who know something is wrong and who will vote for the right remedy—Socialism.

Speaking of bad times now coming on here is a significant item taken from the *New York Commercial*:

Discussing present conditions, Albert Wanner, Jr., American manager for Thonet Bros., No. 860 Broadway, the largest dealers in Austrian bent wood furniture in the world, said yesterday:

"Trade in fine furniture—the other kinds, too, for that matter—has been exceedingly dull for a year past. We cover all parts of the United States, Canada, Mexico and the West Indies and know whereof we speak. Lack of confidence in the future prosperity of the country is the principal reason for this condition of affairs. While I am not at all pessimistic, I know that a feeling of nervousness and depression is everywhere prevalent, though I am at a loss to account for it. We have lost the spring season, and can now only hope for a clearing of the atmosphere after the presidential election in time for the fall and winter trade."

Mr. Wanner finds it hard to account for bad times in the furniture trade, and

thinks it probably due to "lack of confidence." Now let us suppose Mr. Wanner was the holder of a block of stock in the Steel Trust. Suppose he held some of both the common and of the preferred stock. Last year he got 4 per cent. on his common and 7 per cent. on his preferred. Now he knows he will never see any more dividends paid on his common stock and he is commencing to think he may even lose his dividends on his preferred stock. Last year he may have had an income of \$10,000 from his steel stock. This year he knows he will not get over \$5,000, and next year he may not get a cent. Do you think, if Mr. Wanner was in this position, he would be hunting up a furniture store in order to re-furnish his house? Suppose someone told him that he was foolish not to buy furniture, and that he was only holding off on account of an absurd and unfounded "lack of confidence." We think if Mr. Wanner was in this position he would not have to go far to find the reason why he was not in the market for furniture. Now let us tell Mr. Wanner that there are many thousands of men in just this position and this is the reason why they are not buying furniture and this is the reason why the furniture business is "exceedingly dull."

But all this applies to only a small part of the community who are finding their ability to buy curtailed, namely, the small capitalists who have been counting upon their dividends from Steel Trust stock and other watered stock which Morgan & Co. loaded upon them so generously a couple of years ago.

There is also the class of salaried employees who have had their salaries cut and seen their ranks depleted by the wholesale economies affected in salesmen and office force by concentration, the result of the Trusts.

Then there is the great class of workmen who have either lost their jobs altogether or have had their wages reduced. They, too, are not saying it is "lack of confidence" which deters them from buying brass bedsteads and Austrian bent wood ware. It is "lack of dough" and not "lack of confidence" that is keeping them out of Mr. Wanner's store.

While the Eastern farmer with his wheat and the Southern planter with his cotton is enjoying more than usual prosperity owing to war prices, the California orange-grower is, as usual, getting it in the neck—only more so this year.

The finest California oranges have been selling at retail from the push-carts on the streets in New York this winter at from one to two cents each. Undoubtedly this has been a boon to the poor, but it has spelled bankruptcy to many a California orange-grower. The freight on a box of oranges from California to New York is 90 cents. This is an outrageous rate, the same rate as it has been for twenty years, but the Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific have a close combine and there is no hope of any reduction. A box of oranges weighs seventy pounds and has on an average about 140 oranges in it.

It costs nearly fifty cents to pick the box of oranges from the tree, haul it to the packing house, pack and grade it and load it into the car and pay the agent's commission for the selling. Add this to the 90 cents freight and you have a cost of \$1.40 for 140 oranges or one cent apiece. This is not counting any retailers' profits.

There have been thousands of boxes of oranges sold in the auction houses in New York this winter for less than a \$1.40.

This means that the California grower

has had to foot the difference. If a box sells for only one dollar then it seems that he must pay 40 cents loss on the box to meet the freight and packing expenses, in addition to paying the cost of raising the oranges on his trees.

And many a grower has had to do this during the past season. After expending money for irrigating and for fertilizers, for labor, for taxes, for horse feed and repairs to farm implements, he not only fails to get paid for his crop but he actually has had to pay money out for the privilege of sending the fruit to New York. There is no farmer in the world that has to face such a terrible risk as does the California orange grower.

He has for years past been giving up his labor and money in getting thousands of orange trees into bearing and now, when the time has come which he has been looking forward to, he finds, instead of his oranges selling for a sum which will repay him for his trouble, there is a deficit.

The Eastern farmer may have a bad time when crops fail or when prices are low, but he is not forced to pay all the expenses of his farm and then forced to pay out still more money to market his crop and finally not get a cent in return. The root of the trouble is easy to find. It is "over-production." There are more oranges being raised than the people can buy. It is true that if freight rates were reduced the market would be somewhat enlarged, but even so this would be but postponing the evil day. If oranges were sent from California to New York at cost, say twenty-five cents a box, it would not be many years anyway before production would overtake consumption and the growers would again be selling at less than cost.

As long as our competitive wage system endures, limiting the mass of the people in their expenditure and at the same time unduly stimulating the grow-

ers in their production, "over-production" is sure to exist. The only remedy for the orange grower is a combination upon the same lines found so successful with manufacturers.

The man that grows oranges must meet conditions exactly as the man who makes sugar. Get the producers together and have them agree to restrict production and fix selling prices.

This is not so hard with sugar refiners. There are but a few of them so it is simply a half-dozen men coming together and agreeing to shut down their refineries, fixing prices at a profitable figure and then sitting tight until the public buys their sugar. This is easy enough with a few sugar refiners, but it's a different story with several thousand orange growers and with orange trees that will not stop growing oranges like a sugar refinery will stop making sugar. You cannot lock up an orange grove, take the key and put it in your pocket. The orange trees do not seem to know anything about the laws of trade, and will persist in growing oranges whether or not there is a market, price or no price. The orange growers must get together and destroy their surplus product and fix their price on the remainder at a figure that will allow all a fair profit and also leave a surplus to remunerate those growers whose oranges were de-

stroyed in order to protect the market from "over-production."

This sounds like an impossible plan. It certainly is a cruel one. But after all competition is cruel and if we are to play the game successfully we must be cruel.

Anyway, until the orange growers do follow this plan they will be doomed year after year to see their oranges selling at less than cost until so many growers are bankrupted that the orange production will so fall off that a lessened crop will bring prices up once more to a remunerative level.

This seems a stupid way of getting at the result. As far as the consumer is concerned the final result is about the same.

The wheat farmer can stop planting wheat and sow some other crop when wheat prices fall too low, but the orange grower must produce oranges or nothing. Growing oranges in California has a sweet fascination for the Eastern man who has never had the experience but for those who have gone against the game it is about as discouraging a thing as ever a man tried. The orange grower knows that no matter who is elected next time that he will be soaked all the same. But he will whoop it up for Roosevelt or Hearst just as if his life depended on the issue all the same. He is a poor ass.

POVERTY

LILIA DE WITT

Have you dwelt in the chill of that shadow
That strikes through the blood to the bone?
Do you know what it is to be hungry,
And homeless, and old, and alone?
Have you stretched your spent limbs on the
pavement,
And had for your pillow, a stone?

Have you toiled 'neath the weight of that
shadow
As brutes toil, despairing and dumb,
Has the burden been laid on your manhood
Till every good impulse was numb?
Have you slaved without hope and a blessing,
And lived on a curse and a crumb?

Have you seen some loved face in the shadow
Grow grey in its darkness and gloom
While without lay the Lord's blessed sun-
shine?
There was room, yes, God knows there was
room,

But someone had bought up the sunshine,
And love found no place but the tomb.

Have you tried to escape from that shadow
Like a thief from his prison of stone?
Have you crawled through its gloom, torn
and bleeding,

And found yourself never alone?
It is greed that is casting the shadow,
And grasping God's earth for its own.

Oh, the night and the blight of the shadow!
No language its terrors can tell,
One must pass, as did Dante, the portal,
And tread the deep caverns of hell,
One must thrill to the wail of the lost ones
Condemned in its darkness to dwell,

One must dwell with the souls in the shadow
To know what they feel in their need.
For all are God's, made in His image
And all are His children who bleed.

Pasadena, California.

A SHOT AT SHAKESPEARE

FRANK STUHLMAN

IT IS a sign of mordant morality when brilliancy is worshipped without distinction as to right and truth. It is anti-democratic—a recrudescence of the theory that the king can do no wrong. The Shakespearean idolatry along with the Napoleon revival and the imperial idea is a manifestation of reactionary principles. Ernest Crosby, the genial iconoclast, stirred up a literary hornets' nest (more buzz than sting, however), by simply pointing out what must be apparent to even the casual reader, that Shakespeare was a tool of aristocracy and royalty. After giving him full credit as a man of intellect there is nothing else to be said for him personally. As Emerson said of Webster: "He has a great intellect, but what is that when the rest of the man is gone?"

Shakespeare was ever the subservient lackey of the aristocracy and great was his gain in pelf thereby. Witness the slavish dedications of "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece," two mediocre poems, to the Earl of Southampton. For which fulsome adulation the Earl paid in good hard cash. To gain the favor of Elizabeth and her court he whitewashed the character of that most despised of Kings—Henry VIII. To gain the patronage of the nobility he always condemned the people. To keep the favor of the lowest class (the bread and circus variety) who had the cheerful custom of throwing stale eggs, vegetables and the less fragrant but harder bricks at managers whose productions did not suit their critical tastes, he loaded his plays with unnatural horrors and coarse buffoonery.

It is axiomatic that no pure stream can flow from an impure source. This fact vitiates all of Shakespeare's work. He was a loose thinker, and a much looser liver. He only married the woman who became his wife when forced to, and practically deserted her afterwards for years. In London he had relations with several notorious women. One of them was the theme of many of his sonnets. Of his wife he only wrote one line and that was the effort of the man to reach out of his grave and insult. In his will are these words: "Item—To my wife I give my second best bed and its furniture." This is all. He cared so little for the rights of his children that he, who appreciated the advantage of education and knew the blight of ignorance, allowed one of his daughters to grow to a womanhood so ignorant that she was unable to write her own name.

As an example of the depths to which Shakespearean idol worship may descend is the position of a "reverend" gentleman who wrote a book wherein he points with pride that Mary Fitton, an ancestress of his, a mistress whom Pembroke and Shakespeare shared between them, was the dark lady of the sonnets.

In London his associates were Greene, Marlowe and the rest of that God-defying, atheistic and reckless band of roisterers and playwrights; or, when possible, he forsook them to mingle in the revels of "rakehelly" young noblemen led by Pembroke and Southampton.

He had no literary integrity. Evidently in his edition of the Decalogue, "Thou shalt not steal" was omitted. For he appropriated without scruple or credit

the work of other men, until Greene described him as "an upstart crow made beautiful in our feathers." It is generally held that it is as bad morality to take without credit the product of a man's brain as it is to filch his purse; and Shakespeare plundered right and left. But his idolaters only consider it another mark of his greatness. "How he adorns all he steals!" they exclaim in admiration. It is another phase of the same spirit that excuses the trust magnates in their robbery of the people, because they, with a fraction of their loot, adorn some church or university or library.

The idolaters tell us that Shakespeare was so broad-minded, so many-sided, so true in personifying life that no one can tell what his personal principles were. The truth is he had no principles except the one of the famous Vicar of Bray, or our own "Bird o'Freedom Saw-in." He was "true to one party" and that party was himself. He always kept on the sunny side of the hedge. By judiciously devoting his pen to the service of aristocracy he accumulated a fortune, something no other playwright of his day accomplished.

While Shakespeare's dramas show him to be a partisan of royalty, in religion he seems to share the agnostic views of Greene and Marlowe. This fact the keen and acute mind of Robert G. Ingersoll grasped, and because they stood upon the same religious platform, quite as much as from admiration of the poet's genius, the gifted orator joined the Shakespearean idolaters.

Michelet observes: "Shakespeare is judicial, skeptical and in a word anti-Christian. When the name of God occurs in Shakespeare it is only rarely and by chance and unaccompanied by the shadow of religious sentiment." His idea of death as exemplified in "The

Tempest," "Measure for Measure," "Macbeth," and "Hamlet" is either the final darkness of the grave or the unlit unknown.

All through his plays runs contempt of the people as beasts of burden fit only to minister to the pleasures of their rulers. If he mentions any man or party that favored equal privileges it is to defame. In that day when the Puritan stood for all that was best in England Shakespeare filled "Twelfth Night" with sneers and covert illusions to them, now obscure and not understood, but at that time highly relished by the *elite*. In Henry V. is a base caricature, in the character of Falstaff, of Sir John Oldcastle, a brave and noble soldier, the shield of the people, the buckler of the Lollards and the upholder of religious freedom, who sealed his fate at the stake. Still more false is the portrayal of Jack Cade in the second part of Henry VI. The reader will find the "rebel" described as a murdering, lustful ruffian, when the historic truth is the very reverse.

Who Jack Cade was is an historical mystery. But no matter whether Mortimer or another he struck a good blow for the "good old cause" and is worthy of honor by those who believe in justice rather than Shakespeare. Jack Cade came from the wars in France, handsome, gallant and a born leader of men. The Kentish men were restless under oppressive laws. The time was ripe and the man was at hand. He proclaimed himself Mortimer, for political reasons, doubtless, and with 20,000 men marched for London. Two actions they fought with the royal troops and defeated them. He was brave in battle and wise in council and soon was master of London. The royal party played again the same treacherous game that rendered Wat Tyler's insurrection futile. They parleyed and

agreed to receive the "Complaint of the Men of Kent" which they had before spurned. They made specious promises and granted pardons to all who would return to their homes. The fainthearted deserted, the credulous believed and Cade's army began to melt away. In vain the wise leader strove to hold them together. Day by day his force melted away and a fierce onslaught by the King's army scattered the remaining troops and Cade only escaped to be, when weak with wounds and famished, murdered for the reward upon his head. Shakespeare represents Cade as plundering the city, when, in fact, he kept the sternest order, even hanging one of his officers who broke into a citizen's house. Shakespeare says all things were proclaimed in common, extending even to men's wives, but when we look at Cade's demands we are surprised at their moderation. He first demanded the repeal of the Statute of Laborers, one of the most infernal laws ever invented to keep a people in ignorance and slavery. Beyond this only common honesty in administration of government was asked and the restoration of freedom of election which had been taken from the people unlawfully. It is needless to state that after Cade's death nothing more was heard of the "Complaint of the Men of Kent."

But the darkest stain upon Shakespeare's much spotted character is the attempt to blacken and besmirch the fairest and sweetest soul that flits across the pages of history (also a child of the people), Joan of Arc. Literature contains nothing more atrocious. It is here that Shakespeare's innate coarseness of moral fibre and callousness to truth finds its best (or worst) expression. If he had been a contemporary the excuse of a bitter national hate engendered by defeat might be given, but more than a century

and a half intervened. If he had been an ignorant, religious bigot, he might have believed Joan a witch instigated by the devil and so guilty of all baseness, but he was altogether a skeptic, and one can imagine the curl of his lip as he wrote the dialogue between the maid and the fiends. "Ah," say the idolaters, "Shakespeare was but representing the sentiments of the barons of the time." When he makes York and Warwick revile and abuse Joan the excuse will serve. But when he puts words in the Maid's own mouth causing her to befoul and defame herself, then it is Shakespeare revealing his own soul-degradation. Then he sullied his pen to pander to the vile passions of the lowest and to please his noble (?) patrons who found enjoyment in hearing a child of the people slandered. No man with any honor or true manhood in him would have written or *let stand over his name* the infamous scurrility of the scene of the capture of Joan the Maid (Henry VI., Act 5, Scene 4). It is akin to ridiculing the Passion of Christ. The idolaters who are adept in the art of dodging are very silent regarding this portion of the writing of their fetich.

The men most heroized in Shakespeare are Henry V., the most cruel, blood-thirsty and treacherous of the treacherous house of Lancaster, who encouraged the Lollards only to betray them and let the friend of his youth, Sir John Oldcastle, perish at the stake; Coriolanus, the enemy of free government, and Henry VIII., that most brutal and debauched of all tyrants. In all his long array of characters, covering every station of life, there is not one word in praise of the people or for any friend of the people.

It is told of Lord Chatham that he said he 'obtained his knowledge of his-

tory from Shakespeare.' A fearful and wonderful thing must his idea of history have been.

Shakespeare was guilty of three great sins as a maker of literature:

1st. His mistook violence and extravagance of language and character for strength.

2nd. He considered coarseness, filth and rude horseplay the equivalent of humor.

3rd. His conception of the terrible is at most times only horrible.

Compare any of his tragedies, with their ravings and frenzied imprecations, unnatural and strained, with that terrible, clean-cut drama, "The Cenci," and see how in everything that makes for power—for sheer terror that is not vulgarized

—is in favor of Shelley's wonderful tragedy.

The time has come when books must be judged by their ethical influence—their power for righteousness as well as their literary qualities. Read in the spirit of unreasonable fetichism and mental subserviency Shakespeare is a dangerous influence. Read in the light of freedom, honoring one's own mental integrity, good may be distilled from him. Give him just due for being a famous playwright and a great author, but not god-like nor sacred, remembering the highest ideals of right were not the purpose of his plays, or his poems, or his life: not being misled by the clamoring chorus of fulsome praise, the very loudness of which proclaims the shallowness of the devotees.

"VIA TRIUMPHALIS"

J. E. CHASE

Heedless, he held his way, and crushed the hearts
 And souls of men beneath his iron heel.
 Knowing no law but Self, he grasped the secret
 Of a tremendous power, which he wielded
 Without remorse or pity, and, to him,
 All good was dross unless a policy
 Was served thereby. The great globe was his field,
 And he acknowledged no superior—
 No higher force. He lived but for a dream,
 And less than a dream's substance was attain'd
 By his insane and bloody energy;
 Yet, he was happy in his way—forsooth—
 His conscience slept, and could not be arous'd,
 Therefore, he kept the course, and sycophants,
 And shameless flatterers still lured him on
 Unto his certain and impending doom;
 And when he met the terror face to face,
 He cried to Heaven for succor, but in vain,
 For he was crushed—and by the self-same pow'r
 He had evolved.

SPIRIT OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

JAMES TAYLOR VANRENSSELAER

THE nineteenth century was marked by an evolutionary development in three directions—religious, industrial, and educational. In a hundred years the number of at least nominal Christians more than doubled, or to speak accurately, they became as five to two. Of the total inhabited area of the earth's surface, 82 per cent. is governed by nations professing Christianity, while only 18 per cent. is now governed by non-Christian peoples. Within a century much of the progress made by the human race took place, and within fifty years an inventive spirit gave us mechanical appliances which revolutionized the world. The theory of evolution changed man's conception of himself and of the universe, and hence education and religion and industry directly altered their relation to his environment, and indirectly his responsibility to his Maker.

As the environment of man grows and changes, each age presents a new man under new conditions. Hence man's intellect is seeking to interpret the significance of his new surroundings. Therefore in education we have a new anthropology, a new biology, a new psychology, a new sociology, a new theology.

"Thus times do shift; each thing its
turn doth hold;
New things succeed, as former things
grow old."

For centuries man has lived in contemplation of God as the great first cause, the creator of matter and force, His relation to humanity being analogous to

that of a king to his subjects. He now conceives of Him "as the one sole, omnipresent, universal cause, the infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed," His relation to humanity being that of a father to his children. Hence all men belong to God, whether baptized or unbaptized, elect or non-elect, repentant or non-repentant, this belonging being in His nature and in their nature, for all belong to Him as the branches belong to a tree. The spiritual life has been transplanted. Formerly it was governed by the physical fear of a king. Now it is rooted in love, and controlled by obedience to the will of a loving father. Thus men have learned to speak of the divineness of man and of the humaneness of God. So the world now looks upon Jesus as the manifestation of the true relation which should exist between father and son, and between brother and brother, through all life human or divine.

As in the spiritual world the nineteenth century opened to man fresh evidences of his divine calling, so in the material did God reveal to him new avenues for its attainment. In the vast industrial development which has taken place since the introduction of steam, 500,000 men can now do what was formerly the work of 16,000,000. This concentration of wealth has been such that a score of men now sway the destinies of a continent; while less than 100 can dictate the future commerce of the whole world. On the riches owned and controlled by one single family hangs in the balance peace or war among a

dozen great nations. Thus God has opened the era of combination, an era as natural as it is necessary, for it points out the road to a boundless, beneficent progress. Trustification of wealth, mechanical invention in a thousand lines, perfected in factory or field, have produced that co-operative activity of men and nations, making wealth and the production and distribution of all the goods of life, social instead of individual. Concentration of riches, steam and electricity, have ushered in the social age—the age of possible brotherhood, for out of the combination of the few will develop the combination of the many.

Thus we have seen the close of the nineteenth, and we stand on the threshold of the twentieth century. Christianity, like all powerful organisms, has in the past nineteen hundred years been passing through a period of long and mysterious gestation. What men blame in the Christian church are imperfections which spring really from its youthfulness and inexperience. In a certain sense the twentieth century will see the church pass from youth to manhood, and then will begin the twentieth year of Christian life, "with its poetry, its dreams, its enthusiasm, its generosity, its daring." Love will overflow with vigor, and men everywhere will have but one desire, to devote themselves to some great and holy cause, viz.: the spread of Christ's ideal of universal brotherhood.

We have only to look at history for similar events, for great waves of spiritual enthusiasm have now and again marked the record of the centuries. These have completely altered the condition of the Christian races. The thirteenth revealed to European peoples the consciousness of unity in religious

feeling. The fifteenth in printed form gave God's word directly to the people. The sixteenth in its protest against ecclesiastical paternalism enhanced the value of man as an individual. The eighteenth reminded man that Christianity was impossible without political equality. The nineteenth in teaching the value of combination has shown man how to master the struggle for existence. The twentieth in the advent of socialism promises to see the fulfillment of Christ's economic law. "The spirit of the older time put God outside of the world; sovereignty outside of the people; authority outside of the conscience. The spirit of the new time has the contrary tendency; it denies neither God nor sovereignty nor authority, but it sees them where they really are."

"This spirit stated in philosophical language is altruism; scientifically it is called uniformity of law; in social expression it is brotherhood; in politics, democracy; in industry and commerce, co-operation; in education, progress; in religion, love." Thus, the great movement of thought—the spirit of the twentieth century—will essentially be a religious movement.

In the Book of Revelation we read: "And hast made us unto one God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth." Politically emancipated we shall all be kings. Living lives of service we shall all be priests. Said the great revolutionist: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Thus, following the precepts of the Master, and coming from the hearts of the people, there will be, both individually and socially, a genuine attempt to attain a new birth in all departments of life.

"In ordinary periods each people has

its own interests, its tendencies, its tears, and its joys; but let a time of crisis come, and the true unity of the human family will suddenly make itself felt with a strength never before suspected. Every body of water has its own cur-

rents, but when the hurricane is abroad they mysteriously intermingle, and from the ocean to the remotest mountain lake the same tremor will upheave them all." Thus will be ushered in the era of universal brotherhood.

WE ARE MEN

STEWART J. SPENCE

Hark, a rumble! like the murmur of the sea before the storm,
 When the clouds are rolling heavy, and the air is close and warm,
 When the tempest-king is gath'ring all his forces for the fray;
 Tell me, brother, dost thou hear it? What betokens it, I pray?

What betokens it, my brother?
 Trembling seems our Nature Mother.
 Hark! a weird and distant humming!
 Is it, is it, the oncoming
 Of creation's dying day?
 Are the fiends beneath us drumming
 All their forces for affray?
 Tell me, brother, tell me Nay.

Nay, my brother, 'tis the murmur of a mighty sea of men;
 Who have long been trodden under, long in servitude have lain;
 Now, like Titans, not like demons, slowly from that under-world
 They are rising, slowly rising, and the banner is unfurled:

And what seemed to thee a muttering
 Is the voice of Freedom, uttering
 Words of portent and of science,
 Words of manhood and defiance,
 In the teeth of tyrants hurled;
 Labor's legions in alliance
 Circling 'round the gray old world;
 And the cry is, We are men!

"We are human, O ye masters! We have been your slaves for ages;
 We have borne the lash and fetter; we have toiled for scanty wages;
 Toiled and sweat till horn-encrusted have become the aged palms
 Which, when they could toil no longer, have been stretched to you for alms.

O ye greedy labor-mongers,
 Ye have trafficked on our hungers!
 Ye, and yonder dark Iscariot,
 Have rid by in gilded chariot
 While we worked in mine and fen—
 Listen! hear the proletariat!
 Listen; for ye'll hear again
 This our slogan, We are men!

"We are men, the sons of Nature; Nature, mother of us all;
 Brothers to ye, tho' ye term us servant, serf and slave and thrall.
 O our brothers, ye have robbed us! our inheritance have ta'en;
 Robbed us of the wealth of Nature, bowed our backs to load and chain;

And we come, the disinherited,
 Asking wherein have ye merited
 All the sacred wealth of Nature?
 By what act of legislature
 That would hold with God or men
 Have you grasped the fertile acre,
 Leaving us still the moor and fen?
 Answer us, for we are men.

"Answer us, ye men of mansions! answer not as ye have done
 Down thro' all the by-gone ages, with the sword, the pike, the gun;
 Answer not by loudly calling that unless we slave and grovel
 Ye will to the winter's fury drive us from our wretched hovel;

Tell us, who of right should own
 Riches wrought by flesh and bone?
 Are they his who's sat and driven?
 Are they his who's toiled and striven?
 Answer us, if ye be men!
 Answer in the sight of heaven!
 Threaten not your slaves again
 With the dungeon and the chain!

Chattanooga, Tenn.

BOOK REVIEWS

CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM. By Allan L. Benson. Published by the *Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee*. 5 cents postpaid.

Mr. Benson, who is a well-known newspaper man and who has until recently been editor of the *Detroit Times*, gives in this little pamphlet an account of his conversion to Socialism. Inasmuch as it is very unusual for men of his position to become Socialist, it is very interesting to read the account of what caused the event. Mr. Benson goes on to say that he first became a Socialist through his realizing that there was never any prosperity in this country, except purely in a relative sense, for the working class, and that he was always looking for the reason thereof. Finally he happened to read an insignificant paragraph in a newspaper, in which Dr. Lyman Abbott said: "Nothing can stop the progress of Socialism, and nothing ought to stop it." This led him to look into Johnson's Encyclopedia to learn exactly what Socialism meant, and he was lucky enough to read therein the most excellent article by H. M. Hyndman upon Socialism. This finished Mr. Benson, and he became a Socialist from that moment. He has since done all he could to make his editorials as Socialistic as possible, and now he publishes this tract, which should do a great deal towards making other people as good Socialists as he is. His statistics are particularly interesting. He shows in New York, where we have a Democratic Mayor, and in Philadelphia where we have a Republican Mayor, and in San Francisco where we have a Union Labor Mayor, that in all of these cities of the various kinds of politics, the percentage of homes owned free of incumbrance by the people that live in them does not amount to 15 per cent., and all this is in the days of great prosperity. Then he turns from the city to the country and shows that in 1880 the American farmer owned 74 per cent. of the land he tilled, in 1890 he owned 71 per cent, and in 1900 he owned 64 per cent.; in other words, notwithstanding the bluff about prosperity for the farmer, every census shows that he owns less and less of the land he cultivates.

The pamphlet is a very excellent one for propaganda and should be well circulated by Socialists.

METHODS OF ACQUIRING NATIONAL POSSESSION OF OUR INDUSTRIES.

By N. A. Richardson. Published by *The Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.* 5 cents each, postpaid.

Prof. Richardson has given us in this tract a very excellent resume of the various reasons why it will be impossible to take any

step-by-step process in the socialization of the industries of this country. He not only shows that such a process is unjust, but also economically impossible.

The tract is an exceedingly good one to hand to your neighbor, who wishes to propose various compromise measures for landing us into Socialism.

The following quotation, which he takes from David Graham Phillips, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of October 4, 1902, although two years old, is of interest:

"About ten years ago Rockefeller's income was given as thirty millions by an excellent authority. He had reached the limit of profitable investment of profits in the oil industry. Here then were these enormous sums in cash pouring in—more than \$2,000,000 a month for John Davison Rockefeller alone. The problem of reinvestment became more than serious. It became a nightmare. The oil income was swelling, swelling, and the number of sound investments is limited, was then even more limited than it is now. It was through no special eagerness for mere gains that the Rockefellers began to branch out from oil into other things. They were forced, swept on by this inrolling tide of wealth which their monopoly-magnet irresistibly attracted. They developed a staff of investment seekers and investigators. It is said that the chief of this staff has a salary of \$125,000 a year.

"The first conspicuous excursion and incursion of the Rockefellers was into the railway field. By 1895 they controlled one-fifth of the railway mileage of the country. What do they own or, through dominant ownership, control to-day? They are powerful in all the great railways of New York, north, east and west, except one where their share is only a few millions. They are in most of the great railways radiating from Chicago. They dominate in several of the systems that extend to the Pacific. It is their votes that make Mr. Morgan so potent—though, it may be added, they need his brains more than he needs their votes—at present, and the combination of the two constitutes in large measure the "community of interest."

"But railways could not alone absorb rapidly enough those mighty floods of gold. Presently John D. Rockefeller's \$2,500,000 a month had increased to four, to five, to six millions a month, to \$75,000,000 a year. Illuminating oil was becoming all profit. The reinvestments of income were adding their mite of many annual millions.

"The Rockefellers went into gas and electricity when those industries had developed to

the safe investment stage. And now a large part of the American people must begin to enrich the Rockefellers as soon as the sun goes down, no matter what form of illuminant they use. They went into farm mortgages. It is said that when prosperity a few years ago enabled the farmers to rid themselves of their mortgages, John D. Rockefeller was moved almost to tears; eight millions which he had thought taken care of for years to come at a good interest was suddenly dumped upon his doorstep and there set up a squawking for a new home. This unexpected addition to his worriments in finding place for the progeny of his petroleum and their progeny and their progeny's progeny was too much for the equanimity of a man without a digestion. * * * *

"The Rockefellers went into mines, iron and coal and copper and lead; into other industrial companies; into street railways, into national, state and municipal bonds; into steamships and steamboats and telegraphy; into real estate, into sky scrapers and residences and hotels and business blocks; into life insurance, banking; there was soon literally no field of industry where their millions were not at work.

"The Rockefeller Bank—the National City Bank—is by itself far and away the biggest bank in the United States. It is exceeded in the world only by the Bank of England and the Bank of France. The deposits average more than one hundred millions a day; and it dominates the call loan market on Wall Street and the stock market. But it is not alone; it is the head of the Rockefeller chain of banks which includes fourteen banks and trust companies in New York City, and banks of great strength and influence in every large money centre in the country. * * *

"John D. Rockefeller owns Standard Oil stock worth between four and five hundred millions at the market quotations. He has a hundred millions in the steel trust, almost as much in a single western railway system, half as much in a second, and so on and on and on until the mind wearies of the cataloguing. HIS INCOME LAST YEAR WAS ABOUT \$100,000,000—it is doubtful if the incomes of all the Rothschilds together makes a greater sum. And it is going up by leaps and bounds."

The grand finale of all this enormous wealth flowing into Rockefeller's hands means that eventually the reservoir will be full to overflowing, and when it does slop over the whole country will be inundated with such a flood of surplus capital that there will be no motive to employ labor making more capital. Then we will be face to face with an insoluble unemployed problem, under our competitive system, which will force us to abandon that system and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth.

OBJECTORS TO SOCIALISM ANSWERED. By Charles C. Hitchcock, is the latest addition to our literature. It is a pamphlet of 35 pages brimfull of informa-

tion, and just the thing to give to the ones who would know. Mr. Hitchcock has clearly answered all the common objections in a style that is clear, interesting, and convincing.

The book can be had by remitting 5 cents to Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.

AMERICAN PAUPERISM. By Isador Ladoff. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 50 cents.

Mr. Ladoff has given us in a small compass a very condensed argument for the Socialist position, and we know of no book which says so much in so small a space. He starts out to show the degrading poverty in which great numbers of people in the United States are forced to live. He gives statistics from the various states, showing the incomes of the workers and their expenses of living, and gives as authorities the United States Census statistics, and Jacob A. Riis, and others, who are certainly not to be classed among Socialists. He refers us to the thousands of young children who are forced to work nights in our mills and then proceeds to show in contrast, the enormous increase in wealth which has taken place in this country and calls attention to the ridiculous fact that the more we increase in wealth, the more we increase in poverty. That is, poverty for the many, but riches for the few.

THE IDEAL CITY, by Cosimo Noto. Published by the New York Labor News Co., New York.

This volume is written by a well-known New Orleans physician and gives ideas of social reform from the standpoint of an educated and thoughtful doctor. He goes on to show how many diseases are caused by the existing social conditions and how impossible it is to cure them, when men are forced to earn a living by continuing at the very labor which causes their disease. The book loses somewhat in its force from being written at this point too much in the professional jargon. For instance, in the description of a case of erysipelas, he speaks of the skin of the eyelids being "ædematous," and the "conchæ being tense," and the "tegument of the cheeks being infiltrated." This, however, is a minor fault. The book is interesting, although possibly a little too didactic for it to gain any very large circulation. The author shows how much better things will be under Socialism and dwells upon what life might be under proper hygienic surroundings. He is rather amusing in showing how the names of the streets and avenues of the cities under Socialism will be called after well-known Socialists of to-day. For instance, he has a Karl Marx Ave., La Salle St., Engels St., Kautsky St.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

A Few Words to YOU

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE can do much more invaluable work for the cause of Socialism, provided it has YOUR help NOW. It is not your neighbor's help that we want, it is yours.

First:—We want you to push WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE in your immediate locality to the full extent of your ability. We want you to get subscribers for us—as many as you can. It isn't such very hard work—in fact it is rather fun for a good Socialist. Perhaps no better work for Socialism can be done by anyone. We want you to get us as many subscribers as you can *today*. If you can put your entire time to this work we will make you a special proposition which will enable you to make a good living. But if you cannot put your entire time to it, there is no reason at all why you cannot get us from among your neighbors at least a half a dozen subscribers. We want subscribers at once. The sooner we get them the more Socialism we can pump into them before the November elections. We expect YOU to get them for us. Will you do it?

Second:—The subscription price of the magazine barely covers the cost of printing and mailing, to say nothing of office help. Advertisers give us their advertising from purely business motives, because the advertising sells their goods. There is always a certain average, per thousand readers, of people who patron-

ize the advertisers. If Wilshire's runs below this average, we can not get advertising, if it runs above the average, the advertisers will flock to us. Can we not ask you, as a special favor, to look over our advertising pages and see if there isn't something advertised there that YOU need and will buy?

Perhaps you haven't thought you could help Socialism in this way. Now, we think we can run the returns from Wilshire's advertisers away above the average providing we have your co-operation, and to test the matter, we will give \$10.00 worth of subscription cards to the person who satisfies us that he has bought the most from Wilshire's advertisers during the current month. This offer ought to stimulate you. It certainly will cost you nothing, you do not have to buy what you don't need. If you, and all the rest of our readers, would take an interest it will be a very simple matter to run the returns of Wilshire's advertising away above the average. Will YOU not help?

Not only do we need this help from you, but Socialism needs it.

Be sure you tell the advertiser when you buy that his goods came to your attention through seeing his advertisement in Wilshire's. Be sure you inform us the amount of your purchase during June.

A WORD TO OUR READERS

We would like some one to mail us, to complete a file—a copy of the November (1901) number of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE.

Do not forget to write to our advertisers. This magazine can only be sold at its present price owing to its patronage from advertisers. See that their faith is justified.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

THE INEVITABLE CLASS STRUGGLE

OFFICE C. H. KERR & Co., CHICAGO.

April 10th, 1904.

In the March number of WILSHIRE'S the editor replies to a criticism of mine upon his theory of the approaching collapse of capitalism. I do not wish to waste valuable space, or repeat what has been said before, but only to say a word upon a few interesting points raised in the course of the discussion.

I expressed neither a "low" nor a "high" opinion of the American people. I merely pointed out the observable fact that, at the time when I wrote, a large majority of American laborers were not using their brains to find a way of relief through political action from their servitude, but were using their hands for any capitalist who would fill their dinner pails. I do not think that any Socialist will question the accuracy of this observation. On the other hand, it is clearly obvious, that an increasing minority of the laborers are showing a marked discontent with present conditions. True, most of these are seeking relief thus far only through the futile methods of "pure and simple" trade unionism. They are, however, getting plenty of object lessons from day to day of the way in which the government is used in the interests of the capitalists, and every such object lesson strengthens the hands of the still smaller but rapidly growing minority constituting the Socialist party.

On page 136 Mr. Wilshire asks us to suppose what would happen if the machinery of production were absolutely completed and the Socialist Party had practically no more adherents than to-day. It seems to me that this is a question-begging supposition which is manifestly contrary to all probability, unless indeed the Socialist party should by unwise tactics have discredited itself with the working class and given way to some more efficient party based on the same fundamental principles—in that case, the task of social reconstruction would fall to the new party.

Mr. Wilshire says that the only difference that really exists between us is as to time, and that in estimating the time required to complete the machinery of production, he will grant, for the sake of argument, as many years as I ask for. Very well, not to be ungenerous in my acceptance of this generous proposition, I would ask for twenty years, which, it seems to me, is not an improbable estimate. Now, the question arises, "What will the laborers of America be doing through these years?"

It seems to me that without any direct menace to starvation they have already developed some very promising germs of discontent with the capitalist system. In several important branches of industry the

class struggle has already reached an acute stage. The capitalists are finding it necessary to make open use of the government which they control, in a way that is manifestly opposed to the interests of the laborers. Is it reasonable to suppose that these laborers will be contented to vote the power back into the hands of the capitalists at every successive election for twenty years?

The unemployed problem, of which Mr. Wilshire speaks, is not something that will remain out of sight for our hypothetical twenty years and then suddenly come to the front. It is a problem which is chronically troublesome to the laborer, since it enables the capitalist to dictate terms in fixing wages. It is likely to grow more troublesome rather than less troublesome to the laborer during these twenty years. What are the respective feelings with which it will be viewed by laborers and by capitalists?

Mr. Wilshire predicts that at some future time "society" will become conscious of the absolute necessity of a change of system. But the Socialist philosophy teaches us that society is at present divided into two antagonistic classes, each with a consciousness of its own which tends to become more and more definite. Is it Utopian to suppose that each of these two classes will regard the unemployed problem from its own point of view, and that the two classes will reach different conclusions as to the way in which the problem shall be solved?

In other countries the capitalists are entrenched in political power by property qualifications, plural voting, unequal distribution of representation and other devices which retard the efforts of the working class to gain control of the government. In America there is little to prevent them from taking control when they choose. I fail to see, therefore, why it is not reasonable to suppose that they may decide that the time is ripe for the re-organization of society long before the capitalists are willing to co-operate in action to the same end.

One thing more remains to be said to avoid a possible misunderstanding. Because the capitalists may not be ready to join in establishing the co-operative commonwealth it does not necessarily follow that they would use violent means to oppose it. The American laborers have been ruled all these years through their respect for the legally constituted government. When once a majority vote is recorded in favor of the Socialist Party, that party will profit by the conservative habit of submission to the legally elected authorities, and it will be a difficult task for the capitalists to organize an effective opposition to the new order.

This, however, presupposes the existence of a strong working class party, not necessarily composed in its entirety of people

who have done clear thinking, but leavened with a reasonable number of thinkers and composed of people who have come to realize the necessity of united action on the part of the working class. With such a party in existence there is no doubt, in my mind, that a period of extreme industrial depression would be likely to bring it into political control. If, on the other hand, this depression should come before the educational work of Socialism should have made much progress, I believe that there might be chaos and more probably there would be a period of reform, but no social revolution. I think that Kautsky's distinction between reform and revolution is generally accepted by Socialists, namely, that revolution differs from reform in that it involves the re-organization of society under the control of a different economic class from one previously in power.

Now, if the predicted breakdown of capitalism comes before the working class has reached a fair degree of class-consciousness, it seems to me that the capitalists, or the brain workers in the service of capitalism, will find some reform measure, or measures, which will re-establish productive industry without turning its control over to the working class. These measures may even involve a complete system of State capitalism. It is undoubtedly true that State capitalism in the interest of a privileged class could not be a stable organism, since the parasites would be much more obviously parasites than our present capitalists. But that is another story.

It is profoundly true that the methods of production determine our social consciousness, but the methods of production have already been revolutionized and the social consciousness is now re-adjusting itself to the new methods of production. This re-adjustment, like previous re-adjustments in the history of society, involves a class struggle, and this class struggle seems now to be in its final stage.

CHARLES H. KERR.

Mr. Kerr says it is question-begging when I ask him what would happen if we had the great unemployed crisis before the Socialist Party was sufficient of a factor to assume the direction of events. He thinks such a supposition so unlikely that it is almost ridiculous to mention the possibility. Mr. Kerr has a higher opinion of the intelligence of the people and a lower estimate of the time required for the crisis than I have, that's all. I think the crisis *may* come within twelve months. I do not think it *will* come within twelve months, but I see no economic reason why it should not come. I certainly see every reason why it should come within ten years, in fact, within five years. Now, with such a view, it is not difficult to see why it is I cannot foresee the possibility of the Socialist Party

which is now made up of a handful of obscurities like myself and Mr. Kerr, becoming sufficiently powerful, in that short period, to take charge of things.

Yes, we have plenty of "germs of discontent," and we certainly have a good climate to develop more, particularly so in Colorado just now—none better—but the germs do not germinate. Socialism is growing—yes, of course it is—but it is not growing as fast as it should, by a jugful. And it is growing in Europe faster than it is here, notwithstanding the electoral privileges which Mr. Kerr thinks should help things here.

As to capitalism breaking down before the working class have become Socialists, and then the Capitalists finding some system other than Socialism to take its place—all of which Mr. Kerr thinks possible—I say that if Mr. Kerr thinks this, then he is not a materialist in his conception of economic evolution. He thinks we can determine our form of society, whereas I insist that the mode of production determines it. I say with Marx that we have capitalism today, because the mode of production makes it necessary and that we will have Socialism to-morrow for the self-same reason: the mode of production will cause it.

I can foresee no mode of production which will cause anything but Socialism.

If we are to possibly have State Capitalism, whatever Mr. Kerr may mean by that I do not know, then Mr. Kerr, upon his own materialistic philosophy must have in his mind some peculiar plan of production upon which he bases his idea. I hope he will enlighten us. But his foreseeing some sort of a hybrid—half egg and half chicken—society of the future as being likely to come about unless we all get down to it and read WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, is quite absurd to me.

We are going to have capitalism and competition until we have Socialism and co-operation. There is no mule state in between acts.

The article in the March number of your valuable magazine: "Socialism Inevitable: What Marx Meant," a discussion between yourself and Chas. H. Kerr, was no doubt read by a large number of people with great interest; but one important factor that should have been taken into consideration, I find missing on both sides.

Marx, with his vast learning and keen intellect, foresaw the necessary "evolution of Capitalism, until centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their Capitalist integument." But we must remember that Marx studied Capitalism in the classic land of Capitalism—England—and there this centralization of the means of production, this, "at last," the end, is not yet reached.

When we compare the development of Capitalism here in America to the development of Capitalism in England, we should not close our eyes to the fact that progress has been made somewhat differently here, the centralization of the means of production and distribution, the formation of the trusts has taken place here before all resources are exploited. Therefore, some German writers in America insist that Marx needs revision in this last point. All scientific Socialists agree, that under the Capitalist form of production, times of feverish activity are followed by times of depression, and the time elapsing between depressions or crises will gradually become less and less: for example, 1873 until 1893—twenty years, 1893 until 1908—fifteen years, 1908 until 1918—ten years, and so on, until finally Capitalism will smother in its own wealth; and out of the hopeless chaos, with unlimited possibilities of production which cannot be utilized, or set in motion, evolves the co-operative form of production and ownership. Very well, but here in America we have the phenomena of the organization of the means of production—for what reason, if not primarily to regulate production? How will this affect that theory? Do you not think it possible that these industrial organizations will be able to prevent catastrophes coming like a thunder-clap from a clear-sky, as in 1893, and instead, a gradual curtailment of production will take place until the demand for products again assumes normal conditions? That in place of a catastrophe we will have a steady, slow dripping rain, that will wet us to the skin just the same, but will more gradually and thoroughly accomplish the object, viz., to gather into fewer hands the ownership of the earth and its resources? The owners of the means of production, the Captains of Industry, we may be sure, are seeing, or soon will see, the danger that lies in the propaganda for Socialism which we carry on.

Will they not try to circumvent our aims and objects? How? By simply making use of organized labor, and with the aid of so-called labor leaders of the Sam Gompers' stamp, form a combination to keep themselves in power. Do you not think that that astute politician, Marcus Hanna, was after just such a combination?

What is the use of the Civic Federation—where Sam Gompers hobnobs with such labor friends as Strauss, Cleveland, Bishop Potter, etc., if not means to an end? And what is this end? Is it not the exploitation of the general public, for the benefit of organized capital, which will give to that class of organized labor, which becomes its ally, some of the booty in the shape of comparatively fair wages? Through self-interest—and we have abundant proof of the narrow and egotistic attitude of some of our labor aristocracy—these organized la-

bor allies will vote with the capitalists, and the unemployed, the tramps—why, they are effectually disfranchised. Here in Vineland, we see shoemakers coming from Massachusetts, nine in every ten of them Socialists, who cannot hold a job long enough anywhere to have the privilege of voting. You know the limitation—they have to reside in the state one year before they are enfranchised.

Is it not possible that capital, when threatened will make use of that limitation and only allow its subservient tools and allies the use of the ballot?

You speak of an unemployed problem. What of it? That does not mean, necessarily, the adoption of Socialism. This coddling of the American people is nonsense. They (the American people) are not one jot better than any other people. Who has read Jack London's book, "The People of the Abyss," without being shocked and stirred to a feeling of mingled compassion and indignation at the appalling amount of misery and degradation among the working people of London, yea, of England—where one-third of the population die paupers! Do we see any Socialist movement there anywhere near commensurate with this stage of capitalist development? Nothing of the kind.

With the introduction of the power-loom in England, Marx states that hundreds of thousands of poor, helpless, hand-loom weavers around Mossoul, India, "starved to death" on the public highway! Did that cause anyone in India or England to demand Socialism? Not much. Of course, this last happened before we had any class-conscious and scientific Socialist movement. But, nevertheless, it is evident that before we can think of any possibility of adoption of, or even a strong demand for, Socialism, the working class must be educated up to the demand for the co-operative ownership of the means of production, and, as Bebel said at the last "Partei Tag," of the Socialist Party at Dresden, "If the working people of Germany were only better educated in questions of political economy, we would have had the majority at the last Reichstag election." And that applies with much more force right here.

Therefore, to summarize: Socialism is inevitable only if a sufficient number of the American people are educated to understand and grasp the significance of the different industrial problems before us; and *not* inevitable in a fatalist sense, that Capitalism will sound its own death knell, and all we have to do is to wait until the time is ripe for the birth of a new order of things.

This is not intended nor written as a refutation of Wilshire or any one else. It is merely a warning note to those who are too sanguine and too optimistic.

Vineland, N. J.

ALBERT WEISS.

I can see no new point in the foregoing. The Trust cannot avoid the problem of over-production, for the cause still remains—viz., unpaid labor. Labor is unpaid owing to the competitive wage-system. The Trust does not alter the wage-system.—G. W.

FREE SILVER QUESTION

Springfield, Mich., March 16.

You say in the March WILSHIRE'S, "Hanna's theory of the gold standard was entirely sound from the Socialistic standpoint." I supposed I understood the Socialist theory, but your statement somewhat confuses me. Could you write a word, either publicly or privately, concerning this particular "standpoint" without taking too much of your valuable time? Glad to learn your magazine is gathering in subscribers at the rate indicated in the sworn statement which appears in your last.

(MRS.) MARION TODD.

I would say that the theory of money which is held by all Socialists who profess to be of the scientific variety is that wages naturally tend to the mere subsistence point and that, of course, this point is indicated by so many dollars per day in money wages. Now, if we debase the value of the dollar, the immediate result is a rise in prices. The laborer who was getting a dollar a day still gets but the dollar, but he must pay increased prices for his food, rent, etc. Until money wages advance commensurate with the increased price of food, he is getting that much less real wages. The finality is, of course, that he would theoretically get enough more in money wages to offset the rise in value of his food, but the interim is very painful to him, and it is always likely that economic friction will prevent his ever getting back in the position he was in before the debasement of the value of the dollar. If we should substitute silver for gold in our coinage it would mean that the value of the dollar would be reduced over fifty per cent. and this should result in a fifty per cent. rise in prices, and if money wages did not increase it would mean cutting wages in half. The only offset to this in favor of the laborer would be that silver coinage would so stimulate industry that notwithstanding the increased prices of goods, the co-incident increased demand for labor would so increase wages that the laborer would gain more than he would lose. However, this is entirely supposititious and is a theory that is not held by Socialists generally. In fact, there are very few Socialists that would admit that any change in the money system would do anything but so seriously affect trade that it would be injuring it rather than stimulating it. This certainly was the view held by a great

mass of capitalists in the Bryan campaign, as was evidenced by their action in shutting up their factories and withdrawing money from the banks.—W.

Cathland, Wash., March 21.

I would as soon think of going to work without a full dinner as to try to do without WILSHIRE'S. I consider it the greatest educator in the land.

J. M. EDWARDS.

I have talks with a great many men about Socialism; it seems hard to convince them about the profit-making system. They seem to think we want to deprive them of becoming millionaires; men that have not a dollar now, nor never would have one under any system. I tell them that we have men that vote the Socialist ticket that are millionaires, and if it is to their interest to vote that ticket why do you men think it against your interest to vote it? In order to convince those men of this, I would like you to send me a personal letter, stating why you vote the Socialist ticket, so I can explain it plainly to them. I understand myself that under the profit-making system a man can lose all he has, but that don't seem to satisfy them, therefore, I would like you to write me as strong a letter as you can write on the question, so I can read it to these men. And oblige,

ROBERT M. GREEN, JR., Darby, Del. Co., Penn.
May 17, 1904.

May 21, 1904.

Mr. Robt. M. Green, Jr.,

Darby, Delaware Co., Pa.

Dear Sir:—The question of whether a man is rich or poor, if he is intelligent enough to understand what Socialism is, has nothing to do with his being a Socialist. If he knows that Socialism is a practical method of abolishing poverty, then his racial instinct is so great that he is forced to urge the adoption of Socialism, no matter what his present economic position may be, for he knows that Socialism will mean not only happiness for the whole human race, but also that his own happiness will be greatly enhanced through the happiness of all. A man cannot be happy, no matter how rich he may be, if other people are unhappy about him, owing to the lack of riches. It is a man's general environment which constitutes the reason of his happiness, and while a rich man may create a special environment for himself by building a good house and giving himself good food, yet he cannot remain in his house all his life and he must emerge in the outside world, where poverty confronts him on every side. Moreover, every newspaper that comes into the house and all the books he reads, make him painfully aware of an outside poverty-stricken world.

Then, when a man like myself, is not only convinced of the practicability of Socialism,

but also sees the inevitability and an inevitability which will occur within a comparatively short time, you may see how irresistibly he is forced into the ranks of the Socialists.

Hoping this reply will satisfy you, I am,
Yours faithfully,
GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

April 21st, 1904.

Gaylord Wilshire, Esq.

Dear Sir—We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of complete files of *The Challenge*, Nos. 1-40, Dec. 26, 1900—Oct. 12, 1901, and of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE to date, which you have been so kind as to present to this library.

Very respectfully,
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

University of Toronto,

April 11th, 1904.

My Dear Wilshire—Very many thanks for your kindness in sending me your tracts, which I shall read as soon as I have time to do so. I am just on the point of going to the Northwest, from which I intend to return in about a month. I may spend a few days in New York in the end of May and may hope then to have the pleasure of seeing you. If I had not so many irons in my fire at present, I think I might be inclined to give you an opening for attack by pointing out the contrast between your personal amiability and the ferocity of your collectivist campaign. I hear that by a strategic movement you have succeeded in inducing the authorities of the land of freedom to allow you to print your innocuous magazine within their territory. I should be sorry to think that you had been expelled by the enslaved dependency of a tyrannical monarchy. I hope this has not been the case. With kind regards.

Very truly yours,
(PROF.) JAMES MAVOR.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—Have read your splendid magazine for some time and consider it the clearest, cleverest and brightest magazine on the market.

Yours very truly,
WM. E. FORDY,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—The comrades and friends who have subscribed to your magazine praise it very highly. I have sent postal card for new subscription cards and will send for some leaflets in a few days as our propaganda work is done in summer here.

Wishing WILSHIRE'S every success, I remain,

Yours fraternally,
HENRY ELKIN.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—Liking your replies to all queries pertaining to Socialism, I would like to get your interpretation of

where Jesus says: "The poor ye have always with you." Your magazine is O. K.

Yours for Socialism,
GUSTAV SAURBRINE.
Toledo, Ohio.

I should say that Jesus was simply relating an historical and undeniable fact. There must always be poor as long as one class owns the earth and another class owns nothing. This has been the division in the past. The Socialists propose that in the future we have but one class, and that that class shall own the earth, and that everyone shall be in that class.—G. W.

Coquitlam, B.C., March 28.

How is it among all the millions of this continent, there is only one Wilshire let loose at once? However, the magazine is doing noble work. I have read it for two years, and the more I see it the better I like it. I have distributed every copy.

JAMES FOX.

WINNER OF MAY CONTEST.

F. N. Prevey, of Akron, Ohio, was the watch winner for May.

Beginning with this month, instead of giving watches, we will give a \$30 Al-Vista Camera to the agent whom we think has done the most deserving work during June and July. We will allow the winner the option of taking instead of a camera, a \$30 Columbia Disc Graphophone. Result will be published in the August number.

In Mr. Whitehead's poem, which appeared in the May number, a transposition of lines occurred; the first five lines on top of page 230 should have come after the six following lines, instead of before.

A full account of the Socialist Convention is published in this month's International Socialist Review, of Chicago.

It can be had for 10 cents, postpaid. C. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.

MR. DOBBS.

It is with regret that I have to announce that Mr. Chas. Dobbs, who has been associated with this magazine since the first of the year, has been compelled to seek a wider field of usefulness than WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE can offer him. Our readers undoubtedly realize the many good features which have been introduced into WILSHIRE'S since Mr. Dobbs took hold, and if we can only keep up the standard that he established for us, we feel that we will have accomplished a great deal.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

WILSHIRE'S

"Let the Nation Own the Trusts"

July, 1904

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA

Tom Mann

THE MIRAGE OF
MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

J. W. Kelly

"SANCTUARY" REVIEWED
BY EDWIN MARKHAM

•••

Editorial Review

TESLA'S GREAT PROMISE—BRYAN
EXPLAINS SOCIALISM—COLO-
RADO EVENTS— WHERE SOME
OF THE MONEY GOES—WALLING
ON LABOR IN NEW YORK— A
SANER FOURTH OF JULY—GOOD
OLD ROCKEFELLER—FRENCH
NOBILITY vs. AMERICAN CAPI-
TALISTS— RADIUM AND VRIL—
IMPOSSIBILITY OF EMPLOYMENT
—SOCIALISM AND INTEMPERANCE

125 East 23'd Street. New York.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor



July, 1904



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL REVIEW.	295
Tesla's Great Promise—Bryan Explains Socialism—Colorado Events—Where Some of the Money Goes—Walling on Labor in New York—A Saner Fourth of July—Good Old Rockefeller—French Nobility vs. American Capitalists—Radium and Vril—Impossibility of Employment—Socialism and Intemperance.	
L'ENVOI (Poem).....	Rudyard Kipling 314
"SANCTUARY" REVIEWED BY EDWIN MARKHAM.....	315
THE MIRAGE OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.....	J. W. Kelly 316
SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA.....	Tom Mann 319
BOOK REVIEWS.....	321
WILSHIRE'S GUARANTEED FIVE PER CENT. STOCK FREE.....	322
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	324
THE DREAMER (Poem).....	Lucien V. Rule 326

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is published monthly by the Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at \$1.00 a year. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.50 (6s.) a year.

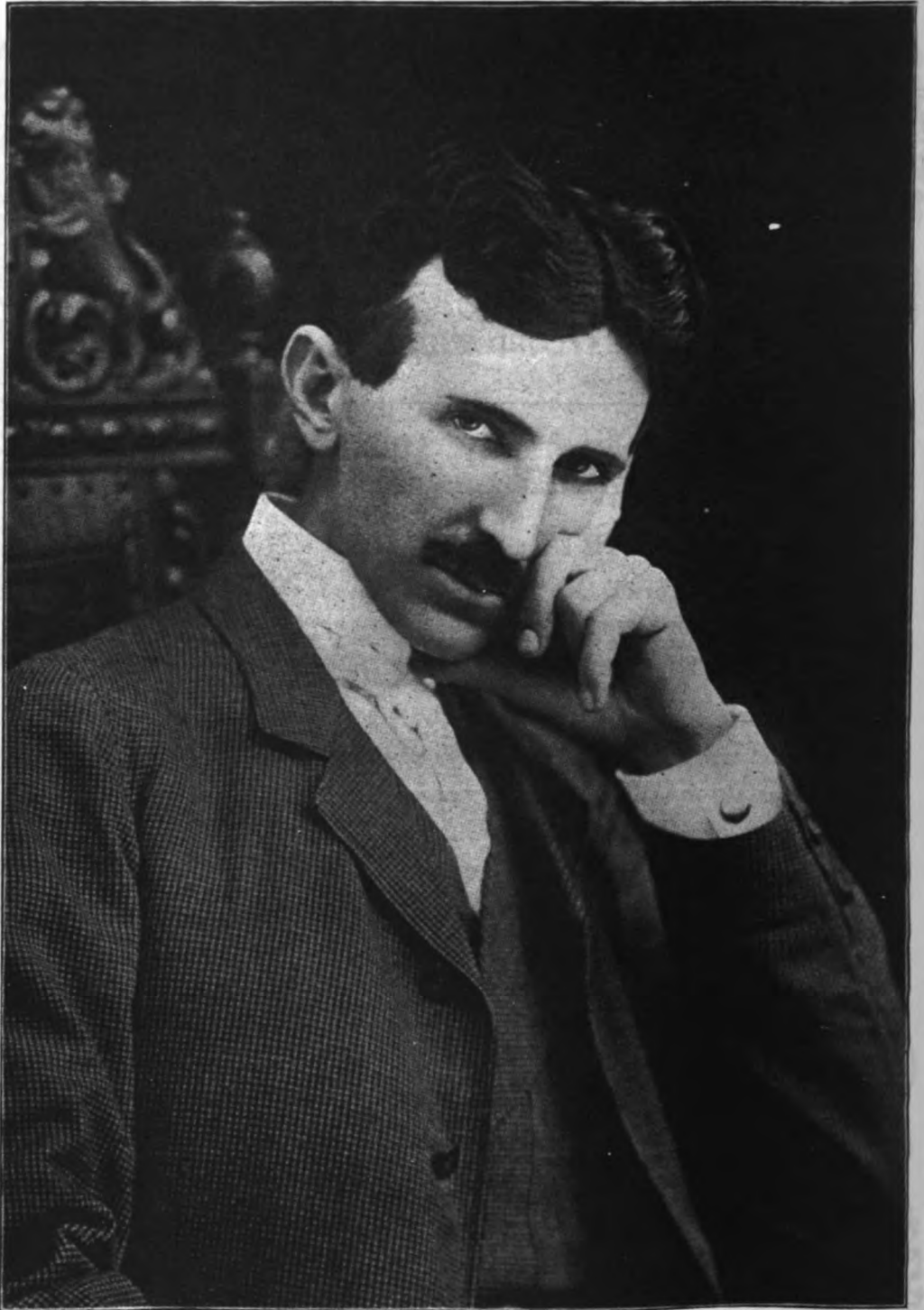
Remittances should be made by postal or express orders.

When changing address always give the old as well as the new address.

The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



NIKOLA TESLA

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 7.

TORONTO, JULY, 1904

\$1 Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

NIKOLA TESLA HAS RECENTLY announced that he is about to perfect an invention which will distribute electric power from a central plant throughout the earth, so that, for instance, the electricity may be developed at Niagara and that it may be used in London. Not only that, but we will send news, without wires, to any part of the world. A man may be isolated in the heart of Africa and yet be in perfect communication with New York or London. It is said that whatever the mind of man conceives he can put into operation, so that even if Mr. Tesla does not realize his hopes at present, then some other man will do so some day. Human society as a whole is an organism and it is certainly in the line of development that every portion of that organism should be in intellectual touch with every other portion. To-day large portions of humanity are quite separated from the whole, and even those portions which are most closely in contact, as for instance

TESLA'S GREAT PROMISE

society as organized within the United States, where we have telegraphic and telephonic communication, there is left much to be desired. Perfection for the human race will not come until each individual human being will be as consciously in touch with every other human being as is each cell in his body consciously related to every other cell in his body. It will be just as impossible for a man to be happy when he knows that another man is unhappy while it is possible for him to be relieved of pain, as it is for an individual to be happy when any part of his physical body is in pain. In the lowest form of life, the amoeba, there is no organic connection between the members. One part may be injured and the rest of the body not know it nor have any care for the injured part. The amoeba may be cut into four or five different pieces and each part will become an organism by itself as complete and perfect as the parent organism. As the amoeba has developed higher and higher in the scale of life, it becomes more and

more organized and different parts assume particular functions. Instead of every part being an eye and every part being a stomach, one part specializes and becomes an eye and another part specializes and becomes a stomach, etc. In this higher form of life we see, for instance, that it is manifestly impossible to injure any part without the rest of the parts suffering. It is ridiculous to think of cutting a dog into five different pieces and making five new dogs. Human society is analagous in its development to the amoeba. Fifty years ago, before we had railways, we could have divided the United States into different sections and it would have made no little difference to the country as a whole, inasmuch as communication was so infrequent and difficult between the sections that they were in no way interdependent upon each other as to-day. There was neither the exchange of goods nor the exchange of intelligence which is now prevailing. In the same way, as the different nations of the earth have become more organically united within themselves, they have become also organically united nation to nation in a world trade federation. Just as industry has progressed from the national stage to the world stage, so has human sympathy made like progress, and now the perfection of the means for the conveyance of this organic world thought seems to be about to be disclosed to us by Nikola Tesla.

MR. BRYAN has at last been driven from cover by the attacks of the *Chicago Chronicle* denouncing him as a Socialist. He has a long editorial in a late *Commoner*, in which he explains why he is not a Socialist. BRYAN EXPLAINS SOCIALISM He admitted that he has come to the conclusion that monopoly in railroads and telephones

and telegraphs has come to stay, and that, therefore, it is better to have public monopoly than private monopoly. But he is not prepared to admit that there is any economic necessity for trusts in the manufacture of cotton or woollen goods, whiskey, or oil, or tobacco, etc. He says: "These trusts are organized not because of any economic necessity, but for the purpose of destroying competition." The question I would like to put to Mr. Bryan is: That if it becomes an economic necessity to destroy competition, is not then the trust an economic necessity? Mr. Bryan does not understand that the accumulation of surplus capital in this country, which has hitherto been poured into the building of productive machinery, has now finally rendered it much greater than any economic demand. Over-production has ensued and over-production means cut-throat competition and cut-throat competition means bankruptcy unless it is prevented. If Mr. Bryan could only understand that the trust is an absolute economic necessity to prevent over-production, we would have him right in line in seeing the necessity of the trust. When he sees the necessity of the trust in manufacturing enterprises he will be compelled to logically conclude with the Socialists that such monopolies along with railroad monopolies should be nationalized. Mr. Bryan is moving, but moving slowly. He says he now sees that the borrower is not on the same footing as the lender, therefore, he favors limiting the rate of interest. He sees that the employee is not on the same footing as the employer, therefore, he favors the limitation of the hours of labor and the prevention of the employment of children. These are great steps in advance for Mr. Bryan, who, only a few years ago, was declaring for free trade in

everything, silver, as well as labor. He belonged to the old Adam Smith school of *laissez faire* economists. However, now that he sees that the employee is not on a footing with the employer, and is attempting to put him more on an equality, we would like to ask him if the best way to get him there is not to put him on an equality of wealth. This is what public ownership of the means of production would do. It is a pity that Bryan does not understand his economics better than he does, as there is no one in the country who has a better opportunity of getting his views heard.

COLORADO IS AN EXEMPLIFICATION of the complete breakdown of our existing industrial and political system under a severe strain. We have now autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. So far we have gotten along pretty well simply because the people have voted about the way the capitalists wanted them to vote. Colorado voters have been the first who were daring and foolish enough to experiment and vote otherwise. They voted for an eight hour law, the capitalists did not want it and Colorado did not get it. Then they elected a number of sheriffs and local county officers who were in favor of the eight hour law, and who showed their preference in certain local dynamite events. The capitalists requested these men to resign their office. When the resignations were not handed in quick enough a noose at the end of a rope was put around their necks to hasten their decision. All resigned. If I were in Colorado I would still vote for what I wanted, but I doubt if I would have much confidence in getting my wish by ballot. On the other hand a gun is of no use until you have enough men with you who have shown their sense

and courage by previously having voted right. But time will tell the tale. The capitalists are having their innings now in Colorado. They may think the Gatling gun and noose will always carry the day. They are right, but they are wrong in thinking that capitalists are always going to remain at the right end of ropes and guns. When it comes to force let them remember that 90% of the people in this country have more muscle than dollars.

MOYER IS TO REMAIN in jail at the discretion of Governor Peabody of Colorado. The Supreme Court of that State has decided that a Governor of the State has the right to decide when insurrection in any county is in progress and that this right carries with it the right to imprison and kill people at his discretion. This may be good law, under the existing statutes, but it at once appears to any man that if it is, then we have arrived most perilously near the stage of military dictatorship. If one governor of a state can do this, then the governor of any state can, and what a governor can do, certainly the President of the United States may do. As Gov. Peabody said, after hearing of the decision in his favor: "I have done something that Lincoln, Jefferson, and all previous officials have endeavored to do in vain; I have established a new precedent." It would seem to me that this decision of the Supreme Court of Colorado confirming Gov. Peabody in his dictatorship is most likely to cause the people of Colorado to fall back upon force as their ultimate remedy to obtain their rights. Certainly if the governor has this power to control the citizens by arbitrary arrest, and we remember that he and his Citizens' Alliance have never stopped at either force or fraud to carry out their wills, it will be in

RESIGNATION
AT THE ROPE'S
NOOSE

COLORADO
EVENTS

the order of events for them to control elections fraudulently, and prevent free expression of the people at the polls. An election, at bottom, is simply a means that civilized men have of determining what they shall do without resorting to force. If there are a thousand men at odds as to what course of conduct they shall pursue, and it is admitted that a majority has the power and right to coerce the minority, then the simplest way is to count noses, and find out which side has a majority, and then go ahead and peaceably conform to its views, instead of resorting to a fight to see which is the most powerful. The assumption is that the majority has the most physical power. If by trickery in elections a majority feels that the minority falsified returns, then that defrauded majority also knows that a resort to force will give them the control which they should have had given them by the decision of the ballot, then force will be logically the resort. Trickery at elections can only save the minority for a brief period, and if Gov. Peabody has the majority of the people of Colorado at his back, he can carry his measures through. If he has not, then let him beware, no matter what his courts may decide, or his election commissioners may count. If he thinks that he can depose legally elected officials from office as he is doing, and not finally engender a revolution of force, then all history conveys no lesson.

THE UNITED STATES Post Office is destined some day to prove to be a great power to suppress the freedom of thought in this country. Whether the policy that is being inaugurated is consciously directed toward that end or not may be doubtful, but the consciousness is immaterial,

MORE
POST OFFICE
CENSORSHIP

the fact is evident that if the plans are carried out we will logically be landed in a condition of a most dangerous censorship to the press. The Post Office is essentially a means for carrying letters and packages between the people, and it should have nothing to do with any censorship over what it carries. Censorship pertains to the judiciary. It was a dangerous precedent when the Post Office undertook to back up the police power in the extermination of lotteries, and it became still more dangerous when it undertook to punish certain fraudulent concerns. If a man to-day is conducting a business which the Post Office thinks to be fraudulent, they stamp all letters directed to him "fraudulent" and return them to the senders. The result is the man gets no mail, and while it is probably true that in most cases this is a good thing for the public, yet it may always happen that the man is innocent, and even if guilty of the offence it is a dangerous method to cure the evil. It would be easy for the Post Office to declare a Socialist, whom they wish to prevent circulating literature, a fraud and stamp all his letters "fraudulent." The next step that the Post Office proposes to take is to determine what advertised Patent Medicines are good and what are bad, and when they determine that a medicine advertised is of no medical value, they will not only prevent the advertiser from getting his mail but will also prevent the publisher advertising the medicine from circulating his paper. It is very easy to see how, in some political campaign when the opposition party wishes to stop a certain paper from coming through the mail, that they may have some medicine advertisement inserted in the enemy's paper and then have the Post Office declare it to be fraudulent. The newspaper will be held up in the

mails and possibly ruined. No editor or publisher of a large newspaper can determine the character of all the different goods advertised in his paper every day. He might do the best he could to prevent a fraudulent one being inserted, but he is always liable to make a mistake. It is undoubtedly true that a very strict censorship over both foods and patent medicines would be a good thing for the public, but the way to exercise this government inspection is not through the Post Office. It would be a good rule which would insist that all such goods should have a label upon them stating exactly what the contents of the package were, so that if one wishes to buy whiskey under the guise of Peruna or Hostetter Bitters or any other label it would be his privilege to do so. If I wish to buy a mixture of formaldehyde and tomatoes, it is my right, but whenever the canner uses preservatives in foods, I should have the right to know exactly what I am getting. It is much better that the public run the chance of having their stomachs filled by a quack doctor than having their brains emptied by a press censor.

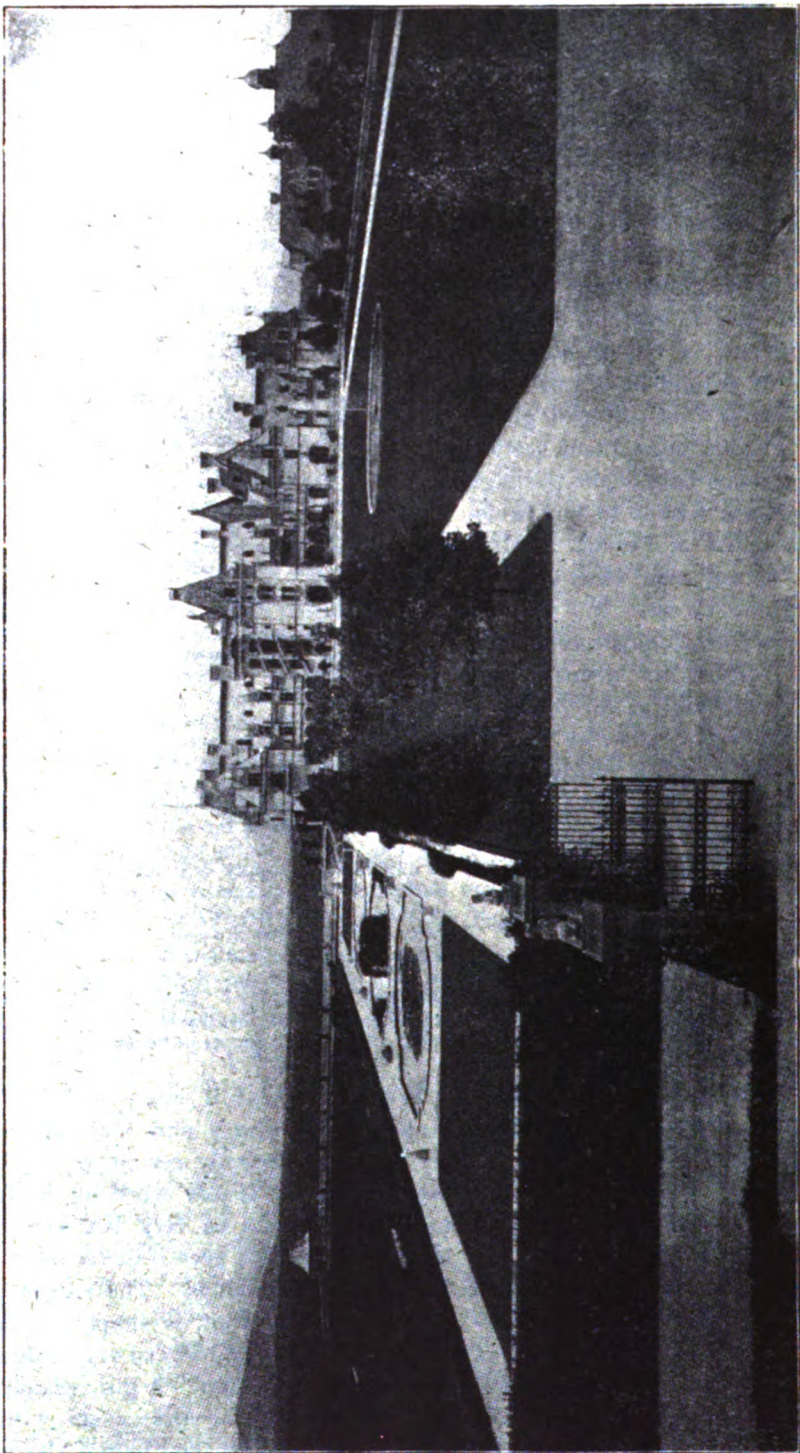
ONE OF THE most serious problems of the present day is the servant problem. The difficulty of obtaining servants has done more to break up the joy of the individual home for the middle class in America, than any one thing. It is becoming practically impossible to get a good servant to work in small households, at any price. The very rich are not bothered so much with this problem, inasmuch as their homes require a large number of servants and the hours of the service can be regulated somewhat after the manner of a hotel or factory, and therefore

THE
SERVANT
PROBLEM

the toil is not so irksome, nor is the contact with the employer so personal, as is the case of the servant in the small household. However, one would think, to read the following from the New York *Commercial*, that there was no servant problem in the United States :

Over in Germany the public and the law-makers would like to do something for the female factory workers, and for a year past the press and the publicists have been busily discussing ways and means of securing a betterment in the industrial conditions of this class of wage-earners. They desisted, finally, for a reason that will appeal to most Americans as queer. Women factory employees in the empire over sixteen years of age now put in twelve hours a day, with an hour out for "nooning,"—that is, they labor eleven hours a day. It has been proposed to exact only ten hours of work, to give the women an hour and a half at noon, and to close the shops early on Saturday afternoons. Such a change would affect over five thousand workwomen in spinneries and factories of the Freiburg district alone—and it would certainly seem that the changes noted would be most desirable. It was feared, however, that the business of these women's employers would suffer by the changes, because of the competition in such countries as Italy, China and Japan, where wages are much lower than in Germany and the number of daily hours of labor larger. And just then a loud protest went up from the German householders. They pointed out that, by making the advantages of factory life too great, there would be a tendency to diminish the supply of domestic help. That settled it! The cooks, nurses and housemaids in Germany must not be allured away from their jobs. But imagine a domestic in an American family being attracted to a factory bench by the prospect of ten hours of steady work and no Saturday half-holiday! Domestic service over there must be a terrible drudgery if such a thing could diminish the supply of house "help."

We think that if every girl in the United States who is now working as a servant, was perfectly certain of getting ten hours a day steady work in the factory, there would be very few servants left in the country, even if there were no Saturday half holidays. The reason we have any servants left is simply because the work in the mills is so very arduous and so very uncertain. A girl, when she becomes a servant, loses caste with a large part of society, and before she will



BILTMORE, THE COUNTRY PLACE OF GEORGE VANDERBILT, IN THE MOUNTAINS OF NORTH CAROLINA

undergo this trial she will put up with very onerous terms in other employment.

THE FIRST VIEW that many people have when they commence to think at all about the social problem is that the reason the poor are poor is owing to the extravagance of the rich, and when they

which we represent in this issue, and when they see pictures of the magnificent Vanderbilt Castle at Biltmore, N. C., they are more convinced than ever that they must be entirely right in their theory. And yet it takes but little examination into the statistics on the matter to show that notwithstanding the enormous



RESIDENCE OF GEORGE GOULD, NEW YORK CITY

WHERE SOME
OF THE
MONEY GOES

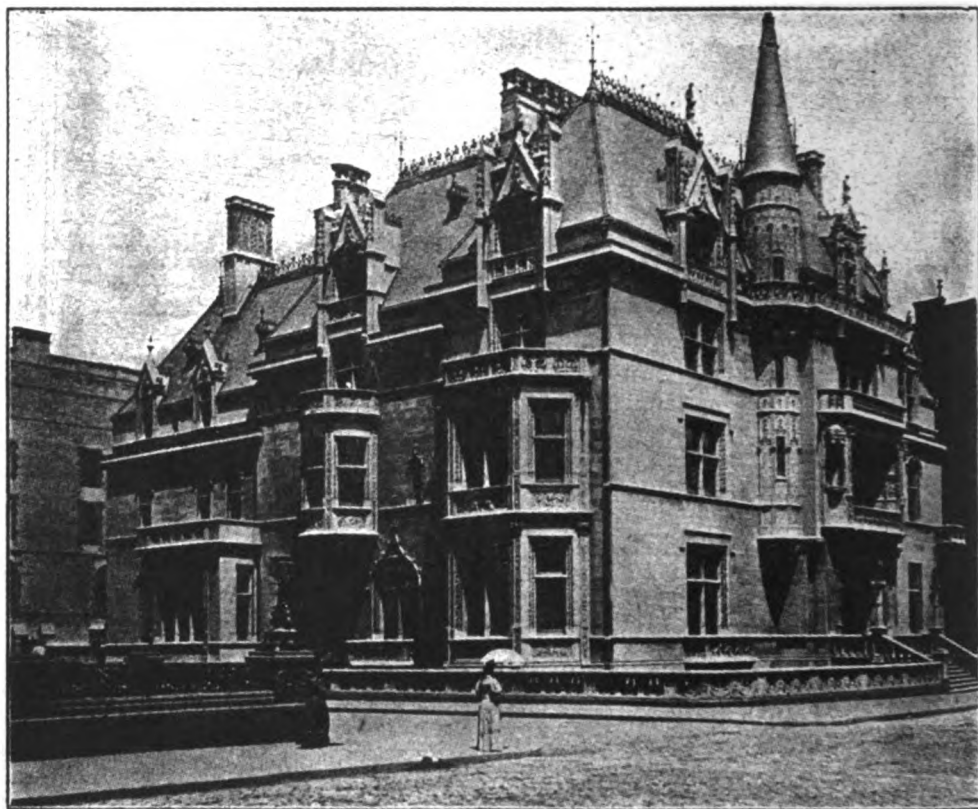
walk up the avenues of our fashionable city streets and see the magnificent houses on them, such as the Gould's and the Vanderbilt's,

amount which is spent by the rich in luxury, it is a very small quota of the amount that falls to them through the working of our competitive system. As we have said time and again in this

magazine, the spending of the rich during the feudal ages was quite sufficient to absorb the surplus, inasmuch as at that time there was no machinery to help man in his labor. Today steam and electricity have completely revolutionized the condition of affairs. Not only has machinery immensely increased production, but the building of machinery

MR. W. ENGLISH WALLING has a very interesting account of the Trade Union situation as it exists in New York City to-day in the March number of *The World To-day*. Mr. Walling's general conclusion is that while the employers have been beaten in their efforts to keep the

WALLING ON
LABOR IN
NEW YORK



RESIDENCE OF W. K. VANDERBILT, 5TH AVE., NEW YORK

has created a tremendous reservoir of consumption into which the increased production could pour, viz., in the building of this machinery. But this reservoir is at last full and is going to overflow and inundate us with surplus capital, which will swamp our capitalist system.

“open” shop, on the other hand they have won their contest against the sympathetic strike. He says that

The Employers' Association has chosen as its secretary one of the most prominent union men in the country, Mr. Samuel B. Donnelly, formerly president of the Typographical Union. I asked him why the individual walkout had not superseded the sympathetic strike in New York. “We don't tolerate the individual walkout,” he said.

"We hold the officers of the union responsible for the acts of each individual member. If the men get rebellious and leave work, the unions are required to replace them. If they don't, we are ready to fill their places with out-of-town men and the unions have no right to object." There is no doubt that the sympathetic strike has, for the present at least, disappeared. "Well, but you and I know," I said, "that the building trade unions have made themselves what they are by means of the sympathetic strike. How are they going to keep their strength without it?" "They'll have to get out and organize," was his answer. "That's the trouble, they've had too easy a time of it. Walking delegates have been able to force the employers to terms without properly organizing the men. Now that employers are together, unions can succeed only when they are backed by a full quota of loyal and intelligent unionists, not men that have been coerced into the union and forced to accept the arbitrary government of a gang of walking delegates."

"All employers' associations go through the stage of opposition to the union shop at the outset, but they'll have to come around at last, as the contractors have done here. The older associations, like the Western Coal Operators, the Newspaper Publishers and the Stove Founders, satisfied themselves long ago that the union shop is a good thing when the union is a responsible body. Nothing need be said in the agreements; if the employers don't discriminate in favor of non-union men, unionists will soon see to it that there is not a non-union man in the shop. The 'union shop' is not a theory, it is the inevitable outcome of industrial evolution."

We hope Mr. Walling will continue to give us his studies of the labor situation in the various cities of the United States. He is unusually well fitted for the task both by temperament and education. He is a young man of wealth, who is giving up his whole time to the study of the labor problem, and his views are in practical accord with those of most Socialists.

NOT VERY LONG ago a movement was started in St. Paul to lessen in that city the barbaric noise which, in recent years, has held permissible and undisputed sway on the Fourth of July.

A SANER FOURTH OF JULY In Chicago, also, there has been considerable talk about instituting some severe municipal regulations of the celebration of this day. The movement, whenever it happens, is a good one, and

its success is greatly to be desired throughout the entire country. It is pleasant to notice, therefore, that its spirit has travelled eastward, and has recently prompted the Emerson Union of Boston to pass resolutions on behalf of a saner holiday than any which has been observed in our country since the close of the Civil War. Its appeal to the Legislature for higher and nobler methods of celebration than prevail is prefaced with several indisputable assertions, which are given in substance below. The petitioners say :

1. That the present mode of making the celebration one of constant, unbearable noise is obnoxious, and causes great loss of life and property.

2. That there are hundreds of accidents, involving expense to individuals and towns, and suffering and torture to the old and sick, as well as to dumb animals.

3. That a more peaceful and nobler method would insure pleasure and safety, and promote patriotism in a higher degree.

4. That in place of continuous noise there should be continuous music in and out of doors.

5. That public excursions on the water and inland, should be provided for children by their guardians and teachers.

6. That the weak and sick should be provided with suitable amusement.

7. That plays and operas, public libraries and art museums should be made to contribute their part to diversify the holiday entertainments.

In view of these facts, some lamentable and all obvious, the Union prays for the passage of such laws "as shall prohibit the issuing of special licenses for the sale, on or about the fourth day of July, of torpedoes, toy pistols, toy cannon, and all other articles in which explosives of any kind are used, or of which such

explosives form a part." The sale of the least harmful ones at any time calls for stricter regulation. Probably our second President, John Adams, never suspected what a Pandora's Box of tumult and evil he precipitated, when he wrote to his wife that the day we celebrate (then foretold as the 2nd) "will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore." All of this in Adams's day was very well. Down to the Civil War what he suggested was done with light, and mostly feeble explosives; and, there was measurable quiet when the oration and music were prominent, which are usually missing in our modern era. Moreover, all that was then, in a mild sense, loud noise, was under civic or municipal control. There were then no diabolical cannon crackers and other multiplied instruments of torture set off against municipal law by everybody, and not only set off on the Fourth, but for a considerable time before and after, and making two nights at least, as well as the Fourth itself, one prolonged and intolerable pandemonium. It is high time, therefore, for a civilized amendment of the Fourth. It should be asked for for the benefit of the sick, which the long period of unceasing and intolerable noise turns from recovery to death, for the prevention of widespread mayhem and fatal accidents, for the peace of the well and weary, and for the rights of all citizens against the impudent domination of a senseless and cruel mob.

It would be well if all the States, even if special Legislative sessions are necessary on its behalf, should arouse themselves to establish firmly this much needed reform.

I MUST EXTEND my congratulations to my friend and would-be lawyer Mr. Harrison J. Barrett, who has just been acquitted by the Washington jury of any wrong-doing regarding the post-office. I am quite certain that when Mr. Barrett offered to take up my case for a fee of \$5,000 and get me an entry into the second-class rate, that he was actuated by the noblest and most generous sentiments. Those who infer that he would have divided up his fee with any post-office employee in order to produce results are quite oblivious to the impossibility of his having contemplated such an act. They are not conversant with the cost of board in Washington. Mr. Barrett is a young man, pushing his way upward and onward and if he should divide such a modest fee as he asked from WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, there would be simply nothing left for him to live upon. The Arnold "get-rich-quick" turf concern, which had employed Barrett to conduct their case before the post-office to the end that they might enable the public "to get rich quick," were asked in the post-office investigation how they happened to employ Barrett. They replied that they had heard that he was a good capable attorney who "produced results." It is now evident that Mr. Barrett can "get results" when he conducts his own case in defense of himself against malicious charges, just as well as he can "get results" for Mr. Get-Rich-Quick-Arnold. Anyway his conviction would have hurt the G.O.P. However, the following from the *New York Times* would seem to

BARRETT
RESULT
PRODUCER

indicate that anybody could get results from a Washington jury just as well as Mr. Barrett did :

The prevailing belief that it is difficult to get twelve men into a jury box in the District of Columbia who will find a thief guilty if his frauds and thievery were at the expense of the Government, may do an injustice to the community in the National Capital, but there is at any rate some foundation for that view. A very large part of the population of Washington is made up of persons who are or have been holders of places under the Government. There is among this class a general belief that it is a very mean business to interfere with a fellow who is trying to get on. That sentiment may have had something to do with the remarkable result of the trial of TYNER and BARRETT.

It reassures us in our belief in the intelligence of the American public when we find that there are certain localities which give such a good manifestation of doing what is best for them, as is shown by the action of the Washington juries. They have sense enough to vote for those that "produce results" for Washington, and we cannot see why the example of Washington should not be followed by the rest of the people of the United States. We have been voting for people who have been holding office for years, but never produced any "results." Or, if any results were gotten, they never filtered down to the public, but were kept by the people that we sent to office. We would like to ask the man on the street, who is going to vote for Roosevelt next election, "Do you think Roosevelt will produce any results for you?" This country is rich enough to make everyone "get rich quick," if we only put the right fellow in office to "produce results," I would suggest my friend, Mr. Barrett, be made Dictator of the United States. His reputation as a successful "result producer" is unequalled. Roosevelt neither promises results, nor if he did so promise, has he any record of producing results. Why do we intend voting for the man who promises

nothing, and who produces less than nothing?

ONE OF THE MOST fortunate occurrences that could happen for Socialism is that the man who has most profited by the existing competitive system is one who so strictly conforms to the conventional ideas of religion and morality. If Mr. GOOD OLD ROCKEFELLER Rockefeller were noted

for his profligacy or his violation of the ordinary business rules of life we might be able to blame the individual rather than the system, but as a matter of fact even the most searching scrutiny into his methods, which is being given by Miss Tarbell in McClure's Magazine discloses no such moral or legal delinquency of which so many other of our great capitalists are guilty. Miss Tarbell's story of Rockefeller which is continued in last month's McClure's, is simply a long recital of the attempt of the various refiners and producers of oil to keep up an independent existence. She says that up to 1887 Mr. Rockefeller had confined his attention to refining of oil and had not gone into the production of the raw material. In that year, for the first time, he was compelled to purchase oil bearing lands, inasmuch as the oil producers were forming a monopoly which threatened to cut him off from his supply of crude oil. Oil had always been at such a very low price, owing to overproduction, there was no reason for Rockefeller producing himself. There were complaints as to the low price of oil and Rockefeller was blamed for this condition. He replied when asked by an investigating committee, "the dear people, if they had produced less oil than they require, we would have given their full price; no combination in the world could have prevented that if they had produced less oil than the world requires." That

this is true can be seen by the fact that the yearly production of crude oil had risen from five and a half million barrels to thirty million barrels, and in 1883 thirty-five million barrels were above ground in stock. Mr. Rockefeller could not be blamed for this great surplus of oil being produced, inasmuch as he had nothing to do with production. It is true that he did limit the distribution to a certain extent by putting up the price of his refined oil, but even if he had sold at absolute cost there would have been over-production anyway. The lowering of the price a few cents a gallon, would have somewhat undoubtedly stimulated the demand for oil, but not nearly enough to have absorbed the total production. The earth has in its oil fields a great deal more oil than people can burn up this year, but the oil producers do not seem to think so. It is absurd to think that all you have to do is to reduce the price enough to use up at once the earth's store for the ages. Not only can the earth yield a great deal more than the people can possibly burn, but our competitive system prevents people from having means enough to buy what they want, so that there are two very good reasons, either of which is quite sufficient to account for overproduction. Mr. Rockefeller has been absolutely relentless in his determination to prevent and exterminate competition in the oil business, but that he has done anything that any ordinary business man would not do to beat a competitor in a similar case is not very clear. The great difference between Mr. Rockefeller and most men is that he has had the courage and ability to resort to such measures. It has been alleged that Mr. Rockefeller was instrumental in having certain opposing refiners in Rochester blown up in order to get rid of them, but Miss Tarbell has sifted the evidence pretty closely and comes to the

conclusion that there is no ground for this charge. However, it is admitted that WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is rather a prejudiced witness in favor of Mr. Rockefeller, inasmuch as we are endeavoring to show that the fault exists not in the individual but in the system. We are of the opinion that the day is not so very far distant when McClure's Magazine will also come to the same opinion. Their brilliant contributor Lincoln Steffen does not hesitate to declare that the source of corruption does not exist in the innate wickedness of man, but in the innate wickedness of the competitive system under which man labors.

—

WHEN ONE READS a story of the French Revolution, and by the way, no better account can be had than that found in Mr. Thomas E. Watson's "Story of France," published by McMillan, what impresses most is that the opposition of the nobility to the Third Estate was so extraordinarily weak. The cause is not difficult to determine. The nobility for a long period of time practically had withdrawn themselves from all contact with the real life of France, and given themselves up to a life of pure dissipation, which neither exercised their brain nor bodies. The function of the nobility was purely parasitical. They lived simply to take the money from the toilers and spend it in luxuries upon their useless selves. Finally, when their extravagance became so great that the people of France no longer could meet their demands, both state and private individuals were plunged into bankruptcy. The crisis came, the nobility were pushed aside by the bourgeoisie, who installed themselves in their place. It has often been said that the history of France foreshadows the history

FRENCH NOBILITY
VS. AMERICAN
CAPITALISTS

of America, and that the next move on the chess board will be the installation of the working class into the seats now occupied by the capitalist class. But are our capitalists as yet become the idle, weak, parasitic class? We should say certainly not. Of course there are great numbers of men and women in America who have money, and do nothing except amuse themselves—like the Newport and the Tuxedo crowd, but to say that such people are typical of the present day American capitalist is absurd. The capitalist, as society is now organized, is playing a very important part in the social organism. He is yet needed, and while the day is not far off when he will not be needed, until that day comes he is to be counted upon as a factor and a very important factor in the evolution of society. Even after the time has come when he no longer performs a function he will continue to count and count heavily, such is the force of conservatism. A parasite is a degenerate, but it took a long period of time for the degeneration to come about. In the meanwhile the parasite may live like a parasite, but not act like one.

WE ARE NOW RAPIDLY approaching the great unemployed problem. Newspapers report that during May some 75,000 men were laid off by the railroad companies and that in no period in the history of the country have so many men been laid off in such a short time. It is also significantly added that there has been no reduction in wages or attempt at reduction. It is simply a bald case of the railroads not having work for the men at any price and being forced to discharge them without giving them the option of staying on even at a reduced wage. The next unemployed problem

will be caused by over production. Over production means fierce competition and finally bankruptcy of those manufacturers not protected by a trust. It is certain that these small manufacturers outside the trust are bound to surrender sooner or later or unite themselves for protection against their larger competitors. It is also certain that the farmers of this country who are now enjoying as good times as they can ever expect to have again will soon find themselves confronted with a falling market for farm products and they too will be looking for a political remedy. Therefore the indications are that there will be three great discontented classes in the country, namely, the smaller manufacturer, the farmer and the unemployed working man, and it is but natural that these classes will unite politically in an effort to improve their economic condition the best way they may. That they will adopt Socialism as their first remedy is, of course, out of the question. The very last thing to be considered is a change of the social system. An attempt will certainly be made first to patch up the existing one. This seething mass of discontent may center upon some such man as Mr. Hearst and look to the Democratic Party to remedy its wrongs, but the time is hardly ripe for such a political movement and until conditions get very bad the great majority of the farmers and small manufacturers will continue to vote for the Republican Party, while the working-man vote will be divided more or less equally between the Democratic and the Republican Party. The Socialist Party some day will get their vote but not until the clubbing is hard enough.

IN THE MARCH NUMBER of the *Critic* there is an article by Arthur Hornblow, suggesting that Bulwer, in

The Coming Race, foretold in his description of Vril the recent discovery of

RADIUM
AND VRIL

Radium and its extraordinary properties. Bulwer says that a small amount of Vril could destroy a city as large as London and that a child could destroy an army by merely pointing at it a staff charged with the substance. Science assures us that the power of Radium is almost limitless, that two pounds of it could destroy three millions of people, and that one ounce would blow up a battle-ship. Bulwer's subterranean race lighted their streets and houses with Vril. Science tells us that Radium gives out light and heat without waste or diminution. This wonderful Vril of the novelist could cure disease. Indeed the race depended wholly on it to restore and invigorate life. Experiments recently made with Radium demonstrate that it will cure certain forms of skin disease, and it is also believed that it will cure cancer. On the other hand, if applied differently, it will burn the skin and destroy life. Physicians declare that air rendered radio-active will cure consumption, and that water rendered radio-active will relieve stomach trouble. Could then Bulwer have been otherwise than inspired when he wrote more than half a century ago of Vril: "It enables the physical organization to re-establish the equilibrium of its natural powers and thereby to cure itself?"

CERTAINLY THERE COULD BE no greater reason for the working class to break away from old parties and organize a political party of its own, than that which to-day exists in Colorado. At the last election the Socialist vote did not amount to ten per cent. of the whole, and at the

IMPOSSIBILITY
OF
EMPLOYMENT

next election there is no clear indication of any considerable increase. The Colorado condition is one where the employers *could* pay more wages and reduce hours, but they do not wish to do so merely because it will interfere with profits. The struggle in Colorado is a trade union fight between the employers and the working class, the demand not being for a change of social system but for the reformation of system. However, if in Colorado the mine owners found it impossible to sell their ore, and therefore could not give employment to miners, there would be a joint conference of both the mine owner and the working man to discuss what should be done. If the mine owners of Colorado should simply discharge their employees as the railroad companies are doing, without offering the option of lower wages and longer hours, it is not difficult to see that the Colorado situation would then be truly revolutionary instead of simply insurrectionary as now. When this condition of the *impossibility* of payment of wages comes upon us, and it looks like that day is not so very far distant, then the matter of a class warfare between the working class and the capitalist class as a whole must certainly assume a different phase from that which is often presented in the Socialist argument. If we had a static state of society in which there were no forces bringing things to this final catastrophe, then the condition of growth of Socialism would simply be one of awakening the working class to a sense of their being robbed by the existing system and urging them to unite politically and industrially to install themselves in both political and economic control. With a static condition of society this process would take a long course of time to bring about, and during the period the class struggle would continue with ever more

sharply defined lines between employers and employees. This is often the presentation of the present state of society made by Socialists, but as a matter of fact it does not give a true view, inasmuch as society is not static but essentially dynamic. If we had a static or stationary condition of society and a practically constant flow of profits to capitalists, then the capitalists as a body will be unitedly in favor of the continuance of the system and only a few idealists would ever join with the working class to overthrow it. But with our dynamic condition of society, that not only periodically forces a great number of capitalists to go without profits, but makes it ever more plain and palpable to them that the time is shortly coming when profits can no longer accrue to them at all, it does not require much idealism on the part of such capitalists to see that their salvation is to join with the working class in a demand for a different system of society. That such a condition of affairs is rapidly approaching in the United States is palpable from an examination of present industrial conditions. Capitalists who will see that their profits and capital have vanished forever, are just as sure to join with the proletariat in a demand for the reconstruction of society as is a hungry dog sure to take a bone. It will become a matter of life and death to them, and when the prediction is made that the political party of the working class is to be augmented by a large section of the capitalist class, it does not mean that this augmentation is coming from any awakening ethical impulse of the capitalists, but simply from their recognition of the absolute necessity of the reconstruction of society in order to save themselves. It is rather a perversion of the term to speak of such men as idealists when the

presentation of the ideal is made so plain that they would be fools not to see it, and it means death not to realize it. Therefore on purely economic grounds it may be predicted from the way conditions now point the economic crisis which is now hastening upon the United States will form an entirely new division of the political parties, that is, one party will stand for the continuance of the existing social conditions and one party for Socialism, but the party for Socialism will not be made up of the working class alone and those who sympathize with the working class, but will be made up of a large share of the small capitalists and farmers who have been convinced that the economic system is played out and if they wish to survive they must bring about Socialism. And even of many of those of the working class who will have joined the Socialist Party it will not be so much that they have joined it from dissatisfaction with their present wages as it will be from the recognition of the impossibility of getting any wages at all under the present system. The conventional Socialist position, that the working class will finally revolt from a knowledge of their being robbed by the competitive wage system is sound enough as far as it goes, but it does not take into sufficient consideration the great unemployed problem which is going to cause the working class to revolt not on account of a low wage but on account of no wage.

—

THE APPOINTMENT of Attorney-General Knox to the Senate from Pennsylvania to fill the vacant chair of the late Senator Quay is right in line with the general rottenness of things. Knox was appointed at the instance of the Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA
RAILWAY
APPOINTS NEW
AGENT AT
WASHINGTON.

Railway, and will be their agent at Washington. A big railway needs its own United States senators as much as it does brakemen and engineers.

THIS PICTURE shows how commercialism steps in to spoil the beauty of our cities. It is the intersection of

a little piece is nipped out and occupied by bill boards. The reason thereof is that Mr. Siegel, a competitor of Mr. Macy in the department store business, bought up this corner and refused to sell it, thus ruining the appearance of one of the finest commercial sites in New York. On the right is



34th street and 6th avenue in New York City, which is fast becoming the retail center of the city. On the left is seen Macy's large department store. It is noticed that the corner of this store is not finished, but

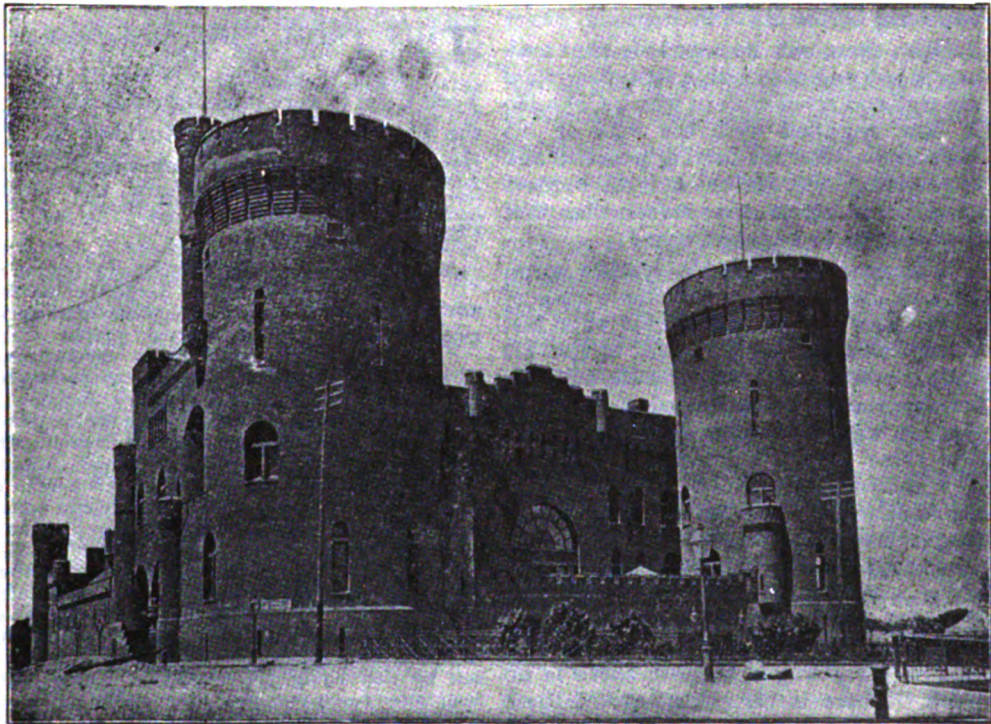
**COMMERCIALISM
DESTROYS MUNI-
CIPAL BEAUTY**

shown the ugly elevated railway structure which, with its deafening trains, is quite sufficient to render the abode of any God-fearing man impossible. The one-storey structure in the center is the beautiful building, erected by James Gordon Bennett for his New York Herald. In

European cities, where buildings are low and surroundings are artistic, a building such as this would be effective, but as it is now, dwarfed between the towering, noiseless structure of Macy's and the hideous elevated railway, its effect is entirely lost.

would be absurd to think of the troops being besieged in such structures and commanding respect of rioters. It is one of the wonders of the age that the working class, and particularly the trade union workingmen, should vote money for the construction of such armories, when it is well known that the only use which is ever going to be made of them will be to suppress labor. The old idea that the military force was to be used to repel

THE PICTURE of the Eighth Regiment Armory of New York City shows how the present competitive system wastes labor in producing not only objects



THE ARMORY OF THE 8TH REGIMENT OF NEW YORK

which have no utility, but also are of absolutely no artistic value, and it is indeed very questionable if, in times of severe rioting in the city through labor troubles, these armories will have any great military value. If the troops are ever forced to retire to the armory and give the city over to the mob, certainly the day is lost for "law and order." It

foreign foes is quite done away with. Colorado is furnishing us just now an excellent object lesson of the use of the militia. It is to murder men who dare join a labor union.

The Colorado Outrages.

WHEN I SAW the above heading on an editorial in that old standby

I called
 feeling
 the
 the
 the
 James
 the

of conservatism, the *New York Commercial*, I was prepared for a denunciation of the workers. But even a rhinoceros has a heart and what follows shows how far Peabody has gone when such a paper as the *Commercial* refuses to defend him :

"We maintain," says Governor Peabody of Colorado in a signed statement prepared especially for publication, "that any citizen may earn his living in a lawful manner at any lawful occupation, and be protected by the law."

How, then, can he reconcile that eminently just and reasonable attitude toward the riot and revolution in which Colorado is now engulfed with the acts of his militiamen, who are driving peaceful and law-abiding citizens beyond the borders of the State for no other reason than that they happen to be union men ?

A shoemaker, with his leather apron on and engaged in unpacking a case of goods was dragged out of his shop last Friday, without being allowed to get his hat or coat or to communicate with his family, and was then hustled over into Kansas with a warning never to return. The same day an expressman of Victor was seized and thrown into jail by a squad of soldiers without having a chance to get some one to look after his two teams, which were left standing in the street. Wives and children are having their natural protectors and bread-winners torn away from them and put where they cannot earn wages because there is no work. There is no evidence that these men are revolutionists or that they have aided or abetted the rioters—no charge against them of sympathizing with law-breakers. Their only crime is that their names appear on the roster of one or another of the local unions in the Cripple Creek district. They and scores of others equally inoffensive are simply the victims of over-zealous and maddened public officials who are determined to suppress union tyranny at any cost.

Governor Peabody is not permitting "any man to earn his living in a lawful manner." He is denying hundreds of

them their constitutional rights. Just at a time when public sentiment all over the country was steadily crystalizing against the vicious labor unions, this outrageous treatment of union men, innocent of any offense, puts into the hands of the unscrupulous labor leaders a club that they will not be slow to wield for the discomfiture of their opponents and critics.

The cause of free labor is being immeasurably injured in the house of its friends.

THIS FROM THE correspondence column of the *Evangelist* (New York City) is very striking as illustrating the growth of Socialism. Not long ago all religious journals were damning Socialism. Now it is good form to pat it on the back :

A correspondent, evidently having in mind the growth of Socialistic sentiments, is unable to understand how a people who voluntarily tax themselves, as the Americans do, to support the liquor traffic, can be expected to embrace Socialism, the essence of which is self-sacrifice for the general good, or to derive much benefit from it. It is very true that Socialism does not and cannot change human nature. But the point is here : in a state organized on Socialistic principles no one will be able to secure for himself any personal profit by the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drink. This at once cuts the tap-root of the liquor traffic, which is its unusual and excessive profitability. In like manner the Socialist is no more apt to be honest than other people. But in a Socialistic State he cannot advantage himself by defrauding his neighbors. Thus, the temptation being removed, these and other vices will languish. Your correspondent will reply that by the same tokens the incentive to industry and frugality will disappear, for these virtues win no special rewards. But Socialism proposes that every citizen shall contribute his fair share toward the public welfare, and each one so contributing shall enjoy equally all the blessings created by the common effort. The certainty of a just reward is the strongest possible incentive; the uncertainty of reward the most utter discouragement. Should Socialism be adopted, the indolent and the vicious will not all at once disappear ; but the system, for the reason stated, distinctively and positively discourages indolence and vice, while the present individualist competitive system distinctively and positively encourages them by permitting them to be sources of personal profit.

THE DEMOCRATIC EDITORS are hardly able to conceal their rather ghoulish glee over the fact that the Republicans are likely to go into the coming campaign with the necessity of explaining why the workingman has lost the fulness of his full dinner pail. The said workingman has been assured that it is only necessary to vote for the Republican candidates and Republican policies to keep himself well fed, fat and sleek, and the Democratic editors are hoping that labor will be so angry over the collapse of things under the Republican administration that it will turn its votes over to the Democrats. The Democratic editors, however, neglect to specify how the dinner pails are to be filled and kept full under a Democratic administration. The reason why the Democratic editors do not explain this point is simply because they can't. John Mitchell's miners are the last section of the working class to have a hole knocked in their dinner pails and they are joining the ranks of the other workers who are slowly but surely waking up to a knowledge of the fact that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can do anything for them. Meanwhile the Socialists are cheerfully standing pat with their explanation and solution of our industrial difficulties.

THE EXPERIENCE OF the past 20 years seems to be conclusive in the support of the belief that it is impossible for the farmers to organize or maintain any effective combination. The Farmer's Alliance, which found its political expression in the Populist movement, was the most ambitious and best organized movement for self-protection ever instituted among the farmers, but it fell apart from its own weight. The

HOLES IN THE
DINNER PAILS

FARMERS BLOW-
ING ANOTHER
BUBBLE.

farmers, however, finding themselves at the mercy of the intermediate buyers, combines and the speculators, are continually seeking some way by which they can get a higher price for their products. The last effort of this sort is seen in the American Society of Equity, which has its headquarters in Indianapolis. It is penetrating into the rural regions and arousing a considerable degree of enthusiasm among the farmers of certain sections. That this farmer's trust will prove abortive like all of its predecessors there is no reason to doubt. Agriculture is a widely diffused industry in which the combination idea is impossible of application. One might as well try to smooth out a feather bed by beating it with a broomstick as to try to weld the millions of widely separated farmers into an effective organization. Such an organization, if it is ever effected, must wait until agriculture has reached a condition analagous to the factory system—that is, when all the land is owned by a comparatively small class and operated through the employment of wage labor. A sample of the arguments now being used by the American Society of Equity may be found in a Kentucky paper which a friend sends us. Its Utopianism is shown by the naive observation that “when such a union as this has a million or more members it will be a strong business power in this country, and when every farmer has joined it, it will be a stronger power than the trusts or any organization of labor.” Conceding that the farmer's trust might get a million members it could never stand the strain of a sudden demand for agricultural products with the consequent high prices. The farmers would fall over each other rushing their products to market regardless of any previous agreement. If the farmers still raised all the things that the farmer needs it is conceivable that the

agricultural class could starve the world into submission by withholding its products from the market ; but the mere fact that the agricultural products are taken to the market shows that the producers are exchanging them for the commodities of other producers, and that the farmer, as much as any other element of society, is an integral part of the whole industrial machinery and cannot live apart from the rest of society. The truth of the matter is that the average farmer is at the mercy of the trusts just like the factory worker, and his salvation, like that of the proletarian, must come through Socialism and that alone. If the farmer will quit chasing will-o'-the-wisp farmer's trusts and begin voting for the Socialist candidates, he will see the beginning of his emancipation.

L'ENVOI

RUDYARD KIPLING

When earth's last picture is painted,
 And the tubes are twisted and dried,
 When the oldest colors have faded,
 And the youngest critic has died,
 We shall rest—and, faith, we shall need it—
 Lie down for an aeon or two,
 Till the Master of All Good Workmen
 Shall set us to work anew.

And those that were good shall be happy ;
 They shall sit in a golden chair ;
 They shall splash at a ten-league canvas
 With brushes of comet's hair.
 They shall find real saints to draw from—
 Magdalene, Peter and Paul ;
 They shall work for an age at a sitting,
 And never get tired at all.

And only the Master shall praise us,
 And only the Master shall blame ;
 And no one shall work for money,
 And no one shall work for fame ;
 But each for the joy of the working,
 And each in his separate star
 Shall draw the Thing as he sees it
 For the God of Things as they are.

"SANCTUARY" REVIEWED BY EDWIN MARKHAM

LIFE never comes to Edith Wharton in a simple way. Like her own heroine in this novel, she is forever swept from the straight path of the real, into the uncharted region of conjecture; is forced to seek ultimate relations, to extend her researches to the limit of her imaginative experience, in short to get at the finality of things as far as this finite can probe.

Yet, with all Mrs. Wharton's glancing by-play and mysterious concatenations of circumstances, no one writing today has a surer blow in hitting off an idiosyncrasy, or a mood. She has Mrs. Browning's accurate flash to the target at first touch.

The concreteness of her images describing spiritual states is sometimes startling. A character is revealed at a touch. As, for instance, the "scented and silvery" elder Mrs. Peyton, whose "neutral-tinted person," Mrs. Wharton tells us, "expressed a mind with its blinds drawn down toward all the unpleasantness of life." Here is a type forever pilloried in a phrase. Again, the novelist tells us, "No mask had dropped from Dennis' face; the pink shades had been lifted from the lamps and she saw him for the first time in an unmitigated glare."

Here is a swift analysis of the process of a young woman's disillusionizing that another would not have given so graphically in a page.

We are continually impressed by the alertness of Mrs. Wharton's mind. She excels in subtle hold-ups and flayings. She stings with epigram. She lashes with epithet. She keeps one keyed to such attention and admiration that the dullness of another seems balm. After

one of her brilliant stories we almost feel like reaching out for some platitudinous, soporific Martin Tupperized book of dullness.

The heroine of *Sanctuary* is a woman of intense feeling and high moral passion. She is happy in the prospect of a fitting marriage. She finds her lover to be a villain in his treatment of his brother's wife. She rejects him, and then recalls him, and marries him in order to save him from marrying some hypothetical woman, who may become the mother of a hypothetical child, that she—the hypothetical mother—would probably not so well know how to rear so as to root out the seeds of his evil heredity.

The heroine's argument leading to this criminally Quixotic self-sacrifice, this preposterous prostitution of womanhood, is not to be defended from any point of view. There is absolutely no justification for it in the common sense of things. It is a problem, however, that could come up only to one of Mrs. Wharton's rarified heroines. There is no situation on earth that would lend a color of justification to a woman's betrayal of herself in marrying an immoral, or vicious man.

The crux of the story, however, and a crisis liable to come to any mother, is the mother's fight for the honor of her son. This woman's occult holding of her boy against the pull of heredity and the force of circumstances, is a fine dramatic situation, worked out with restraint and yet with power. There Edith Wharton is at her best, and that is always on a high place, where there are not many to touch her elbow.

*SANCTUARY.—By Edith Wharton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

THE MIRAGE OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

J. W. KELLY, A SOCIALIST CITY COUNCILLOR

HAVING recently completed a term of two years as a member of the municipal council of Marion, Ind., I am asked what a Socialist member of a municipal council can do. And my answer is, that under the Indiana State laws, he can get into trouble and that is about all.

A Socialist who has never been elected to such position can hardly appreciate fully the perplexing position in which one finds himself, when once he has taken a seat in a city council.

If he sits still in his seat and does nothing at all, he will be roundly censured, and, on the other hand, if he does anything that seems at all consistent with the present situation, what he does do will be a direct violation of his own principles.

Perhaps the very first thing of especial importance that he is asked to do will be to grant a franchise to some private corporation for the supplying of some public need; and voting for such franchise would be a direct violation of strict Socialist principles.

On the other hand he finds himself confronted with the fact that the first concern of the Socialist is the alleviation of the condition of the great submerged and disinherited working class, a large per cent. of whom are at present hanging over the precipice and their immediate destruction must be the result of any jar or intensification of the existing situation.

Vote for the franchise and you sacrifice your Socialist principles and grant capital the right of exploitation. Refuse to vote for it, and at once you are con-

fronted with the fact that, under the existing order, industry is largely carried on through the medium of such franchises and that you have completely closed the half-open door through which many of the great submerged working class have been receiving their scanty allowance, and consigned them to immediate death; for the working man is like the mule, only the mule has the advantage, for when needed, they both get their oats, while when not needed, the mule still gets his oats and his stall, but the working man gets no oats, and without oats he must die.

The municipal council has no power except that especially granted by the state legislature and this is indeed very limited. The municipal council might be all Socialists and in favor of refusing the proposed franchise and supplying the needed utility directly by the municipality, and back of them they might have their constituents as a unit sanctioning their action, but if the permission of the legislature has not been granted they are powerless.

The legislature may not meet for two years and when it does meet, being controlled by capitalistic influence, it will likely set its foot on all propositions involving Municipal Socialism. Here the Socialist councilman may say to the perishing workers, "hold on until we capture the legislature."

To which the worker will likely reply, as did the drowning man who was thus accosted, "There is nothing here to hold on to. You promised us better conditions if we voted the Socialist ticket, but instead you have taken from us the half

loaf we already had and upon which our very lives depend. If capital can get no franchise it has no need for our services, and since *you* can not employ us there is nowhere any need for us and we must perish. We can not endure a single month, aye, many of us, not a single week, without employment. How can you dare ask us to wait years?"

Take the matter of street railways alone, which is one of the items of present public concern. Suppose the Socialists should immediately find themselves in the control of every municipality in this country and withhold all franchises until the state legislatures consented to municipal ownership, what will then happen? All labor that is today employed in the hewing of ties, making of the iron, building of the roads, in the manufacturing of cars and the operating of them after they are built, must face a period of idleness until the Socialists gain control of the legislatures.

And even when the legislature has been gained, what then? What new difficulty will then present itself? It will be this: The constitutional limit of municipal indebtedness in the state of Indiana is two per cent. and this is insufficient to meet even our present needs. Most of our municipalities are already bonded to this constitutional limit.

Therefore, the enlargement of municipal functions, even with the legislature gained, must await an amendment to the constitution, which can be effected by a two-thirds of the voters of the state. When all this has been accomplished our municipalities may then proceed with the municipalization of their utilities, but without any gain to the working class or any loss to the capitalists, for Shylock will then take in rent and interest his full pound of flesh which he formerly received as profits, and the exploitation

of the workers will go merrily on just the same as before.

But, says one, the bonds which must necessarily be issued, will, after a time, be paid and where will Shylock be then? Ha! ha! happy as a lark, he will still be between the working class and the earth upon which they must live and what he formerly received as profits and later as interest he will now receive as increased rent, for a moment's reflection must be sufficient to convince any one that if every street railway, telephone, water and electric plant in any town or city in the United States was municipalized and all bonds paid—aye, if they were operated by the general government and without charge to the patrons, that the result would simply be increased demand for the houses and lands in the favored localities, and the entire gain would finally be absorbed as rent into the pockets of the landlords. And if in any town or city, to free telephones, street cars, water and electric light, there should be added free fuel, food and **clothing, with free livery, coachmen, boot-blacks and house servants** thrown in, the result would be that rents in such city would go so high that the disinherited working class would be no better off than they are today in New York City.

Nor has the great working class any more hope of freedom in the government ownership or nationalization of railroads and telegraphs than they have in the municipalization of public utilities. If every railroad and telegraph line in the United States were nationalized and freed from debt, the exploitation of labor would in no degree be permanently lessened as long as the land remains private property.

The proposition to nationalize the railroads and telegraph systems of our coun-

try is a landlord's proposition. Its very first cry was heard in the lodge rooms of the grangers and of the farmers' alliance. And why?

Was it because our land owners had grown tired of taking that which their tenant farmers and hired laborers had produced, and that they saw in government ownership of railroads an opportunity of being generous?

Not a bit of it; just the reverse. They saw in government ownership cheaper transportation, and in cheaper transportation a chance to increase rents, and in increased rents higher prices for their land.

Henry George stated a great truth when he said "that so long as land remained private property, if the good Lord should cause wealth to fall from the heavens above or gush up from the fountains beneath, His beneficence would render the condition of labor more hopeless and amount to nothing more than a generous donation to the landlords, and that if the perfection of invention should be carried to that point where it was completely automatic, requiring the aid of no human hand, the landlords alone would reap the benefit and the great working class would perish."

Municipalization of public utilities and nationalization of railroads and telegraph are twin humbugs, both of which have

received entirely too much attention from certain pseudo-Socialists, though I am free to acknowledge that I was for a long time a victim of the mirage myself.

It is also an unwise policy for the Socialist party, when in control of a municipal council, to cut off the demand for labor by the withholding of franchises to capitalists until we have gained a position that will enable us to undertake the work of the capitalists ourselves. We Socialists must let capitalism develop to its logical end.

What would we think of a general in command of an army beginning operations against the enemy by making such manœuvres as would result in the weakening or destruction of his own forces?

True, every franchise granted is one more deed to the earth added to the innumerable title deeds already in existence, all of which must be destroyed or disregarded before the great submerged working class can ever be emancipated, but the work of destroying them all will not be measureably increased because of the few additions that must be necessarily made in present defence of our own forces. There are so many additional twigs on the tree of capitalism, at the trunk of which the axe of Socialism is chopping, and when the tree falls, as fall it must, all will come down together.

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA

TOM MANN

THE readers of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE will be interested in learning of the progress of Socialism in Australia, and as an election has just taken place, which all admit to be deeply significant of the rapidly changing position (the Melbourne by-election, of March 30th), I will briefly describe the state of affairs obtaining here.

Before touching the Socialist position, understanding that a country of 80 millions population in the opposite hemisphere may easily overlook or fail to note what transpires in a country of 4 millions, it may be as well to remind readers that there was no political labor movement in Australia until thirteen years ago. An extensive strike in 1890, known as "the Maritime strike," in which the men failed, being the particular stimulating cause that resulted in some labor members being returned to the various parliaments after that struggle. Legislation of a helpful character has followed as a result, notably, factories acts, wages boards in Victoria, compulsory arbitration acts in New South Wales and Westralia, and corresponding legislation in Queensland and South Australia. Three years ago these five self-governing colonies in Australia and the island of Tasmania federated and are now unified by means of a commonwealth parliament of two houses, viz., senators and representatives, each of the states till retaining their separate parliaments of reduced proportions.

The demand for federation came chiefly from the plutocracy, who evidently thought they saw in such a grandiose

measure a plan of throttling the rising democracy, but the event proved to be a most helpful one for the workers as against the exploiters. At the first election the workers returned 21 per cent. of the number as straight out labor men, by this is meant, members who as candidates had subscribed to every item in the labor programme and pledged themselves to work loyally with and for the labor party in and out of parliament. The programme was Socialistic rather than Socialist. In parliament the labor men acquitted themselves well, and when the second election took place, in December last year, their numbers were added to, until now they have 32 per cent. of the parliamentary representation.

During the three years of the first parliament a gradual growth towards a clear avowal of Socialist principles took place, and in several states, notably Victoria, the capitalist press endeavored to checkmate the development of the labor party by the customary out-pourings of plutocratic hogwash, declaring that the labor party was a Socialist party, and that Socialism meant—here fill in with the well known (to every experienced Socialist) vituperation and calumnious piffle common to the capitalist scribblers. Some of the very respectable labor candidates objected to being saddled with the responsibility of working for straight out Socialism, but more of them, and naturally the more capable, cheerfully accepted the situation and became ardent defenders of Socialist economics. All this was to the good, and when the election showed such substantial successes for the

labor party the capitalist howlers attributed it purely to "more perfect organization," and set themselves to appoint organizers and lecturers to forthwith counteract the evil effects of the wicked labor crowd.

Melbourne, the capital city of Victoria, is a smart city of 500,000 inhabitants, the chief manufacturing city in Australia. The city proper is the headquarters of the "Fatman." Here the labor candidate was Dr. Wm. Maloney, who had resigned a seat in the state house to qualify to stand for the House of Representatives in the Commonwealth Parliament. The retiring member in the first parliament was again contesting the seat, viz., Sir Malcolm McEacharn, Lord Mayor of Melbourne, Consul for Japan, a ship-owner and merchant of excellent standing in the capitalist ranks. The result of the election gave Sir Malcolm a majority of 77, but the labor party alleged malpractices and petitioned for an investigation, with the result that the election was quashed; it is this election that has just been re-fought. It would be difficult to adequately describe the importance attached to this by-election between a model representative of the plutocracy and a member of the labor party for the Melbourne seat. The most sanguine and level headed in the labor party hoped for a win with a 400 majority, but wisely worked as though they must poll every possible vote to get a victory. The result was, Dr. Maloney,

the labor man, 8,667; Sir Malcolm McEacharn, the Lord Mayor, 7,808, majority for labor 859. This victory is so decisive and emphatic that the labor party may be excused for rejoicing over it, especially coming at a time when its influence will be most helpful to that party in the various states, as the state elections in Victoria take place in June of this year, in Westralia in May and in New South Wales about July.

Thus are these essentially British people travelling relatively rapidly towards collectivism. I am not defending the position here as though it were satisfactory to use such terms as "labor men," and labor party, when it should be clear-cut openly avowed and unmistakably Socialist, but it is leading straight for that and nothing less, but so far we lack literature of the right kind in the right quantities; but this, too, is coming, and another couple of years development will show that the workers in these Australasian states will have a good knowledge of, and will be consciously making directly for, full-fledged Socialism.

Allow me, in conclusion, to express my sincere admiration for your admirable magazine, to congratulate you on the successful fight you are making against your postal department, and to rejoice with you at the prospect of a comparatively early realization of our Socialist hopes.

TOM MANN.

April 5th, 1904, Clifton Hill, Melbourne,
Victoria, Australia.

BOOK REVIEWS

TRUST FINANCE. A STUDY OF THE GENESIS, ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS. By Edwin Sherwood Meade. D. Appleton & Co. (Cloth, 387 pp., \$1.25.)

We have no hesitancy, says the *International Socialist Review*, in saying that this is by far the most valuable work that has yet appeared on the trust question. It expounds fewer theories and sets forth more new facts and original points of view than any previous work. The essential thing about the trust is its method of organization as distinguished from other industrial businesses. A study of the trust then should be primarily a study in "high finance," yet the great majority of writers on this subject have given this phase but little attention. Three brief introductory chapters give an historical survey from "The Regime of Competition" through the "pool" and "other temporary forms of consolidation" to the "holding company" organized under the corporation act of 1889 of the state of New Jersey. "Under the provisions of this act," the author informs us, "a body of men may form a corporation under the laws of New Jersey which, among other manifold privileges, may purchase and own the stocks, or other property of any corporation engaged in any kind of business in any state. * * * For momentous consequences this statute of New Jersey is hardly to be equalled in the annals of legislation. Sixteen sovereign states had passed searching and stringent laws in prohibition of any attempt to restrict competition; laws whose detailed minuteness of specification could hardly be improved upon; which had been proved effective against the only permanent form of competition regulation yet attempted, and which undoubtedly represented the conviction of a majority of the people of the United States—a conviction finding more general and authoritative expression in the Sherman anti-trust law, and strengthened by the anti-monopoly provisions of the common law; a well-nigh unanimous sentiment opposed to any form of trust or pool, and the little state of New Jersey, containing two per cent. of the population and one and three-tenths per cent. of the wealth of the United States, by the simple act of amending its corporation law, nullified the anti-trust laws of every state which had passed them."

The legal foundation having been laid "the time was ripe for the universal application of the trust principle to manufacturing industries. On the one hand, the manufacturer was weary of competition and anxious either

to combine or sell. On the other hand stood the public, deeply impressed with the profits of the trust and anxious to buy the shares of industrial combinations if opportunity were given. Into this situation stepped the promoter, to whom a more promising opportunity to sell stocks had never been presented." The true industrial function of the promoter in the field of industrial finance is then described, first in relation to the original owners of the property which it is proposed to combine, second as an organizer and correlator of these various industries, and then, most important of all, in a capitalist society, as a seller of the "goods" thus created, to wit, the stocks and bonds of the new consolidated corporation.

—

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR, by Robert Blatchford, Editor Clarion. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Company. Paper, 25 cents postpaid. Cloth, 60 cents.

This is one of the best books written, for those who wish to inform themselves as to the basis of belief in religion. It is unnecessary to say that Mr. Blatchford does not do very much to help along strong faith in miraculous origin of any religious belief, Christian or otherwise. The book is a compilation of a series of articles which appeared in the Clarion, and which, at the time of their appearance, created considerable sensation in England, where the Clarion is published, and largely increased the subscription list of that paper. It is of questionable policy whether in the United States, where religious faith has little effect upon people in their judgment of economic theories, for a Socialist to inject religious discussion into their economic discussion. In Europe, there is no doubt that the strong religious faith there makes a man so conservative that he refuses to look upon any new theory, scientific or economic, and in such a condition it becomes absolutely necessary to force the man to let go of some of his religion before there is room in his head to place anything else.

—

A very well written booklet has just been issued, stating the grounds for the elimination of night work by bakers. There are a number of contributions by well-known people and the argument is very strong in favor of the bakers.

The low price, five cents, asked for this booklet will enable every bakery and confectionery worker to own a copy of same.

Order of Jos. Schmidt, 236 Superior street, Cleveland, O.

WILSHIRE'S GUARANTEED 5% STOCK FREE

MAY I give you a share of stock in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE? I have carried WILSHIRE'S through the hard stress of the beginning of things and it is at last paying me a profit. I now offer you a share in it absolutely free of cost if you will co-operate with me in the work of carrying it on until we gain our glorious end.

The shares of the Wilshire Publishing Co. have a par value of \$10. Every share represents \$10 of actual cash paid into the company.

I will give you free of cost one of these \$10 shares if you will take

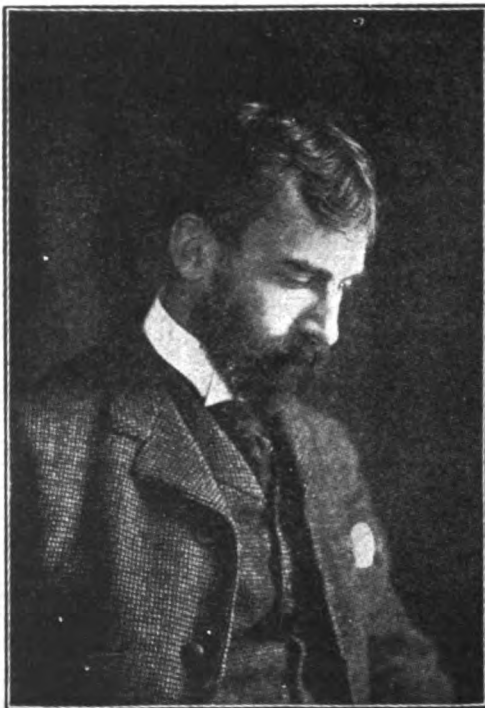
it. I not only offer it free of cost but I will actually pay you to take it.

You may think from this I wish to get rid of a bad thing. Not at all. The shares are full paid and non-assessable, and represent an equal ownership and control

with myself in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, a publication which right now in the dog-days of summer shows a net profit over operating expenses. I am so sure that the future profits will be large that *I will personally guarantee five per cent.* per

annum cash dividends upon the par value of each and every share of stock to be given away under this special offer. Just think of it! A guaranteed 5% non-assessable stock to be had for the turning over of your hand.

As to what the future dividends on the stock will be when socialistic thought



GAYLORD WILSHIRE

gets in full swing in this country, I leave to your imagination.

Every cent of profit the magazine may make will go to the stock-holders, you and I. You may do with your profits exactly as each of you individually may

see fit. I intend putting all of mine right back into the propaganda of Socialism.

However, while I intend giving away absolutely free a certain number of fully paid non-assessable guaranteed 5% shares in WILSHIRE'S, I do reserve the right to select my partners.

Before I take you in as my partner you must show your metal. You must show it by making more readers for WILSHIRE'S.

I will give a \$10 share of WILSHIRE Stock to everyone who sends in the names of ten annual subscribers together with five dollars cash to pay for the subscriptions at fifty cents each. The regular price for annual subscriptions is one dollar a year, but I will make a rate to you of fifty cents a year. You can charge your subscriber one dollar, remit me fifty cents, and keep the other fifty cents for yourself as a reward for your labor in getting the subscription.

You may also have subscription postal cards at rate of 50 cents each for annuals and 25 cents for half-yearlies. If you wish I will send you five dollars' worth of these cards, and after you sell them you may remit the five dollars and then I will at once send you free of further cost the \$10 certificate of Wilshire Stock. You should be able to sell this five dollars' worth of cards for ten dollars if you get the regular one dollar a year price for the subscriptions taken. Therefore you will be getting not only all your original five dollars back, but also five dollars profit and in addition a \$10 share

of stock. Twenty dollars for five dollars is not so bad, especially when it is All for the Cause.

However, I know you are not working for profit any more than I am. We are all seeking to better humanity, but we must live meanwhile when we are working.

I want you as my partner. I want you to feel you own an equal interest with me in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. I want you to vote your stock in the next Wilshire stockholders' meeting and have a voice in the magazine management.

Let us make WILSHIRE'S the people's own paper in every sense of the word.

Those friends that now have cards for sale in their hands and as yet unpaid for, may also participate in this free distribution of stock. Everyone who remits \$5 before the next Presidential election in payment for subscriptions or subscription cards will get a bonus of a \$10 share of Wilshire Stock.

Do not miss this great chance to get something for nothing. Send in your five dollars to-day, or if you prefer, send in your order for five dollars' worth of cards and remit after you sell the cards.

This offer will only hold good during the campaign, and is made in order to enlist every active Socialist in America as a partner of WILSHIRE'S.

No one should fail to have Wilshire Stock when it is offered free of cost.

Remember, I personally, when desired, will guarantee 5% interest on each and every share.

Gaylord Wilshire.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

WILL YOU BE ONE OF 5,000?

The Fall Campaign is now on. I want to reach a new audience of 25,000 thinkers within the next two months. If you will give me a few minutes of your time I will be able to get this audience. Think of it! More than we could get in the largest auditorium in America, more than the greatest orator could reach by his voice.

I rely upon your help. I say 25,000, but it would not surprise me in the least to see you increase the audience to 100,000, especially when you realize how easy it can be done. Imagine how much good this will be to the cause of Socialism.

Every one who answers this call will be amply repaid for the few minutes of time required. By taking advantage of my offer you can help the cause and also get a personal reward.

If you are interested, and I know every reader must be, do not fail to write me to-day.

Your letter will have my personal and immediate attention.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

P.S.—The work planned can be done by a little boy or girl after a few moments instruction.

It will be pleasant and easy, too.

Springfield, Ohio, April 12, 1904.

Most people seem to think Wilshire a man who finds pleasure in throwing his money to the birds and that it is immaterial to him whether he gets any help in increasing the circulation of the magazine or not. You need to instruct you readers and keep it before them that it is not because Socialism is Wilshire's "hobby" that this valuable magazine exists, but to further the true interests of all mankind and especially those of the working class, to the end that we may all enjoy a nobler and happier life, right here on this old earth.

R. A. HUEBNER.

Westbrook, Me., April 26, 1904.

This month's magazine is all right.

C. F. KNIGHT.

Samsville, Okla., June 7, 1904.

I have been among people who have never heard a word on Socialism, and a speaker has never spoken here. I have had two challenges at fistic combat in securing these "subs." Both opponents are among the subs. I sent you. That is the field I have to work.

GUY E. SMITH.

Slocan, B.C., April 28, 1904.

Enclosed herewith you will find one dollar for two subscriptions to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. As an executive of the Western Federation of Miners, which organization is at this time being tried as by fire, I appreciate your fearless and untiring efforts in the cause of humanity and can no longer afford to miss any of the information and counsel which the readers of your magazine enjoy.

In these hours of bitter struggle against oppressive tyranny, I can scarcely express to you what consolation there is in knowing that the strong voice of honest and intelligent manhood is being raised in all parts of the earth, in a determined protest against the inhuman conditions that are arbitrarily forced on humanity. Realizing that you are one of the persecuted, I know it is unnecessary for me to say anything to encourage you to keep up the irresistible fight you are making. I believe I am safe in saying, that to surrender, or even rest in this battle will never be the act of Gaylord Wilshire.

Yours in the fight,

J. C. BAKER.

Merimac, Mass., April 26, 1904.

I will pay \$2.00 for my own subscription rather than go without it, as I believe your position to be the correct one.

FRANK E. HALE.

Conrad, Col., May 1.

Either through an oversight on your part, or the slipping of a cog somewhere in the postal machinery, neither the March nor the April number of your interesting magazine has reached me—in this hole in the Rockies. Will you kindly remedy this, as I cannot willingly forego the stimulus and pleasure afforded me by a regular reading of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. I notice with pride and satisfaction, many improvements in this unique Socialist periodical. Not only is its appearance neat and attractive, but its literary style, also, is excellent, commending it to a large class of intelligent readers everywhere. Its editorials—and other matter—are dignified in tone, and thoughtful in expression, bearing the impress of thorough conviction, and a firm and abiding faith in the vital truths set forth therein.

To one living apart, in the heart of the mountains of Colorado, away from the busy throng, this silent modern prophet comes as a benediction, heralding anew the divine message of nigh two millenniums ago—"Peace on Earth."

F. W. EVANS.

Selkirk, Ont., May 12, 1904.

Sir—A statement was made from the pulpit of the Church of Christ on the evening of May 11th, by the Rev. Geo. A. Johnson, to this effect:

"That the proprietor of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE has placed with a Wall Street firm the sum of \$250,000 to assist Roosevelt in the coming election."

Was that statement correct? Answer by return mail, as we wish to confront him with the facts on May 18th.

Yours for Socialism,

C. E. KLINGENDER.

Yours of May 12th at hand. As to the statement made by Rev. Geo. A. Johnson, that Wilshire, or anyone connected with WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, had placed with a Wall St. firm \$250,000 to assist Roosevelt in getting the election, I would say that it is absolutely untrue.

The only money that anyone in connection with WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE has put up or will put up to advance the interest of any presidential candidate will be put up for the benefit of Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Socialist Party.

G. W.

Pullman, Wash., April 16, 1904.

Don't let my subscription run out. I want every number—can't get along without it. Socialist cause is growing, it is now quite respectable to be called a Socialist.

C. B. KEGLEY.

Newmire, Colo., April 28, 1904.

A year ago I was not a Socialist. An old friend of mine said he would send me WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE a year if I would read it. I read it, and am a Socialist to stay now. Last fall I sent the magazine to three of my friends and now they are all active Socialists.

J. G. POPLIN.

1214 N. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

June 1, 1904.

I have read three or four issues of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, and am much impressed with the style and make-up.

Your 5x4 Merger joke made quite a hit around the shop where I am employed as machinist. The request for six cards is the result.

I was talking to the business agent of the Machinists' Union in Philadelphia yesterday. During the course of our remarks, I suggested that the I. A. of M. should have two or three business agents in Philadelphia. He said it would not matter if they had 20 here now. I asked why. He said, because the workers were getting more interested in Socialism than unionism just now.

Will close, wishing you success in your great work. I remain,

Yours fraternally,

PAUL B. WREATH.

Philadelphia, Pa., April 6, 1904.

A friend of mine, to whom I sold one of your postal orders for the MAGAZINE, has been so taken with it that he wishes me to get some more postal cards which he can dispose of to his friends. Enclosed find cheque for \$2.00 worth of assorted postal cards, and perhaps with his help I will be able to sell them.

DANIEL K. YOUNG.

Calumet, Wash., Apr. 26, 1904.

Received the nine cards you sent me, and while in town this morning, I sold them all before lunch. Some bought out of curiosity, to see what Socialism is, others because they already know about the magazine. They went like hot cakes.

J. M. EDWARDS.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—Your magazine is the best of its kind and contains that which each and every one should read.

Fraternally yours,
ERNEST A. FRY,
St. John, Kans.

Riverside, Cal., March 26.

The growth of the movement in California and the West in the past 12 months is little short of phenomenal. Your magazine keeps pace with the growth of the movement and increases in value with each issue.

FRANCIS M. ELLIOTT.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—As long as WILSHIRE'S is in the field, no Socialist need blush when he speaks about his party press.

THE HARLEM LIBERAL CLUB,
117 E. 128 St., New York.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—Your magazine gives us the truth, and is the best educator now published; although I am seventy-three years old I will try and send you some new subscriptions.

G. W. LOWMAN,
Guthrie, Okla.

Kalispell, Mont., April 18, 1904.

Will say that WILSHIRE'S is gaining in favor and is highly appreciated by every one who sees it.

I. R. GILDEA.

Concordia, Kans., April 17, 1904.

Herewith I send you P. O. for \$2.00 for cards. No trouble to sell cards. Don't give up the ship. Yours during the war.

DAVID S. STEELE.

Almeda, Cal., April 26, 1904.

Your magazine is worthy of the support of every one who is striving for better conditions, and I am happy to give my little lift.

H. HAUCH.

Kane, Pa., April 28, 1904.

You are certainly doing a great work for humanity and deserve credit, and should be encouraged. But it is up-hill work trying to improve the condition of the masses.

MICHAEL FAUL.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—As I am well along on my second year's subscription to your valuable magazine, and would as soon think of giving up all the rest of my monthly mail, some five or six bushels, as to lose a month's issue, therefore if you have any back numbers, much or little, I will do my best to place them where they will yield new subscriptions for you.

FRANK L. SMITH.
Clear Water, Minn.

Editor WILSHIRE'S—I was talking with my son Louis this morning about your magazine, we agreed it is by far the best magazine published that we ever read.

We have taken it ever since it was published, we have sent it to quite a number in and out of town, and have loaned it to everyone that we could think of. Your magazine should have millions of subscribers, it should be read by everybody that can read the plainest English.

E. H. BRAMHALL

Camden, Me.

THE DREAMER

Amid the thunderous traffic of the town
There dwelt a tranquil soul who dreamed his dream
Of sunlit hills. 'Mid all the mighty stream
Of mammon slaves he only wore a crown—
His eyes turned heavenward while theirs looked down.
His thoughts were truth while theirs were hollow lies;
His words were song while theirs were groans and sighs.
Like other mortals 'mid those buildings brown
He lived and moved, but where his footsteps trod
The wise were heard: "Behold, a man of God!"
He mingled with the crowd yet walked alone;
And why? His heart was tender, theirs a stone.
A knightly minstrel of the times of old
Whose human heart Love's heavenly kingdom held.

Lucien V. Rule.

WILSHIRE'S

August, 1904

EDITORIAL REVIEW

**THE STRIKERS AND THE
MEAT TRUST**

THE EVIL VACATION-HABIT
—*Edmund Defreyne*

**FRENZIED FINANCE—The Story
of AMALGAMATED**
—*Thomas W. Lawson*

**WHAT GOOD IS GOVERN-
MENT OWNERSHIP?**

**WHO IS THIS BROTHER'S
KEEPER?** —*E. F. Andrews*

**INDIVIDUALISM AND INDI-
VIDUALITY**
—*Charles Dobbs*

TEN CENTS

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

August, 1904

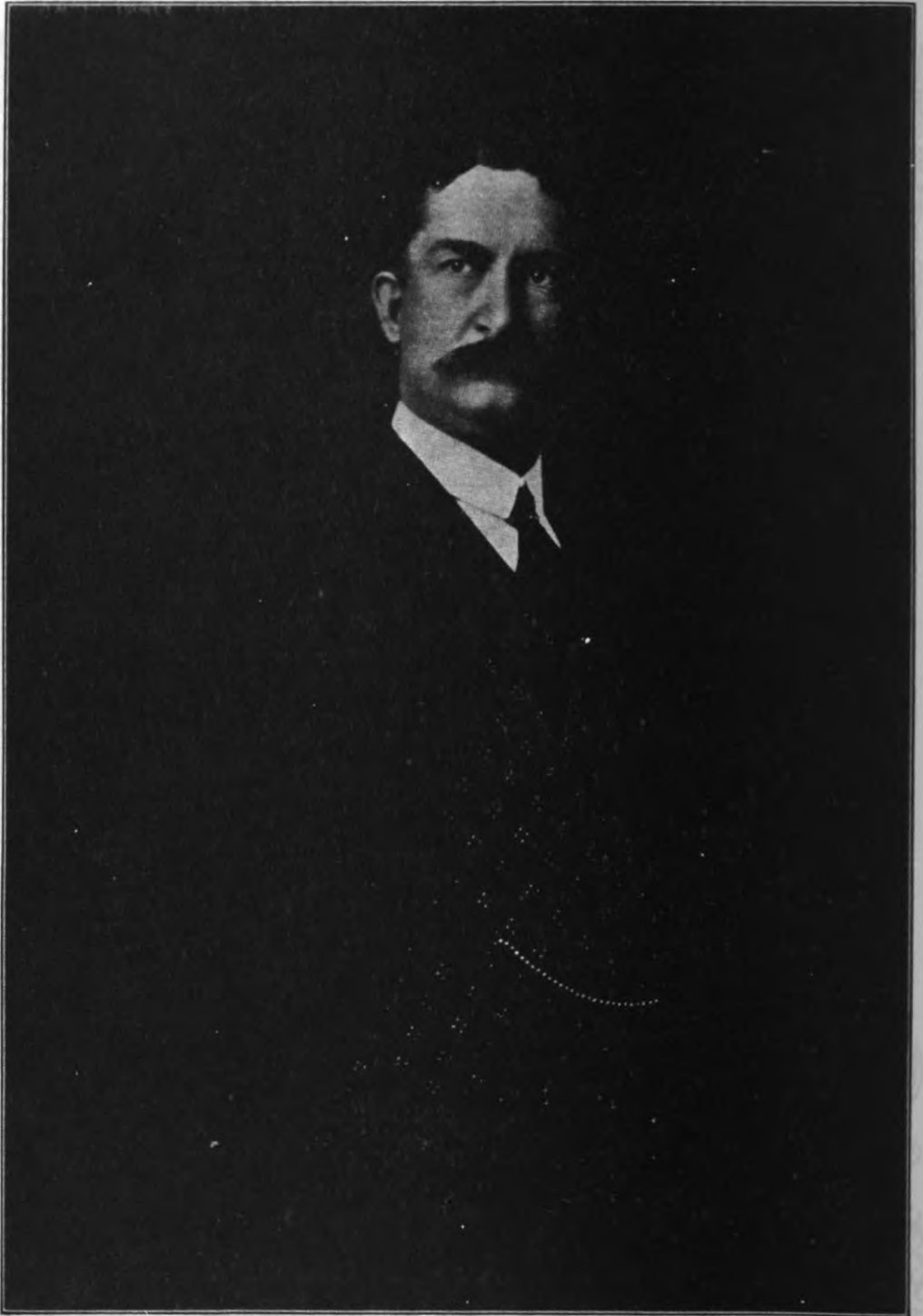
TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL REVIEW.....	329
Eagles on Flags Barred—Finding His Level—Science Benefits the Rich—Death of Mayor Jones—Parker, the Astute—Burnt Offerings to Profits—Colorado Sympathy—The Dunnville "Battle" - The Death of Populism—Vote for Men as Well as Measures—Court Decisions Against Labor—The Colorado Case—Peabody Dodges Federal Court—Hearst Eats Crow.	
THE STRIKERS AND THE MEAT TRUST.....	Editorial 338
THE AGITATOR.....	Wm. H. Leffingwell 339
THE EVIL VACATION-HABIT.....	Edmund Defreyne 340
FRENZIED FINANCE—The Story of AMALGAMATED.....	Thomas W. Lawson 342
WHAT GOOD IS GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP?.....	Editorial 345
WHO IS THIS BROTHER'S KEEPER?.....	E. F. Andrews 349
THE POWER OF BEAUTY (Poem).....	Keats 352
INDIVIDUALISM AND INDIVIDUALITY.....	Charles Dobbs 353
THE FUTURE'S MYSTIC COIL (Poem).....	Eric 355
BOOK REVIEWS.....	356
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	359

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is published monthly by the Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at \$1.00 a year. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.50 (6s.) a year. Remittances should be made by postal or express orders. When changing address always give the old as well as the new address. The date of expiration of subscriptions appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



THOMAS W. LAWSON

A plain stoker, who shovels in coal and draws out ashes.

“LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS.”

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 8.

TORONTO, AUGUST, 1904

\$1 Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

THE STANDARD OIL TRUST has suddenly developed a great love for the stars and stripes. A few months ago it ordered its tool, Governor Peabody, to jail Moyer for desecrating the flag, and Moyer has just been let out of the bull pen after serving 103 days under conditions too vile to describe. Moyer's real desecration consisted in organizing workmen to get better terms from the Standard Oil crowd who own the Colorado mines. His alleged desecration consisted in having a circular printed upon an America Flag which described the reign of terror now going on in Colorado. The last men to offend the Standard Co. are the publishers of Everybody's Magazine who are running a series of remarkable articles by Mr. Thomas W. Lawson, dealing with the floating of the great amalgamated Copper Co. by the Standard Oil crowd. Everybody's was warned that the publication of such an article would be followed by swift retribution, but they, like McClure's, thought they saw more money in the exposing of the Standard Oil Co., than

EAGLES ON
FLAGS BARRED

they did risk in the doing of it. Their initial number, last July, had a beautiful American flag upon the cover, all done in colors, with a nice tame American Bald Headed Eagle nesting in its folds. That eagle was their undoing, and the Standard's opportunity. Everybody's Magazine was held up on the news stands in various big cities, notably Boston, on the charge of desecrating the flag, the particular desecration being the showing of a picture of the flag with an eagle perched on it. It all sounds like a joke but it isn't. If you would like more of this eagle and flag story, buy the current number of Everybody's. I myself was the discoverer of the rule that you must not use the letter "I" in your Magazine editorials if you would publish in America, and now comes the latest ruling—No pictures of eagles on flags. Next!

—
“I SHALL VOTE FOR PARKER,”
says Mr. Bryan in his *Commoner*. Then Mr. Bryan gives several reasons, or rather excuses, for his declaration, none of which are nearly as interesting as would have been his statement of what

he would have done had he decided to bolt. Doubtless from a logical standpoint Bryan, who for ten years has been declaring that the retention of the gold

FINDING
HIS LEVEL

standard means ruin and damnation to the American people, should bolt the Parker ticket. But the logical standpoint and the political standpoint are different affairs. Today there is no silver party. If Bryan wanted to vote for silver he could not achieve his desire by voting the Populist Ticket, for their platform is as silent on silver as is that of the Republican Party. The Socialist Party is also, of course, silent upon silver, as it naturally has never been led astray by any financial heresies. Hence Bryan, in order to have voted for silver, would have been compelled to have flocked by himself and formed a Silver Democracy, which would have presented a more pitiable front than did the Palmer Gold Democrats of 1896. Bryan votes for Parker because his political future depends upon it. He does not understand the Socialist theory and therefore cannot be expected to support the Socialist Party. He would be almost at as great a loss talking upon Socialism as he would be talking upon Koreshanity. Some day Bryan will be a Socialist, but it will not be until conditions have so ripened that a mind of his very ordinary measure will be absolutely compelled to see the light. Bryan's gift of oratory has unfortunately for him given him among many people a very undeserved reputation of having a fine mind. As a matter of fact he is a man of most mediocre ability, and he is now fast finding his level.

OUR GOOD CLERGYMEN and professors of political economy never weary of telling us that Rockefeller and others have their great incomes as the

reward of what they have done for the public in organizing the labor of society. They would have us infer that

SCIENCE BENE-
FITS THE RICH

a man is paid pro rata with his ability. They never give us a glimmer that the immense mass of humanity are not paid according to their product but according to how little they can live upon. It is strange that Mr. Hearst, with all his zeal for the toiling masses, should not take a moment of time, while he is twirling his cap on high for his new friend, Parker, and explain to his readers the impossibility of the working-class ever being able to better their condition as long as the competitive wage system lasts. However, Hearst does see some things correctly. For instance, he takes note that Professor O. F. Cook, by the introduction of the Guatemalan ant, which destroys the boll weevil, saving the nation forty million a year to the cotton planters, will get nothing for his labor above and beyond his regular government salary. If Professor Cook were to be paid on an interest basis he should be given two thousand million dollars worth of two per cent. government bonds. As it is he gets merely a living, and when he gets old in the service he will be turned adrift without a pension. He had better been a Filipino killer. It is to be noted that Professor Cook made his discovery when working, not for a competitive capitalistic corporation, but for the State. The same remark applies to Professor Koerberle, the man who discovered a remedy for the white scale bug which was destroying the orange groves of California some ten years ago. Koerberle heard that while there were scale bugs in Australia, yet they did not seem to bother the oranges there. He rightly guessed there must be some countervailing

influence. He found it to be in a lady bug, the *vedolia cardinalis*. This little insect makes a business of eating the white scale. Koerberle sent over a colony of the Australian lady bugs to California, and the little chaps throve so well in their new home and ate so many white scales that in a few months California was rid of the pest. What Koerberle did for the orange crop Cook now promises to do for the cotton crop. These two men have saved the country millions of dollars, and yet neither will benefit personally to the extent of one cent. And yet I doubt if either of them would not feel completely rewarded if they could only have a guarantee from society that they would be supported while they could continue making scientific discoveries for the benefit of man. However, it is also noteworthy that as long as the competitive system and private ownership of property continues all these and other great discoveries do not inure to the benefit of society as a whole but merely to the rich. The extinction of the boll weevil will not add much to the pay of the negro cotton pickers, but it means much gain to the owners of the cotton fields and much more gain to the railways which have a monopoly of the cotton carrying. Similarly, the extinction of the orange scale in California gives the railways, which carry the oranges, the bulk of the gain. Competition keeps the rate of wages and the price of oranges so low that neither the orange grower nor the orange picker get much of anything. But the railways get ninety cents on every box of oranges that California exports, and this price has remained uniform for twenty years although the price of oranges has decreased from \$5 a box to less than \$1.50. The railways have advanced sufficiently to know the beauty of combination, while the ordinary people

are still working along on the old starvation competitive basis. The evolution of the human mind is a slow process.

MAYOR SAM JONES, of Toledo, was a distinct force making for progress and we deeply regret his untimely death. That he did not come up to the standard set by Socialists was owing to lack of mind rather than character. It takes considerable breadth of intellect to understand the theory of Socialism when a man has more than ten dollars in his pocket. Mr. Jones was lucky enough to patent a valuable improvement in sucker-rods for pumping oil wells. This patent gave him a margin above the ordinary reward to capital in competitive businesses, and some of this margin Mr. Jones applied to better the condition of his employees. Mr. Hearst would have us believe, judging from the following, that anyone could be a Jones, but this is absurd. Everyone has no valuable sucker-rod patent :

DEATH OF
MAYOR JONES

Readers, you cannot be like Carnegie—with his hundreds of millions to give away. You cannot perhaps be a genius giving new ideas to the world. You cannot make yourself otherwise than you are.

But you can be like Sam Jones. You can be honest, fearless and true to your better selves. You can do your share, however little that may be.

The simple-hearted Mayor of Toledo did much good in his life. But that good will be multiplied by one thousand, if other men will follow his example, and do the best they can.

Mr. Jones was of a philanthropic trend and fortunately for him he owned a patent which allowed him to indulge his hobbies. By an accident he received the Republican nomination for Mayor of Toledo, and after being in office one term his good record enabled him to repeatedly gain re-election, upon an independent ticket, in opposition to both the regular Republican and Democratic nominations. At one time a good many Radicals and

Socialists looked for great things from Jones and his election was thought to be the ushering in of the New Day for Man. But one term of Jones was enough to discourage most of the Social Reformers who had rallied to his standard, and it was thereafter understood that Jones made for little beyond honesty in administration. Jones really did not intend any more than this, and his Socialism was something rather pasted on him by enthusiasts rather than being of a natural growth. He was essentially a Utopian. However, his various campaigns in Toledo did much to educate the people there, and no doubt, now that Mr. Jones cannot be voted for, many of his former adherents will cast their votes for the Socialist Party at the next election.

PARKER IS THE MOST ASTUTE politician in America. He knows when not to talk and therein he has Teddy beat to a standstill. We would not be in the least surprised to see Parker elected, and while this result would not directly promise anything for Socialism, still any overturn of things as they are may be better than stagnation. Roosevelt and Parker are both playing the game of hornswoggling the dear public, but of the two Parker is so much the better hornswoggler and has so much the worse position that if I had no more interest in the election than if it were a dog fight I might yell for Parker simply because he is the under dog. Inasmuch as most Americans see little more in politics than they do in a dog fight, it would not be so wonderful if the under-dog sentiment may make our Strenuous Teddy do some fine side stepping before next November. His refusal to see the delegates from the Pennsylvania miners, and then his lightning change of mind,

and the blaming it all on poor patient Loeb is an indication of what Teddy can do when up against the ropes. Parker's beautiful silence while waiting for his nomination and Dave Hill's declaration to Bryan that Parker would stand on any old platform the Democratic convention might frame, so disarmed the opposition that the first ballot gave Parker the nomination. The gold telegram from Parker that came after the nomination, and when it was too late for a retreat, and which virtually pledged the Democratic Party to the gold standard, was the greatest coup in modern politics. Beware, O! Teddy, you are up against the real thing now. The Parker telegram eliminates the money issue from this campaign, and I hope from all future campaigns. It was always a damnable red herring to Socialists.

THE TWO GREAT RADICALS in the Democratic Party, Bryan and Hearst, have pledged Parker their support, and he of course has the old conservative Democrats in line, he has the cash of the Belmont clan, and through McCarren he has the Standard Oil support, so on the whole Parker has a position that will make Teddy Roosevelt do much guessing before next November. My wonder now is about those friends of the people, those so called sane and sensible Socialists, who have hitherto excused themselves for tying themselves to the Democratic Party by declaring that it was the only possible party in which to work for immediate progress. How are my good friends Clarence Darrow of Chicago, Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, and George Fred Williams of Massachusetts, going to disport themselves during the next three months? Are they, too, going to join the Parker crow feast with Bryan and Hearst?

There is but one place for such men if they really wish to express themselves truly, and that is in the ranks of the Socialist Party. It is a cold plunge for beginners, but after you get used to it there is nothing finer than knowing what to say and then saying it. Come gentlemen, don't shiver on the bank for another long four years. Besides, your shivering and waiting will be in vain. The Democratic Party will never do any better than Parker.

THE BURNING UP of a thousand people upon the steamer Slocum was but another sacrifice to the Moloch of profits similar to the Iroquois Theatre fire a few short months previous. It was the same old story of corrupt inspectors to whom a fifty dollar bill was more than a thousand and human lives, and of profit mongering owners who, to save a few pennies, put in imitation fire hose and saw-dust life preservers. The newspapers are raising the same old yawp and the public are shuddering the same old shudders but the drowning and burning up of people will go on just the same as usual at the old stand as long as there is a profit in the transaction. A capitalist may sell his soul for thirty cents, but a government marine inspector will trade his for a bad cigar. As a indication of the great prosperity of the country it might be noted that 441 of the victims of the Slocum disaster were buried at the public expense. It was not a charity excursion, either nor were there many breadwinner's victims. The dead were mostly children, some women, almost no men. However, the half of them, (it was a German Lutheran Church excursion, one of the most saving and economical set in the country) did

not have money enough in reserve to pay the funeral expenses of their dead children.

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE to be a smelterman in a Colorado mine? Here is how one of them describes it from personal experience :

Those who have not carefully followed the present trouble may have lost sight of the fact that it originated in the smelters. Naturally enough the worst of our troubles come through that class of labor that suffers the worst conditions. The life and work of the metaliferous miner are hard enough to satisfy the most strenuous and adventurous, but that of the smelterman is very much worse. He works twelve hours a day against the miner's eight, and the work is very hard and the conditions very bad. The miner often works in mud and water and breathes air that is none too good, and so takes constant chances on his health. The smelterman doesn't take chances. He knows in advance there is no escape for him. He must work among the fumes and mineral poisons. These attack him first in the wrists. He soon loses control of the muscles that direct the use of his fingers. His strength does not appear to be diminished. Once he has hold of the handles of a wheelbarrow he can wheel as heavy a load as the day he began to work. But when it comes to finer manipulation, to handling a knife and fork or spoon, he is a pitiful object. I have initiated into the union many a sturdy young smelterman who could not have picked up a lead pencil to sign his name to the application had the act been necessary to save his life. Many times I have written the names of intelligent, educated men, who were thus helpless, and who, after the pen was put into their palsied fingers, certified the proxy signature with a clumsy cross. Yet these men were steadily at work in the smelters, wheeling the heavy loads of ore by holding their hands bent in the shape of hooks under the wheelbarrow handles.

BURNT
OFFERINGS
TO PROFITS

These smeltermen work twelve hours a day at this flesh-dissolving work. Do you wonder that the miners who see them every day are not bound by every human tie to try and help them reduce their hours of work to eight, the same that they themselves work? When people tell you that the miners already have an eight-hour day and that they are only striking through "sympathy" with the twelve-hour smeltermen, do you think, if you were a miner, that you would consider yourself much of a man if you did not also strike out of sympathy? Governor Peabody and General Bell say that such men who sympathize with their fellow men should be deported from the earth. Do you not feel, when you read all this, that you would like to take a hand in the little game of "deportation"? Whom do you think you would deport, Peabody or the miners?

The *Appeal to Reason*, of Girard, Kan., sent Mr. George Shoaf as correspondent into Colorado, he representing himself as coming from an Eastern daily. Shoaf was present at the famous "battle" of Dunnville, lurid accounts of which were sent out by the Associated Press intending to show that Gen. Bell is a great hero. Bell and the Associated Press told an awestruck public that the militia dodged 2,000 bullets, which were fired at them by the desperate miners, but luckily not one of them received a scratch. Shoaf, who was within 15 feet of Bell during the "battle," says the soldiers fired at least 5,000 shots and he heard and saw but one gunshot on the miners' side. After the fight, during which a union man, John Carley, who tried to escape, was shot in the back and killed by the brave militiamen, sixteen men were prisoners, and these were their arms:

one 22-calibre target rifle, one shot-gun, one 45-calibre revolver, 13 picks and several pocket knives. There seems to be no limit to the infamy of the Colorado thugs, and no story too false to be invented and spread broadcast by the Associated Press.

THE POPULIST MOVEMENT is dead, and if there is any mistake in this belief then the next election will decide very distinctly. They have the very best candidate possibly available for them, Tom Watson, of Georgia. He is a tried and true friend of the people, and has the love and respect of everyone who has ever come into personal contact with him. The Populists are not only fortunate in their choice of candidate, but their platform is the best ever drawn up by any party except that of the Socialist Party. I herewith give a considerable extract from it in order to both show how much it has improved over previous platforms and also to indicate the great swerve of the political current in the direction of Socialism. When the Populists declare land to be a heritage of all the people, and call for government ownership of railways and an eight-hour day for workingmen, they are not very far off from swallowing the whole programme of the Socialists.

A political democracy and an industrial despotism cannot exist side by side; and nowhere is this truth more plainly shown than in the gigantic monopolies which have bred all sorts of kindred trusts, subverted the governments of many of the states, and established their official agents in the national government. We submit that it is better for the government to own the railroads than for the railroads to own the government; and that one or the other alternative seems inevitable.

We call the attention of our fellow citizens to the fact that the surrender of both of the old parties to corporate influences leaves the people's party the only party of reform in the nation. Therefore, we submit the following platform of principles to the American people:

The issuing of money is a function of government, and should never be delegated to corporations or individuals. The constitution gives to congress alone the power to coin money and regulate its value.

We demand, therefore, that all money shall be issued by the government in such quantity as shall maintain stability of prices, every dollar to be a full legal tender, none of which shall be a debt redeemable in other money.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people.

We believe in the right of labor to organize for the benefit and protection of those who toil; and pledge the efforts of the people's party to preserve this right inviolate. Capital is organized and has no right to deny to labor the privilege which it claims for itself. We feel that intelligent organization of labor is essential; that it raises the standard of workmanship, and promotes the efficiency, intelligence, independence and character of the wage-earner. We believe with Abraham Lincoln that labor is prior to capital, and is not its slave, but its companion; and we plead for that broad spirit of toleration and justice which will promote industrial peace through the observance of the principles of voluntary arbitration.

We favor the enactment of legislation looking to the improvement of conditions for wage-earners, the abolition of child labor, the suppression of sweat shops and convict labor, in competition with free labor, and the exclusion from American shores of foreign pauper labor.

We favor the shorter work day, and declare that if eight hours constitutes a day's labor in government service, that eight hours should constitute a day's labor in factories, work shops and mines.

As a means of placing all public questions directly under the control of the people, we demand that legal provision be made under which the people may exercise the initiative, referendum and proportional representation, and direct vote for all public officers, with the right of recall.

Land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of all the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes; and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

We demand a return to the original interpretation of the constitution and a fair and impartial enforcement of the laws under it; and denounce government by injunction and imprisonment without the right of trial by jury.

To prevent unjust discrimination and monopoly, the government should own and control the railroads; and those public utilities, which in their nature are monopolies. To perfect the postal service, the government should own and operate the general telegraph and telephone systems, and provide a parcels post.

As to those trusts and monopolies which are not public utilities or natural monopolies, we demand that those special privileges which they now enjoy, and which alone enable them to exist, should be immediately withdrawn. Corporations

being the creatures of government should be subjected to such governmental regulations and control as will adequately protect the public. We demand the taxation of monopoly privileges, while they remain in private hands, to the extent of the value of the privileges granted.

By the time another four years rolls around it seems to me there can no longer exist either logical or political reasons for the separation of Populists and Socialists. However, this means that the Populists must come to the Socialists, and not *vice versa*, for the Socialist programme is mapped out on the lines of the multiplication table, and we can no more change it than one can change the sum of two and two.

WHILE IT IS TRUE that voting for a measure does not seem to necessarily mean you get what you vote for, if we are to judge from the result of Colorado voting for an 8-hour law, still, it must be remembered that the members of the Legislature elected to enact the law were

VOTE FOR MEN
AS WELL AS
MEASURES

Republicans and Democrats and hence simply tools of the mine owners. If the people had elected Socialists to office they would have had their 8-hour bill passed without delay. The Colorado instance is worthy of notice by our direct legislation friends who have been persuading themselves that once the people had the initiative and referendum that the millennium was at hand. They counted without their Peabodys and Bells. One might think that the measures being adopted by the Citizens' Alliance, in Colorado, would result in a landslide for the Socialist Party at the next Colorado election. But on the contrary it would seem that the Colorado workingmen with all their intelligence and courage have not yet been sufficiently educated to see that their only genuine

relief is to come through the co-operative commonwealth. Colorado may be making Socialists, but it is making more outside the State than it is in it, if reports are to be believed.

HOWEVER, THE WORKINGMAN

must turn to politics if he is not prepared for complete slavery.

Colorado affords us a good example of how he suffers for his indifference, and the court decisions against the

COURT DECISIONS AGAINST LABOR

trade unions are giving additional reasons why politics must be the final resort. The Tuff Vale

decision in England and other similar decisions in this country, rendering the unions financially liable for damages to employers as the result of a strike, are fast making the safe-keeping of strike funds by the union a most hazardous undertaking. Judging from the following item the days of trades unionism are about finished in British Columbia.

Tacoma, July 17. A jury has awarded the Center Star Mining Co. of Rossland, B.C., \$12,500 damages against the Western Federation of Miners, Rossland Miners' Union and their officers for maliciously conspiring together to molest and injure plaintiff and other Rossland mine owners during the strike last year.

If the verdict stands the test of the appeal courts, it is felt by trade unionists that the right to strike in British Columbia is practically forbidden.

The miners union own a hall in Rossland valued at \$5,000. Seizure of this and of property belonging to individual defendants will cause much trouble, making it improbable that the mining company will enforce its right in this respect. The effect of the verdict will be far-reaching in western labor matters, particularly since a jury returned it.

And not only is labor being beaten in mass, in his trade union, by the courts, but as an individual he is also finding redress impossible in the case of physical injury while at work. A far reaching decision was made by the U.S. Supreme Court recently. Not long ago a fireman was stoking his engine on the Northern Pacific Railway. Somebody blundered—it happened to be a telegraph operator—

there was a collision and the fireman was killed. His widow brought suit against the company. The facts were proved. The blame was placed. The company did not even deny that there had been carelessness. But, so the lawyer for the defence argued, that carelessness was not the fault of the company, it was simply the negligence of a fellow-servant of the dead man. The risk the fireman had run had been voluntarily assumed and there was no ground for damages against the Railroad Company. The case was tried before the Supreme Court of the United States. Four of the Justices, including the Chief Justice, dissented, but a bare majority affirmed the contention of the Railway Company, and holding the fellow-servant to blame absolved the company of all liability for damages. This simply means that the workman has no redress whatever. All the employers' liability laws might as well be wiped off the slate at once as far as any good they will ever do the workers. Just to think of the time and money the trade-unions have spent getting these laws enacted by the various state legislatures, and then to have the whole structure swept away in a moment by a single Supreme Court decision. These are the events that are preparing the public mind to see the necessity of a change of system. They are hard jolts, but the human social consciousness needs hard jolts, and many of them to get thoroughly awakened.

THE following is from Judge Steele of the Colorado Supreme Court,

THE COLORADO CASE

giving reasons for his dissent with the majority of the court upon the Moyer case. It affords food for reflection, and does not sound unlike a Wilshire editorial.

The people could never have intended to erect such an engine of oppression. It follows, of course, that if the present Executive is the sole judge of the condition which can call into action the military power of the government and can exercise all means necessary to effectually abate the conditions, and the judicial department cannot inquire into the legality of his acts, that the next governor can, by his ukase, exercise the

same arbitrary power. If the military authority may deport the miners this year, it can deport the farmers next year. If a strike, which is not a rebellion, must be so regarded because the Governor says it is, then any condition must be regarded as a rebellion which the Governor declares to be such; and if any condition must be regarded as a rebellion because the Governor says so, then any county in the State may be declared to be in a state of rebellion, whether a rebellion exists or not, and every citizen subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention at the will and pleasure of the head of the executive department. We may then, with each succeeding change in the executive branch of the government have class arrayed against class, and interest against interest; and we shall depend for our liberty, not upon the Constitution, but upon the grace and favor of the Governor and his military subordinates. . . . The authority is overwhelming that the position of the Governor cannot be sustained; that the power of suspending the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus is legislative and not executive; that martial law can prevail only in places where the civil law is overthrown by force, and that it exists only so long as it is necessary to reinstate the courts; that martial law cannot prevail where the courts are open and exercising their functions; that the judicial department will take notice whether the courts are open or have been overthrown by superior force.

However, all the learned judge's words were of no avail against the votes of his brother judges, and Moyer would still be rotting in the Colorado Bull Pen if the United States Court of St. Louis had not ordered his release.

—

WHEN the Colorado Courts decided that a man has no rights in Colorado that a Peabody is bound to respect, Moyer's attorneys applied to Federal Judge Thayer, sitting in Saint Louis, for a writ of habeas corpus.

PEABODY This was promptly
DODGES granted, but Peabody,
FEDERAL COURT hearing the news by telegraph, turned Moyer over to the Colorado civil authorities before the Federal writ could be served upon him. When it did arrive and was presented he boldly answered, "Moyer is not in my custody." In this wise does the great and mighty Peabody, Governor of the Commonwealth of Colorado and its bull pens, dodge his Uncle Sam. However, he is not out of the bush yet. He has until the fifth instant to prove that his answer was not a lie. In the meanwhile Moyer is at liberty, having been released on \$10,000 bonds.

I SYMPATHIZE WITH HEARST in his Parker crow diet for the next ninety days, and only hope that by the time another four years roll around he will have become a wiser and better editor. It is unkind to criticize him in the midst of his tribulation, but when he talks thusly, as he did a few days ago, I feel I must object:

The same story can be told in all departments of industry, and of agriculture. With scientific farming machinery, one man can do the work of ten, and the country is still fed, despite migration to the cities from the farms.

Science, one day, will solve our great practical problems, by adding infinitely to the production of wealth, to the effectiveness of labor, to fertility of the soil (as yet not one-tenth part developed), and to the comfort of humanity in all directions.

Science will plough our fields, make the masses independent of the selfishness of the few.

The abolition of poverty and of avarice, however, will do away with a majority of the incentives that lead to evil.

Now, while it is undoubtedly true that science will in the future continue to help us solve our great practical problems, yet it is a great mistake to infer, as Mr. Hearst does, that science has not already made wealth production so easy that the matter of the abolition of poverty is in the least a question of production. Poverty is entirely a question of distribution. We already produce enough to give everyone plenty, but our competitive wage system affords no adequate method of distributing wealth. Today the more scientific we become in the production of wealth—the better our labor saving machines—the more labor we save, and therefore the harder it is for a man to sell his labor, and consequently the more difficult it is for him to get wages to buy food. Let us give more thought to distribution and less to production and we will soon abolish poverty. But we will never get any better distribution of wealth by voting for Parker, Roosevelt, Rockefeller & Co. Bryan says vote for Parker now and in four years we may have a chance to vote for something better, maybe. Four years is a long time between meals, maybe.

THE STRIKERS AND THE MEAT TRUST

THE strike of the Meat Trust workers and the consequential alarming and almost prohibitive rise in the price of meat throughout the country is a very clear illustration of the danger into which the Trusts are dragging the country. When a few men can prohibit the nation from eating meat, and a few others can prohibit us from eating bread, we are not far off from a much more effective despotism than Nero ever conceived.

That the workers on strike have a most just cause is admitted by any impartial observer. The following by Joseph Wanhope, is written by one who is perfectly familiar with the dreadful conditions of the trade in Chicago:—

“It is a strike against a reduction of wages, involving a cent per hour, but so narrow is the margin on which these hunger-tortured wretches existed, that the difference of a cent probably means life or death to them. At any rate, it was the last straw. They are now out, and the contest between empty stomachs and the capitalists’ dollar is on.

Few people have any idea of the indescribable wretchedness in which these Chicago workers live. Right under the walls of the district, where perhaps more food is stored than on any other spot of a similar size on earth, the children of the unskilled workers precariously employed in the monster packing houses, may be seen standing at the gates begging for the scraps of food that might be left in the dinner-pails of the better-paid workingmen. The district in which these unfortunates live is known in Chicago parlance as “back of the dump,” a

spot several acres in extent covered with the reeking garbage of the great city, and mixing its fetid odors with the ever-present stock-yard stench. Unpaved streets, with unfathomable mud-holes, dilapidated and unsanitary hovels, cheap saloons and gorgeous churches, most of the latter subsidized by the packers, abound. Politically, the district belongs to one Carey, a saloon-keeping alderman, who is hand in glove with the packers, the clergy and the thugs of the neighborhood, and whose political agents, locally known as “Carey’s Indians,” serve to keep the “boss” in power as agent for the packers, and terrorize any intruders who would poach on his political domain.

In this dreary and hideous district, the light of Socialism has never yet penetrated. Years of work and effort by the local comrades have failed to secure a foothold there. And the inhabitants of this region, starved in body, stunted in mind, a combination of slavery, brutality, and ignorance, in about equal proportions, have at last rebelled, and are now ready to give what battle they can to their pious exploiters.

The outcome will be interesting, though there is little doubt but that these wretched people will be crushed back in sullen despair into their hideous dens, after an exhibition of “lawlessness” that will afford the capitalists all the excuse they need for “taking vigorous measures for their repression,” and for the maintenance of “law and order.”

But that they have rebelled at all is a hopeful sign. It may give the Social-

ists the long-desired opportunity to teach the only way out of the festering mass of misery and want that exists under the shadow of a mighty food reservoir, of which it is boasted that the armies of Europe must first make application before they can march, and which sends provisions by the millions of pounds to the uttermost ends of the earth. Whatever the intellectual capacity of these suffering people may be, there is no doubt, however, that the Chicago stockyards furnishes an indictment against the damnable system of capitalism that cannot be paralleled elsewhere on the face of the earth."

But fundamentally, the question of whether the strikers are right or wrong is of minor import to the question of whether the nation as a whole should or should not control the supply of such a vital necessity as beef.

Under private ownership the assumption is that the production of goods is of interest only to the workers engaged in such production, and of their employers.

It is assumed that what with competition between the workers for work, and competition between the employers for workers, that things will automatically adjust themselves to the end that the general public will get its coal and beef and other things it may want and will buy. But when we have competition eliminated between the workers by a Trade Union, and when we have competition eliminated between the employers by a Trust, I would like to ask where does the dear public get off?

The evolution of our industrial system necessitates both Trust and Trade Unions but does the re-iteration of this theory to a public shivering without coal and hungry without meat, reconcile it to the predicament in which it finds itself?

There is but one sure way for the dear public to warm itself and feed itself, and that is to teach itself to take care of itself. Paddle its own canoe, so to speak. Let the Public Own the Coal Trust and the Beef Trust. Let the Nation Own All the Trusts.

THE AGITATOR

The agitator may be likened unto the dasher in the churn. After the dairy maid puts it into the churn it kicks up a great fuss. At first the milk chases itself around the narrow confines of the churn, trying to get away from it, but the more the dasher kicks and fumes about, the more the really valuable part of the milk, the cream, separates itself from the other particles and congeals, and the final result is—butter.

The labor agitator comes into society similarly and with a like mission. He doesn't choose his vocation any more than the dasher in the churn does. The force behind the dasher is the dairy maid. The force behind the labor agitator is the economic conditions.

The agitator is rarely a "nice" fellow to everyone. He is not "respectable." He simply raises the dickens for a while

and everyone hates him, even the laborers.

But the dasher keeps on dashing.

Then, one by one the more intelligent of the working class sees what he is striving at and begin to form themselves into a number of more or less compact bodies.

And the dasher keeps on dashing.

They are driven to stick more closely together and are forced to bring into the fold the other workers.

And the dasher keeps on dashing.

The mass grows larger and larger.

And still the dasher keeps up its work.

Finally all the useful workers are gathered into the fold and the result is—butter.

Then the dasher's work is done.

WM. H. LEFFINGWELL.

THE EVIL VACATION-HABIT

EDMUND DEFREYNE

*In every clime, in every age,
Are found the prophet and the sage,
But see the two have intertwined,
And profit with a Sage combined.*

IT is refreshing and uplifting, in these days when so much idiotic sentiment is being wasted by thinkers, reformers, and other anarchists on those "that labor and are heavy laden," to know that we have among us one glorious exemplar of the nobility of eternal toil and ceaseless saving, one true economist (in the broadest sense of the word), who, depreciating the folly of spendthrift idlers wrecking their health in the open air for a fortnight, generously and righteously lifts his stentorian voice against the pernicious, sinful and injurious rest-habit.

All honor, respect and gratitude to the philosopher, philanthropist and teacher, and the sagest of all the sages, whose useful, instructive and altruistic life shines like a star in the sordid night of our self-seeking and wealth-seeking age.

Think what this grand, sage old man has done for (and to) others in his vacationless life. See the hospitals, the schools, the libraries; all built and endowed by this serene soul who has stuck to business like a sick kitten to a hot brick. Think of the charities that have bubbled out of the well-spring of a purse always open to the needy and unfortunate, especially when shattered by explosions. Behold the splendid improvidence of the gifts that fall like summer rain from the open palm of this high priest of Charity. Early and late he is working and doing; not lured by avarice; not striving to make and hoard useless wealth; not seeking to wallow, swine-like, in a trough filled to repletion long years ago; not to play the role of mangled dog above the piles of garnered, golden grains he cannot eat and for lack of which his brothers starve; not for the miser's lust of fingering coins that are Fate's compensation for petri-

faction of the heart and atrophy of the soul. Not, I repeat, from any grasping motive has our Dives slaved and saved, until, in loving reverence, we bow before his high-piled millions and wish that we, too, might have stewardship of great wealth and, like him, write our names in tender, kindly, generous deeds upon the heart of suffering humanity.

This is the angel of pity and tolerance whose name is synonym for Arab-like generosity, whose shrunken figure and wizened face attests his life of splendid self-abnegation and unbroken devotion to mankind's highest and holiest vocation, "business," whose garrulous austerity suggests piety (not magpiety), whose kindly eyes are ever seeking good "quotations," and whose tender mouth drops wise words of help and encouragement to the weak and weary—I can hear him now: "Get a hustle on you! Be ever doing something or somebody. Prey without ceasing. Work while the other fellow sleeps, and you shall make him work for you. Save all you can, and lend on good security only. If you have spendicitis, put a padlock upon your purse, for it is better to starve to death than to live a spendthrift. The love of money covers a multitude of sins. Vacations, particularly for a grocer's clerk, are a vicious indulgence. The man who said, 'Rest is labor's best reward' is a dangerous demagogue. When exhausted by sawing wood, seek relaxation with the pick and shovel. Stick to your office and keep out of the woods and fields, for wealth is better than health, and Nature pays no interest."

Al! he is right, this genial, jovial patriarch who believes in saving even time (lest eternity be too short for charitable works), and his warning words are

pregnant with justice, kindness, and the all-embracing brotherhood that makes the rich blood-kindred to the poor.

Who needs vacations? Who wants to interrupt the joyous hours of ceaseless toil with shameful interlude of play? Why, work, when practically continuous, becomes the joy of the worker. Labor is honorable (if unremunerative) and the harder and longer the labor the greater the honor (and profit—to somebody). These are aphorisms—beautiful and eternal truths.

As our residuary legatee of all the virtues eloquently and most logically says, "Is it not absurd to suppose that a man who can work eleven-and-a-half months can not as well work the whole year?" Why, of course, it is absurd; and it is even more than absurd (it is wicked, impious, infamous, criminal, and—oh, the horror of it!—unbusinesslike!)—for a clerk, a hireling, an employee, a thing with no capital except its miserable brains or hands, "to expect or demand pay for two weeks' time for which he renders no equivalent." The awful part of this unjust demand by the vacation-seeking villain is that it is, alas! too often upon some philanthropic trust, some soulful corporation, or some benevolent capitalist, that has hired the ungrateful scoundrel from motives of the purest, holiest and most disinterested altruism. The employer does not make a profit out of hired labor—perish the thought! Business is but a gentler term of organized charity: its function is to provide employment for the poor, who, without its beneficial aid, would have to work for itself, and might become vitiated by vacations.

In my opinion, our saint-like sage does not go far enough. It is true that he lovingly points out the immorality, the waste, the inutility, of squandering two weeks in every year in riotous resting; but what of the lost Sundays, the Saturday afternoons, the innumerable national and religious holidays? What of the

evenings and nights that might be given to honest toil, to ennobling labor, to glorious, inspiring, unrequited work? What of the slothful miner who occasionally comes out of his nice, damp hole in the ground to breathe the nasty upper air and expose himself to beastly sunshine? What of the idle, unproductive, wasteful babe, cynically regardless of its opportunity to make life a perpetual grind? I shudder over these things, and when I think of that great, hulking, non-producer of a baby, I shed tears of sorrow and of shame. There ought to be a law that infants-in-arms should, at least, be self-supporting.

O Labor! can you not work, as a minimum, 365 days in the year? If it were for your real good, we, sages and public benefactors with means, would gladly give you part of the extra day in leap-year, for rational recreation at some other kind of work. Nay, we would go further: we would give you half-pay (in stock) on your quadrennial half-holiday.

Listen, all ye that labor with hand or brain or both!

The sleep habit, the food habit, the play habit, and all unnecessary, carnal and harmful indulgences of your degenerate natures.

Man (that is the hired-man, and the term includes women and children without large bank accounts) should never, for a moment, cease from toil, until he ceases to be, and goes "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

Man - with - the - hoe-and-without-the-dough, do you not, can you not, will you not, realize that if you worked all the time, there would be more beneficent assimilators, more philanthropists and sages, and more for them?

At least, give up the villainous vacation habit.

Think what a nice long rest you *may* have when you are dead.

Frenzied Finance

The Story of AMALGAMATED

By THOMAS W. LAWSON, of Boston

THERE is being set down, in the series of articles now appearing in *Everybody's Magazine*, in as simple and direct a fashion as I can write it, The Story of Amalgamated Copper, and the "system" of which it is the most flagrant example. This "system" is a process or a device for the incubation of wealth from the people's savings in the banks, trust and insurance companies, and the public funds. Through its workings during the last twenty years there has grown up in this country a set of colossal corporations, in which unmeasured success and continued immunity from punishment have bred an insolent disregard of law, of common morality and of public and private right, together with a grim determination to hold on to, at all hazards, the great possessions they have gulped or captured. It is the same "system" which has taken from the millions of our people billions of dollars, and given them over to a score or two of men with power to use and enjoy them as absolutely as though these billions had been earned dollar by dollar by the labor of their bodies and minds. Yet in telling The Story of Amalgamated, the most brazen and voracious maw of this "system," I desire it understood that I take no issue with men; it is with a principle I am concerned. With the men I have had close and intimate intercourse, and from my knowledge of the means they have used, and the manner in which they have used them, and the causes and effects of their performances, I have no hesitation in stating that the good they have done, the evils they have created, and the indelible imprints they have made on mankind are the products of a condition and not of their individuality, and that if not one of them had ever been born the same good and evil would to-day exist. Others would have done what they did, and would have to answer for what has been done, as they must. So I say the men are merely individuals; the "system" is the thing at fault, and it is the "system" that must be rectified. Better far for me not to tell the story I am telling; better far for the vic-

tims of Amalgamated not to know who plundered them and how, than to have them know it only to wreak vengeance on individuals and overlook the "system," which, if allowed to continue, surely will in time, short time, destroy the nation by precipitating fratricidal war.

The enormous losses, millions upon millions—to my personal knowledge over a hundred millions of dollars—which were made because of Amalgamated; the large number of suicides—to my personal knowledge over thirty—which were directly caused by Amalgamated; the large number of previously reputable citizens who were made prison convicts—to my personal knowledge over twenty—directly because of Amalgamated; were caused by acts of this "system," of which Henry H. Rogers and his immediate associates were the direct administrators; and yet Mr. Rogers and his immediate associates, while these great wrongs were occurring, led social lives which, measured by the most rigid yardstick of mental or moral rectitude, were as near perfect as it is possible for human lives to be. As husbands, fathers, brothers, sons, friends, they were ideal, cleanly of body and of mind, with heads filled with sentiment and hearts filled with sympathies; their personal lives were like their homes and their gardens—filled only with the brightest things of this world, the singing, humming, sweet-smelling things which so strongly speak to us of the other world we are yet to know. As workers in the world's vineyard, they labored six days and rested upon the Sabbath, and gave thanks to Him from whom all blessings flow that He allowed them, his humble creatures, to have their earthly being. And yet these men, to whose eyes I have seen come the tears for others' sufferings, and whose voices I have heard grow husky in recounting the woes of their less fortunate brothers—these men under the spell of the brutal code of modern dollar-making are converted into beasts of prey, and put to shame the denizens of the deep which devour their kind that they may live.



HENRY H. ROGERS

The Piston Rod of the "Standard Oil" Engine

A QUICK TRANSACTION

HENRY H. ROGERS'S BUSINESS METHODS

BEFORE Amalgamated was launched, in bringing together the different properties of which it was composed, I negotiated for the acquisition of the Parrot mine, the majority of whose stock was held by certain old and wealthy brass manufacturers in Connecticut. When the day came for the final arrangements, at precisely a quarter of eleven I let the head of the firm into one of the numerous private offices which are a part of Mr. Rogers's suite. He had under his arm a bundle of papers representing the stocks which he was to exchange for the purchase-money, amounting to \$4,086,000, and, I think, fully expected that in their examination, the receipting, and in the general talkings over, the greater part of the day would be taken up. It took me some six or seven minutes to get him located, and it was close on to five minutes of eleven, when Mr. Rogers stepped into the room. I was well into the introduction, when out came Mr. Rogers's watch, and with what must have appeared to the visitor as astonished consternation: "I do hope you will excuse me," he exclaimed in the middle of a handshake, "but, my gracious, I am overdue upstairs," and he bolted.

His place was taken fifty seconds after by Mr.

Rogers's secretary, who in less than a minute had exchanged a check of \$4,086,000 made out to herself and indorsed in black, for the bundle of stocks, and in another minute I was ushering the old gentleman into the elevator.

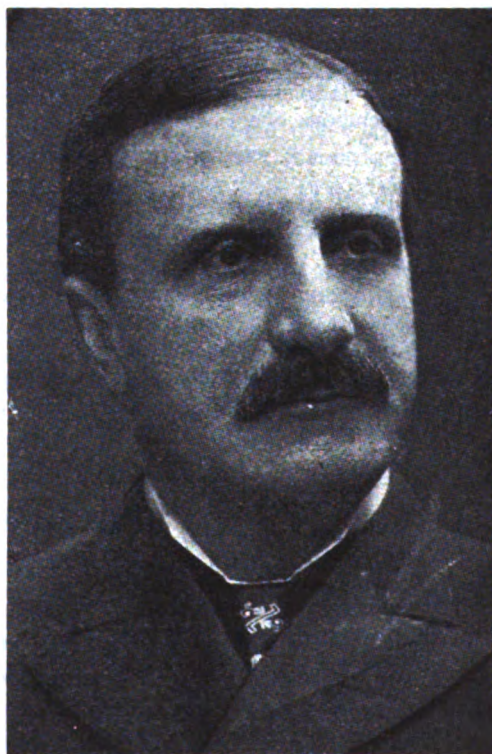
When he came to on the sidewalk he got his breath sufficiently so say: "Phew, I thought my trade was a big one, but that friend of yours, Rogers, must have had some other fellow upstairs who was going to turn in \$40,000,000 of stuff, because he did appear dreadfully excited!"



A FINANCIAL DESPOT

HENRY H. ROGERS AT BUSINESS MEETINGS

AN impression of the despotic character of Henry H. Rogers and of his manner of despatching the infinite details of the multitudinous business he must deal with daily may be gathered from seeing him at one of the meetings of the long list of giant corporations which number him among their directors. Surrounded though he be by the élite of all financialdom, the very flower of the business brains of America, you will surely hear his sharp, incisive, steel-clicking, "Gentlemen, are we ready for the vote, for I regret to say that I have another important and unavoid-



WILLIAM ROCKEFELLER

The Fly-Wheel of the "Standard Oil" Engine.

able meeting at —?" You look at your watch. The time he mentions is twelve, or, at the most, fifteen minutes away. There is no chance for discussion. Cut-and-dried resolutions are promptly put to the vote, and off goes the master to his other engagement, which will be disposed of in the same peremptory fashion.

A POLITICAL PROPHET

HENRY H. ROGERS AND THE STANDARD OIL INFORMATION BUREAU

DURING the past twenty years, whenever the great political parties have lined up for their regular once-in-four-years tussle, there would be found Henry H. Rogers, calm as a race-track gambler, "sizing up" the entries, their weights, and handicaps. Every twist and turn in the pedigrees and records of Republicans and Democrats are as familiar to him as the "dope sheets" are to the gambler, for is he not at the receiving end of the greatest information bureau in the world?

A Standard Oil agent is in every hamlet in the country, and who better than these trained and intelligent observers to interpret the varying trends of feeling of their communities? Tabulated and analyzed, these reports enable Rogers, the sagacious politician, to diagnose the drift of the country far ahead of the most astute of campaign managers. He is never in doubt about who will win the election. Before the contest is under way he has picked his winner and is beside him with generous offers of war expenses.

THE PHYSICAL MAKE-UP OF A FINANCIAL GIANT

HENRY H. ROGERS'S every feature bespeaks strength and distinction. When he walks, the active swing of his figure expresses power—realized, confident power. When at rest or in action his square jaw tells of fighting power, bull-dog, hold-on, never-let-go fighting power, and his

high, full forehead, of intellectual, mightily intellectual power. The eyes, however, are the crowning characteristic of the man's physical make-up.

There is such a kindly good-will in these eyes when they are at rest that the man does not live who would not consider himself favored to be allowed to turn over to Henry H. Rogers his pocket-book without receiving a receipt. They are the eyes of the man you would name in your will to care for your wife and children's welfare. When their animation is friendly, one would rather sit and watch their merry twinkle as they keep time to his inimitable stories and non-duplicatable anecdotes, trying to interpret the rapid and incessant telegraphy of their glances, than sit in a theatre or read an interesting book; but it is when they are active in war that the one privileged to watch them gets his real treat, always provided he can dodge the rain of blazing sparks, and the withering hail of wrath that pours on the offender. To do this requires real nerve, for it is only a nimble, stout-hearted, mail-covered individual that can sustain the encounter.

THE every-day people, the millions who do not know Wall Street—realm of the royal American dollar—Wall Street, its sidewalks inlaid with gold coin and paved from curb to curb with solid gold bricks—Wall Street, lined with huge money-mills, where hearts and souls are ground into gold-dust, whose gutters run full to overflowing with strangled, mangled, sand-bagged wrecks of human hopes which, in a never-ending stream, it pours into the brimming waters of the river at its foot for deposit at the poor-houses, insane asylums, States' prisons, and suicides' graves, that the grim flood washes in its daily ebb and flow—the every-day people I know will not take in the blackness of this transaction at this stage of my story, but before it is ended I will lay this and many more of an equally black nature before them in such A B C simplicity that all can read the portent as clearly as the prophet Daniel read the writing on the wall in the banquet-hall of Belshazzar.

I think all readers of Wilshire's Magazine will be so interested in the Lawson articles which Everybody's Magazine is publishing, that I unhesitatingly urge each and every one to send the publishers one dollar for a year's subscription. When this is done be sure Wilshire's Magazine is mentioned, as I wish the publishers to recognize from where their support comes.—G. W.

WHAT GOOD IS GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

DEAR MR. WILSHIRE:

I have been a reader of your magazine for the last twelve months. I admire and appreciate the candor and honesty of purpose with which it is conducted. However, I find some things, I must confess, are not altogether within the reach of my comprehension. As my education is limited, of course it could not be expected that I should be able to solve the intricate social problem that is now agitating the public mind.

In the first place you advocate the idea that all public utilities should be owned and controlled by the government. What benefit this would be to the public is not clear to my mind. I cannot see the propriety of placing the management of our industrial enterprises in the hands of incompetent and often dishonest men, who are presumed to represent the government, without having any apparent object in view. If we take the post office scandal as a sample, we can have a foretaste of what we might expect if the program of government ownership should be carried into effect.

Another thing that seems to worry our socialist friends, is the trusts. As far as my own investigation extends, I find that a trust is nothing more than a combination of a number of industrial corporations. What harm these combinations are to the public has never been explained.

Let us take the Oil Trust as an example. I remember the time when oil was first produced in Pennsylvania; there was no oil trust at that time, yet I paid seventy-five cents a gallon for oil which I can now buy for twenty cents. If the oil trust has not been instrumental in the reduction of the price of oil I am sure the oil trust did not prevent the price from coming down. Again, before the advent of the sugar trust, some years ago, I paid fifteen cents a pound for

granulated sugar, which can now be bought for five or six cents. With these facts before me, I am at a loss to account for the cry, "Down with the Trusts!" Is it ignorance or design?

Another strange idea that often is repeated is: The people must own the trusts. Don't the people own the trusts already? Are not Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Morgan and hundreds of others who own stock in different corporations that compose the trusts, are they not the people? If all the people don't see proper to invest their money in corporation stock certificates, in order to own the trusts, it is merely a matter of policy.

Another thing that might be considered is the wage problem; or in other words the compensation laboring men receive for their labor. It is claimed that the amount labor receives is not equitable, as compared with the value of the products of labor, which laboring men produce. This is undoubtedly true, and cannot be controverted. But, then, why is it that laboring men don't combine and set up shop for themselves; own and operate manufacturing establishments on their own account, without the intervention of capitalists?

Should capitalists go out of business and employ labor no longer would the labor unions take their places and continue to supply the public with such commodities and articles of utility as the public may require, or would they sit down and wait for something to turn up?

LOUIS SACHEC.

Fall Brook, Cal.

Mr. Sachec's letter contains a number of questions which I think must arise in the minds of a great many when the theories of socialism are first brought to their notice. I have already answered

them a number of times in the pages of this magazine, but I feel that the answer cannot be given too often.

What good would the government ownership of utilities be?

I must say that the answers given by many socialists to this reasonable question are not as convincing as might be.

With the present competitive system remaining in operation government ownership is not *necessarily* any better for the people than private ownership. It might, and probably would, be somewhat better, but I am not talking about the "might be's," I speak of the "must be's." As Mr. Sachec points out, the Post Office is a nest of mismanagement and corruption, and yet it is under government ownership. Then why urge that the railroads or other public utilities be put under government ownership?

I don't. That is, I don't urge very hard.

I can see some of my readers gasp with astonishment.

What's this? Wilshire not urging government ownership! Why, we thought that government ownership was an essential part of the socialist programme!

Not at all. If these gaspers would read my editorials long enough and carefully enough they would see that I am after the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, and it is simply in order to have a basis for this co-operative commonwealth that I declare for the government ownership of the machinery of production. I am cold; and to prevent myself perishing of cold, I demand clothing. Incidentally the clothing may make me more beautiful to look upon at the Horse Show; it also may satisfy my ideas of modesty, but fundamentally it is neither modesty nor appearance that necessitates the clothing. It is the abso-

lute necessity of protection from cold. But why do I wish protection from cold? Simply because I have an instinct which urges me to live rather than die. So that when I ask for clothing it is really asking for life, and yet some might be shortsighted enough to think that the only reason I wished clothing was for the appearance of things.

Government ownership might and probably would be of general benefit to the community under our competitive system. We would probably have better rates and more comfortable transportation. The roads would be run for the benefit of the public instead of to make dividends for the Vanderbilts. At least that would be the theory. It might not work out that way, however, because the same interests which now control the post office might control the railways.

If the people were as negligent of their interests then as they are now, government ownership of railways under the existing *competitive* system might give us no benefits at all. This, I admit, is unlikely, but still it is not impossible. However, under a co-operative system it would be different. In the first place, inasmuch as all property would be owned by the state, there would be no powerful group of private property owners to dictate the policy of the state for their own benefit at the expense of the non-property owners as today, for instance, the railway owners dictate the policy of the government regarding post office affairs so that the railways get excessive rates for carrying mail.

Again, with a co-operative system the products of industry would of necessity be distributed to the workers, as there would be no one else having any claim upon such products.

If we allowed private ownership of

the railways and other machinery to remain, then those owners would naturally have some rights accruing from their title of ownership; otherwise what would be the use of their having a title? Now, the only rights that we can conceive of as being of any particular use would be the rights entitling them to the products of labor without themselves working. If such were the case and they took such products it is evident that the workers would not be getting all their share of the product and we would not be enjoying the co-operative system which we set out to establish. The absolute necessity of public ownership is palpable if we wish to establish the co-operative system. Of course, as long as we have our competitive wage system, which keeps wages down to the mere level of subsistence, we cannot hope to abolish poverty, and therefore it is superfluous to argue as to the advantage of substituting the co-operation for competition.

The present government office-holders outside the classified service are naturally an incompetent lot of grafters, taking them as a whole, for they are not there to serve the state but to rob it. This is bound to continue as long as we have our system of private ownership of capital. Private owners of capital will always corrupt our political officials as long as we have on the one side men with money who will pay it to buy franchises and on the other side aldermen without money having franchises to dispose of, in which their individual interest as one of a large community is much smaller than their individual interest in getting the whole of the bribe from the capitalist.

A Broadway franchise may be worth five million dollars to the city of New York. To me as alderman, it is worth exactly one five-millionth part of the

five million dollars, or one dollar, for there are five million citizens to share it with me. Therefore, if I am paid anything over the dollar for my vote in favor of granting the franchise I am so much ahead. As long as this condition of affairs exists there will always be men who will buy aldermen, and there will always be salable aldermen. Hence, if we wish to have honest aldermen we must have complete public ownership, in order to do away with the men who do the buying of aldermen. Where there are no buyers, of necessity there can be no sellers.

Now, as to the harm combinations do the public. The socialists hold that the combination of capitalists does not necessarily do any more harm to the people than does the single capitalist, but that the combination has more power to do such harm, and when it is to its interest to do it, it is in a much better position to do the harm. However, it is not the harm that any particular combination can do or actually does do that is of such great importance anyway. The mere matter as to whether the Standard Oil Company charges an exorbitant price for oil, or whether it sells it for only a fair price, is of no great economic import. If it charges too much, that is, if it charges a profit that is greater than what a capitalist ordinarily expects from the sale of his manufactures, then it simply means that the workman who buys the oil must get higher wages to pay for it, and this higher wage comes out of his employer for the benefit of the Standard Oil Company. This means that Rockefeller comes into possession of so many more dollars to invest than he otherwise would have had, and that the employer who paid the excess wages has so many dollars less to invest. Of course, it may be that the immediate

employer may not be the loser, for he may add to the price of his goods the excess of wages he has to pay, and so shift the burden to some other capitalist. The point is that the high price of oil does not economically hurt the workman because his wages are based on the cost of living. Oil is a necessity of life, just as is water, or bread, or meat. He must have sufficient wages to buy these necessities. If the price goes up his wages must go up or he will starve to death, for there is practically no margin for him to infringe upon. A high price of oil is a price made at the general expense of the capitalist class for the benefit of the Standard Oil Company. But this only means that the Standard stockholders have the directing of the investment or the spending of a certain greater portion of the surplus products called profits, instead of a certain other set of capitalists having it. To the community as a whole it is of no practical importance whether capitalist Rockefeller or capitalist Morgan gets the surplus.

And, it is asked, are not Rockefeller and Morgan "the people?" And, if so, what do we mean by saying that the people should own the trusts when they already own them? Yes, Rockefeller and Morgan are the people, or rather, some of them, but the trouble is that the people are not Rockefeller and Morgan. The Morgans are very considerably less than ten per cent of the people. We wish to make one hundred per cent of the people Morgans.

And, Mr. Sachec does not know what the unemployed problem is. Well, he is lucky. He must have a good block of stock in the Standard Oil himself. That is a pretty good way of not having an unemployed problem present any personal difficulties to one's understanding. I fear that this summer will make a great many people acquainted with the unemployed problem who never before

imagined there was such a thing. And why do not laborers combine and set up shop for themselves? Why this is exactly what the socialists propose. Only we do not propose that the shops should be small competing ones. That would not make things any better than they are today. Suppose a few hundred workers should combine and try to run a blast furnace. Where would they land, with pig iron selling at less than cost, as it is today, through competition and over-production? Would the fact that they owned the furnace do the workers any good? Not at all; for instead of getting wages for their work they would be forced to pay assessments to keep the furnace in blast. Of course this is an unusual case. Pig iron is not always selling less than cost; but on the other hand, there is now a strong tendency for prices of all commodities to fall below cost, and there is no economic reason why, if production keeps up to the present standard, we should not have over-production and a general state of prices being less than cost.

No, we do not wish any small production, with the co-operative owners competing for the sale of their products in the existing capitalistic field. We wish national ownership and the complete elimination of competition in the sale of products as well as in the sale of labor.

We do not look forward to trade-unions taking the place of capitalists. We look forward to the people as a whole taking charge of the great industrial functions, and regulating production upon the basis of what the laborers desire, and regulating distribution upon the basis of what they produce.

I am glad to answer Mr. Sachec's questions, for I am sure that the same doubts that bother him bother others. If he does not understand or agree with my answer I invite a further letter from him.

WHO IS THIS BROTHER'S KEEPER ?

E. F. ANDREWS

"Old Watson Knox was found yesterday morning frozen to death in a thicket just this side of Kettle Creek. He was always known as a good, honest, hard-working negro, but for two or three years past has been unable to support himself on account of old age and sickness. He lived in a little cabin on the H. Smith place, about three miles from town, and was returning home in the evening with a small parcel of provisions which some charitable person had given him, when, it is supposed, he was overtaken by the storm, and being partially blind, lost his way and was unable to proceed further."

THE foregoing paragraph from a Georgia paper arrested my attention, not on account of anything new or strange in the occurrence, but because

I recognized in the victim one of my father's old slaves, whom I knew that some of my family were doing their best to keep from falling into want. It was the second case of the kind that had oc-

curred among our black friends under almost precisely similar conditions, and the thought naturally suggested itself, if such a fate is liable to overtake honest and industrious negroes when their white people are doing the best they can to prevent it, what may we not expect when there is no such aid at hand? The old chattel slavery of our fathers, whatever may be said against it—and its sins, no doubt, were many—had at least this to its credit in comparison with the wage slavery of our own day; it was not less

mindful of its human assets than of its horses and cattle. To do them justice, the Southern people have not, as a rule, been indifferent to the claims of their former slaves. There is scarcely a family of my acquaintance among the old slave-holding class that has not voluntarily taken upon itself the care of one or more of these helpless survivals of more prosperous days, and that, too, with means often pitifully inadequate to the demands upon them. But private charity, even with the best intentions, is beset by too many contingencies to make it

ever a safe reliance. "Old marster," perhaps, has been in the "cold, cold ground" this many a year; the old home has fallen to decay or passed into the hands of strangers; the children



"The Old Home has fallen into decay."

he taught to ride or to hunt the 'possum are scattered abroad, fighting their own battles with the world, and so there is nothing left for poor old Mingo, when he is past work, but to creep into some hole and die. There his poor old carcass is found some day by the police and carted off to a pauper's grave, without the last precious rite—dear to the negro's heart almost, as salvation itself—a decent funeral. Here is his story in brief, clipped from *The Macon Telegraph*, one cold winter morning:

A negro man was found dead in a deserted house on Hawthorn Street yesterday morning. A woman living in the neighborhood said he had been sick for some time and unable to work. She had taken him something to eat occasionally, but owing to the recent blizzard had not been there since Thursday. The face of the dead man wore an expression of extreme agony. It is not known whether sickness or starvation was the immediate cause of his death.

Just one more example, to show the beauties of this boasted competitive system under which the majority of mankind, strange to say, are still content to live. I give the story word for word, barring a few omissions for brevity's sake, just as it was printed in the papers at the time. The first act of the tragedy is taken from the *Atlanta Journal* of April 6th, 1899, and is headed rather flippantly:

HE IS BEING BOUNCED
AROUND LIKE A
FOOTBALL." . . .

"The game of football, according to the Rugby rules, and with the pigskin sphere, is not uncommon in these days, but the game played by four cities using a human body for a football, is something out of the ordinary. Macon, Atlanta, Athens and Chattanooga have been engaged in a pastime of that description for the last four days, and at the last report of the game, the other cities had scored a touchdown against the city in the Moccasin Bend.

"The queer game had its origin in Macon Sunday. On that day, Joe Cratchitt, a sick negro, applied to the city authorities for transportation to Atlanta. The negro was near the end of his earthly career, and was a most miserable and pitiable object.

"There came to the office of City Warden Hunter, early Monday morning, an all-prevailing odor that made "Jumbo" Hunter on the instant believe that the pest house had been brought into his presence. An investi-

gation disclosed the fact that it was Joe Cratchitt. . . He wanted a ticket to Athens.

"Warden Hunter got him the ticket, and started the poor fellow on his way to the classic city. Tuesday Joe came back. He couldn't stay away because the Athens' authorities would not allow him to disembark at that place.

"This time he was unable to call in person upon Warden Hunter, but Officer Porter, the head gateman at the depot, came to say that there was almost a riot in the colored waiting-room, and that Joe Cratchitt was the cause of it. The negroes would not remain in the waiting-room with him, and the officer wanted to know what the city could do in the matter. Warden Hunter at once thought of the anxiety that must be weighing on the minds of the Macon people over the fate of their wanderer, so he got Joe a ticket and sent him back to the bosom of the city whence he came.

"That was Tuesday. Wednesday Joe came back from Macon. . . He insisted with all his feeble strength that he be sent to Chattanooga, and tender-hearted Jumbo could not resist the appeal of the sick man. Joe was sent to Chattanooga yesterday morning, and from last accounts the city had received him with open arms. As he has not yet returned, the other cities that have had a shy at him are claiming a touchdown on Chattanooga, but the game is never over till the last man is out. It's Chattanooga's move, and the other three are somewhat anxious to see the play."



"The overflowing bounty of millionaire philanthropy takes no heed of him."

are claiming a touchdown on Chattanooga, but the game is never over till the last man is out. It's Chattanooga's move, and the other three are somewhat anxious to see the play."

The shocking levity of this narrative may be possibly ascribed to the youth of the reporter, "*cet âge est sans pitié*" being as true today as it was when La Fontaine first wrote it. But there is another and more deplorable explanation for it, in the feelings of race hatred and antagonism that have been stirred up between the younger generations of both races by the unwise meddling of would-be philanthropists, who were more con-

spicuous for good intentions than good sense.

But to the last act of poor Joe's little tragedy. Chattanooga, to use the words of our reporter, was not long in "making her move," and Joe Cratchitt, like his unfortunate namesake of "Tom-ALL-Along's," was kept "moving on" till the end. In the *Macon Telegraph* of April 22nd, we have the closing scene of the tragedy—or "the end of the game" as our capitalist press prefers to regard it.

"Atlanta, April 21st.—Joe Cratchitt, the negro who was sent from Macon to Atlanta, thence to Athens, and on from there to Chattanooga, is dead. He died in the undertaking establishment where he was sent by Warden Hunter, who breathes freely now that the unfortunate pauper has been laid beneath the sod."

In an interview published in the same paper a few weeks later, the Macon chief of police is credited with the following utterance in regard to the "Atlanta football."

"We frequently find cases of the kind, and of course, they appeal to our sympathy, but we don't know what to do with them."

"We don't know what to do with them." That sentence sums up the matter with the bluntness of unvarnished truth. Private charity, disorganized, desultory and hampered by want of means, and public charity, hampered by legal restrictions, and too often administered with indifference, if not brutality, are alike inadequate to deal with poor Joe

and his problem. The overflowing bounty of millionaire philanthropy is too busy founding colleges for educating crows into jaybirds, and building monuments and statues and halls of fame for people whose memory is perfectly secure without them, to heed such small fry as Joe Cratchitt. It loves to be coddled and cooed to with flattering tales of its own success, and to crow and cackle itself hoarse with triumph because after nearly half a century of effort and an expenditure of over two hundred million dollars, one negro out of nine million has gotten to be a college president.



"Under Socialism he would get the justice that is better than charity."

In the face of such a showing as that, what cares it for Joe Cratchitt, or for a thousand, or a hundred thousand of him, for that matter? Its splendid ambitions never descend to such sordid objects as these. Like a prodigal stream that has overflowed all barriers, it runs to waste in a thousand useless channels, while the cesspools it might have cleansed are left to their foulness, and the thirsty places it might have watered are dry and thirsty still. Charity at best, is a poor bungling expedient on the part of a few benevolent individuals to repair the wrongs of society against its weaker members—a limping substitute for the justice that should give to every laborer the full product of his toil and secure to him his right to be above the need of charity. Charity, as at present understood, degrades him

that receives and puffs up him that gives, accentuating, by its invidious distinctions, the very inequalities it pretends to relieve.

But as long as our crazy competitive system lasts, it is, perhaps, about the only plaster we have for salving the wounds of those who are worsted in the combat. Of all the wrongs that the black man may have suffered at the hands of the white, the cruelest has been the senseless effort to force him into competition with the superior race—a competition in which the weaker is fore-ordained to go to the wall. Under the milder rule of Socialism, with its merciful motto, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his neces-

sity," a place would be found for the humblest negro suited to his modest capacities, and he, like all the rest of us, would get the justice that is better than charity. With kindly supervision, if need be, from the white man, his labor would be directed into useful channels and kept there, or he would be forced, like any other idler, to forfeit his place in the commonwealth. Under such conditions there would be no need for Joe Cratchitt to exist, or if he should, through some unfortunate accident, appear now and then, as a belated survival, we could find something better to do with him than make a human football of him.

THE POWER OF BEAUTY

A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
 Its loveliness increases; it will never
 Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
 A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
 Full of quiet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing.
 Therefore on every morrow are we wreathing
 A flowery band to bind us to the earth,
 Spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth
 Of noble natures, of the gloomy days,
 Of all the unhealthy and o'er-darkened ways
 Made for our searching: yes, in spite of all
 Some shape of beauty moves away the pall
 From our dark spirits.

KEATS

INDIVIDUALISM AND INDIVIDUALITY

CHARLES DOBBS

WHEN Gen. William Mahone, a former Confederate, turned Republican after the Civil War and rode to power in Virginia on the backs of the newly enfranchised freedmen, he became the target for the vituperation, satire and ridicule of his former comrades in arms and political associates. Among the stories told to discredit him with the blacks was one which was supposed to tell of an old negro's dream.

"Gin'l Mahone," so went the freedman's story, "he died an' he went to heben. He knocked at de do' and' Saint Peter he say: 'Who dar?' De Gin'l he say: 'I'm Gin'l Mahone.' Saint Peter he say: 'Is you mounted or is you a-foot?' 'I'se a-foot,' said de Gin'l. 'Well,' says Saint Peter, "you can't get in 'less youse mounted.' So de Gin'l he goes back down de road till he meets a black man and he tells de black man how nobody can't get in 'less he's mounted. De black man he pow'ful discour'aged 'till de Gin'l he say that if de black man'll get down on all-fo's an' be de Gin'l's hoss dey bofe can get in. De black man he say 'all right' an' up dey goes to de do'. De Gin'l he knock again and Saint Peter say: 'Who dar?' 'It's Gin'l Mahone,' say de Gin'l. 'Is you mounted or is you a-foot?' says Saint Peter. 'I'se mounted,' say de Gin'l. 'All right,' say Saint Peter, 'jes' hitch yo' hoss outside an' walk right in.'"

It's an old story but it illustrates so neatly a favorite trick of some enemies of Socialism that it bears repetition. This trick is to make it appear that the fate of individuality is bound up in the fate

of individualism, the argument being that the substitution of collectivism for individualism will mean the reduction of all men to a "monotonous dead level." Those who carelessly accept the conclusion find, upon investigation, that while the wily casuist has gone into the heaven of a controversial victory, they are left outside like the negro of the Mahone story.

The trick is made possible by the fact that individualism is the term generally agreed upon as the antithesis of collectivism. The terminology, however, is purely economic, while the question at issue is psychological. It would seem that no fair-minded disputant would refuse to recognize the distinction and the difference, but that some whom we may safely credit with intellectual honesty do refuse is shown by a letter from a Harvard professor which I have seen. He scornfully writes:

"He who can harmonize Socialism and individualism is competent then to take up the task of harmonizing freedom with election, liberty with despotism, state sovereignty with outside interference and control. The fact of the matter is that competition is individualism and Socialism is the opposite, and no amount of metaphysical casuistry can make it otherwise."

This was in reply to the suggestion of a Socialist that possibly Socialism would mean "a higher form of individualism." The professor knew what the Socialist meant and he deliberately elected to stand by the proposition that economic individualism provides the environment for the best development of the individual.

To this challenge the Socialist joyously responds though, it must be con-

fessed, the question is one that appeals particularly to those who delight in abstract argument and into whose souls the iron of capitalism has not entered. The men on fire with the wrongs of the workers are likely to grow impatient when they see disputants weaving gossamer webs of theory about individuality while the painfully real crimes of capitalism are allowed to go unpunished.

It is a fact, however, that the average Socialist speaker is called upon to discuss this point as often as any other that arises out of the proposal to abandon competition in favor of co-operation. It is safe to say, too, that the question will continue to be a live one until the Co-operative Commonwealth is actually established, and it is of the utmost importance that we should understand that individualism and individuality are not interchangeable terms.

With the ground thus cleared we can proceed to examine the capitalist claim that the present condition of things induces the cultivation of the finer human qualities. If capitalism really worked in practice as it does in individualistic theory it would be shriven of many of its sins, but it doesn't. The best that can be said of it is that it provides the members of the capitalist class with the leisure and resources to follow the bent of their own sweet wills in gratifying their love of the good, the true and the beautiful. As a matter of fact, however, the typical capitalist hasn't any appreciable hankering after the good, the true and the beautiful. Indeed, it is freely admitted in every responsible quarter that the struggle for the power that wealth brings is unworthy in its aim and demoralizing in its methods. The numerical strength of those who have the leisure and the resources to gratify ambitions apart from the mere matter of making a living is

of growing insignificance, anyway. Consequently their achievements in the work of cultivating a lovely and symmetrical individuality—conceding that this is what they are after—does not by any means prove that economic individualism is a good thing for the race. We do not judge a barrel of apples by the round and rosy few which the artful agriculturist puts on top, and we cannot take a few who, escaping the savagery of the fight for subsistence, become beautiful and good, as sample products of the individualistic regime.

All enlightened social philosophers admit that the general welfare is the only legitimate object of social organization and all institutions, whether industrial, educational or religious, must stand or fall by the test of social utility. If they add to the sum of human comfort and happiness they stand. If they fail to promote the common good, they fall, though, it must be admitted, these bad institutions do an aggravating lot of tottering before they tumble. However, the point is that be it never so slowly the mills of the gods do really grind. Once it is admitted that the general good is the test of all institutions and systems we have no difficulty in demonstrating that capitalism does not tend to produce any admirable race type. It is easily demonstrated that not only does it fail to do good but that left to itself it rushes the race into the abyss of mental, moral and physical degeneration.

Jack London's graphic and fearfully true pictures of the English working class in "The People of the Abyss" show this, and endless evidence of the same sort is provided in every city and manufacturing center of any industrially developed country on the globe. The vast majority of men are compelled to function as mere cogs of a wheel and

become dull, dun-colored grubbers after something to eat. The appalling increase in the employment of women and children bodes ill for the physical condition of the coming generation. The conditions which environ the mass of workmen and the growing uncertainty of employment inevitably tend to stunt the race growth. Even the skilled workers, the aristocracy of labor, feel the blighting touch of colorless uniformity. In many manufacturing establishments they are denied human identity, being known by a number, and trainmen, hotel employees and other workers are to be distinguished by their livery as the cattle of the western ranges are known by the masters' brand. And even among the "intellectuals"—those who might if they would live nobler lives—there is the slavish sycophancy which makes them ape the manners of the leisure class. From top to bottom of the social structure the only loveliness of character we see is that which, like the mountain shrubbery, finds a precarious sustenance for its roots in a hostile environment.

Socialism is not on the defensive in this fight. The conditions of capitalism are such that any change could hardly be otherwise than a change for the better. But it is easy to imagine the opportunities for individual development

in a free commonwealth and once the Socialist theory of industrial evolution is understood and the truth of economic determinism appreciated we can look to the future with the certain assurance of sweeter lives for us all.

Our opponents err in assuming that Socialism is some complex scheme to re-organize society in every department of its being; that it proposes to specify what God shall be worshipped and what garments shall be put on—that it contemplates compelling everybody to fashion and regulate their mental processes according to some rule. The whole endeavor of the movement is to substitute for the existing industrial despotism an industrial democracy which will mean, as a matter of course, such a re-organization of the machinery of wealth distribution as shall guarantee to wealth producers the value of their product. When the individual has performed his necessary part in the co-operative plan of wealth production and distribution—and it can be easily shown that it will be a pleasant part—he will be free to live as seems to him best, restrained only by the requirement that the realization of his aims shall not be at the unwilling expense of another and by the realization that no one can live apart from his fellows and sufficient unto himself.

THE FUTURE'S MYSTIC COIL

By **ERIE**

We are bound by the links of a magic chain
 To the glories of the past;
 Each in the mould of a selfless deed
 Or a noble thought was cast.

But the link that shall bind the unrolled past
 To the future's mystic coil
 Is ours to forge, though in grime and sweat,
 At the cost of tears and toil.

BOOK REVIEWS

CHILDREN OF MEN, by Bruno Lessing.
McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.50.

Under the above title Bruno Lessing has written a volume of short stories. There are twenty-three of them in all and they bear the mark of the skilled newspaper man. Added to a rare simplicity of style Lessing displays a genius for realism. His episodes are the actual happenings in the lives of these children of the "Ghetto," who have brought with them from the East the religion of their fathers. The author shows us with great insight that jealousy of a persecuted race guarding the faith of its prophets in the strange light of a new world.

The book is interspersed with bits of shrewd humor.

Home is the theme of most of the episodes, while underlying the more serious of the stories is that great problem of daily life, with the tragic weariness of its overwrought people.

ADA MULKINS.

THE HOPE OF ENGLAND, by Z. Henry
Lewis. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., London.

The author expresses his ideas of what might be done with the community through giving a sketch of a Utopian community in which everything has been made perfect by law. He shows a good idea of the cause of the existing wrongs, but it is doubtful if all his remedies would be accepted by the orthodox Socialist.

THE TRUTH ABOUT TRUSTS, by John
Moody. Published by the Moody Publishing Co., New York. \$5.00.

This book should be in the hands of everyone who is interested in the trusts and wishes definite information.

We know of no other book which deals with the subject so comprehensively nor so accurately. In fact, we do not know of any other attempt that has been made in this direction. Mr. Moody gives a list of 440 trusts, with a capital of twenty billion dollars, and with a history of all the most prominent of them, such as the Copper Trust, Smelting Trust, Sugar Trust, Oil Trust and particularly the Railway Trust. He has a number of diagrams showing the control of Rockefeller and Morgan over the various trusts and railways, how they interlock their interests and how Rockefeller and Morgan are in practical control of all the industries in the United States.

For those that think it is possible to nationalize the railways and other trusts depending for their life upon franchises, it would be well for them to note that the total capital in such trusts amounts to thirteen billion dollars, whereas the total of the industrial trust amounts to seven billion dollars. This means, of course, that if we should nationalize them, the government would be called upon to pay to the owners of the railway trust a sum of money nearly twice as great as the total capital of the industrial trusts and so would give to such owners an amount of capital which would enable them to immediately dominate and consolidate all the other industrial trusts in the country into their own hands, effecting the greatest industrial revolution that the world has ever seen.

Mr. Moody gives a view of trusts by Mr. S. C. T. Dodd, the attorney of the Standard Oil Co., which is of interest, considering the source. Mr. Dodd, of course, takes the view that the trust is a necessity and there is no way of doing without it under the present conditions. Mr. Dodd, however, does not consider the possibility of our keeping the trust and owning it ourselves, instead of having Mr. Rockefeller own it.

Mr. Moody has done a great service to the public in compiling the book.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Moody does not give very definite conclusions as to what he would do as to solving the problem. However, it is quite possible that if he had done so, it would have limited the sale of the book. What people want is facts, not theories, and the facts will soon be so definite that we cannot help but draw the right conclusions.

THE GATE BEAUTIFUL, by John Ward
Stimson, formerly Director of Art Education at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. Albert Brandt, publisher, Trenton, N.J. \$7.50.

The connection between art and Socialism is immediate and direct. An artist is a man who so understands and enjoys the work he is doing that his joy shines out in his product. Art is the expression of the joy of living. If there is no joy in life, what is the use of living? We live to enjoy ourselves, and inasmuch as the present system of society affords us no chance to adequately enjoy life, Socialists wish to change the system to a system under which we may enjoy life to the full. When we all can have joy in delightful work, then all objects that man creates will be beautiful, including himself. The art of noble living

is the highest art of all. From this view-point Professor Stimson's great work is of intense interest to the Socialist. It not only tells us what art is, but explains *why* it is, and this is by far the most important thing. Like Walter Crane and William Morris, the great English artists, Professor Stimson long ago came to the conclusion that the first thing for the builders of beautiful things to do is to prepare a beautiful earth to receive their work. Now the people to build the earth beautiful are not the idle rich, the parasites, but the creative inspired workers, and accordingly we find Crane, Morris and Stimson all striving to carry their message of beauty to the workers. He is the man who most needs and appreciates beauty in life and he is the only one who can and will revolutionize this old earth of ours to the end that we will cast off our dirty rags of pain and poverty and come forth in the beautiful robe of divine joy.

Professor Stimson has given many years of his life to the teaching of art to the people, and, in fact, he has almost given up life itself in his enthusiasm. Some years ago his health quite gave way and he was compelled to give up work. He is now in the mountains of California and writes that he is so improved that he looks for an early return to New York. The fundamental concept of Professor Stimson might be well expressed in the words of Walter Crane: "Both in life and art, beauty is not something accidental, it is an organic thing having its own laws, its own logical causes and consequences. It is A Living Force, A Living Presence, and, therefore, ever varying in its forms, as we follow it down this stream of time and mark its habitations from age to age."

THE GREAT ADVENTURER, by Robert Shackleton. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.50.

This is a story of industrial life in the United States, which is considerably more up to date than any we have noticed. It is not long ago that the successful business man finished up by dying happily in full possession of all his properties, of which he was the manager. This book tells things as they actually are. Lorenzo Carter built up a great institution and was finally forced by the stress of over-production to turn everything over to a trust. The author speaks of it in this wise: "He loved his mills like a child. They had grown up under his eyes. He had established them, guided them, and watched over their development." "Through the long line of mills he passed and his heart swelled with pride. Veritable children they! How could he turn over the control to others, for he knew the merger, once accomplished, his individual management could exist only so long as it would suit the trust." But he had to let go, for the trust organizer told him: "If you do not join, your men will be out of work in less than twelve months, or else you will

be running your mills at an immense loss." All this is so true to life that one feels like congratulating the author on having struck a new lead, were it not for the fact that he rather goes back on the theory of the inevitability of the trust, by having Carter withdraw, notwithstanding he showed at the beginning the impossibility of individual production, and Carter makes a success of it anyway.

WHEN IT WAS DARK, by Guy Thorne. Published by Putnam. Price \$1.20.

Mr. Thorne has given us a very striking picture of the spiritual darkness that he thinks would envelope the world were Christianity suddenly taken from it. The plot is original, the treatment good and the reader's interest is sustained throughout, but the ending is too conventional and the moral too obvious. It is in fiction rather than life that the good receive their just deserts and the wicked are punished. Therefore, we might question Mr. Thorne's artistic feeling when he punished with such unflinching justice all those who plotted against the Christian religion, and heaped upon the successful defenders all the world's glory. It is a bit too like the literal Hell of Fire and the Harp of Gold of a past orthodoxy.

A COUNTRY INTERLUDE, by Hildegarde Hawthorne. Houghton Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.

In these days of much letter publishing it is a delight to find a book written in that form so fresh and charming that the fascination is felt from cover to cover, and this is the feat that Miss Hawthorne has accomplished. The letters tell of a poet maid who finds her soul in a place apart and close to the heart of nature. Through the finding of herself she finds another soul, one golden summer. This little love poem which Miss Hawthorne has been pleased to call a novelette, should be read by all lovers of good things.

Miss Hawthorne is the grand daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne and daughter of Julian Hawthorne.

THE STORY OF FRANCE (Volume II), by Thomas E. Watson, MacMillan Co.

I confess until I read this book of Mr. Watson's that with all my previous reading about the French revolution I still had a very hazy idea of the whole affair, my haziness about the facts and causes of the incidents was only equalled by my haziness regarding the character of the individuals of that most dramatic national event in the world's history.

There is never an effect without a cause, yet I think most of us are apt to think that while there was a necessity for the bourgeoisie displacing the monarch and nobility in France when the evolution of economic conditions

had doomed feudalism, yet is difficult to understand why there was so much bloodshed and why so much of mankind in France seemed to have all at once gone stark, staring mad during the transition period.

After reading Mr. Watson, one sees that only a very small part of the population of France had much to do actively with the revolution, and that of those that were active the reason of their extraordinary actions can be explained by other means than the easy one of simply considering them all crazy.

This second volume commences with the period just ante-dating the revolution and carries us into the first years of the dictatorship of Napoleon.

It makes clear that King Louis the Sixteenth had to be beheaded, because it was an absolute political necessity owing to the nature of the royal beast. France had definitely parted from the feudal tenure, and the King, while pretending to accept the new regime of a constitutional monarchy, was always secretly intriguing with the emigrant nobles and the enemies of France for a return to the ancient regime.

The pretence that the people did not know Louis to be a traitorous, lying old scoundrel was long kept up, and for months he was kept on the throne after the revolution had set in, not because he was not recognized to be useless to the country, as well as dangerous to her liberties, owing to the force of the tradition of the divine right of kings.

It is something like the way we Americans keep King Rockefeller and King Morgan on their thrones, not because we feel we need kings, but because we do not dare to break with tradition. Louis was the head of the tape-worm of feudalism. As long as he lived the worm kept re-forming and growing again. His death was a necessity of state. Feudalism was a system of personal fidelity to the king. As long as the king lived he was bound to call on the nobles to support him in endeavoring to revive the old absolutism.

We Americans have no personal fidelity to King Rockefeller. It is not to him that we bend the knee, but to his dollars. Take away his dollars and we take away his sceptre.

Rockefeller poor is just as innocuous to us as was King Louis dead to the French. Mr. Watson has written a book of intense interest and that is why it impresses you so that you have the history of France printed indelibly upon your memory after perusal. Read it and you will understand Mirabeau, Marat, Danton and Robespierre as you never understood them before. You will not only know their weaknesses but will know their virtues, and they had virtues to a much greater degree than many may suspect.

Robespierre and Danton were not Socialists, it is unnecessary to say. To propose that the state should own and operate the machinery of production would have seemed lunacy to them, for we must remember that 100 years ago there was no machine industry, no railroads and telegraph lines. Socialism is a child of modern growth and could not have been conceived until steam and labor-saving machinery had supplanted hand labor.

Robespierre and Danton proposed reforms which, while in those days were looked upon as the limit in incendiarism, would now be regarded as simply the every day programme of the Republican or Democratic Party.

They wanted a progressive income tax, compulsory education and manual training schools. They were not communists, Robespierre calling communism "a phantom created by scoundrels to frighten idiots."

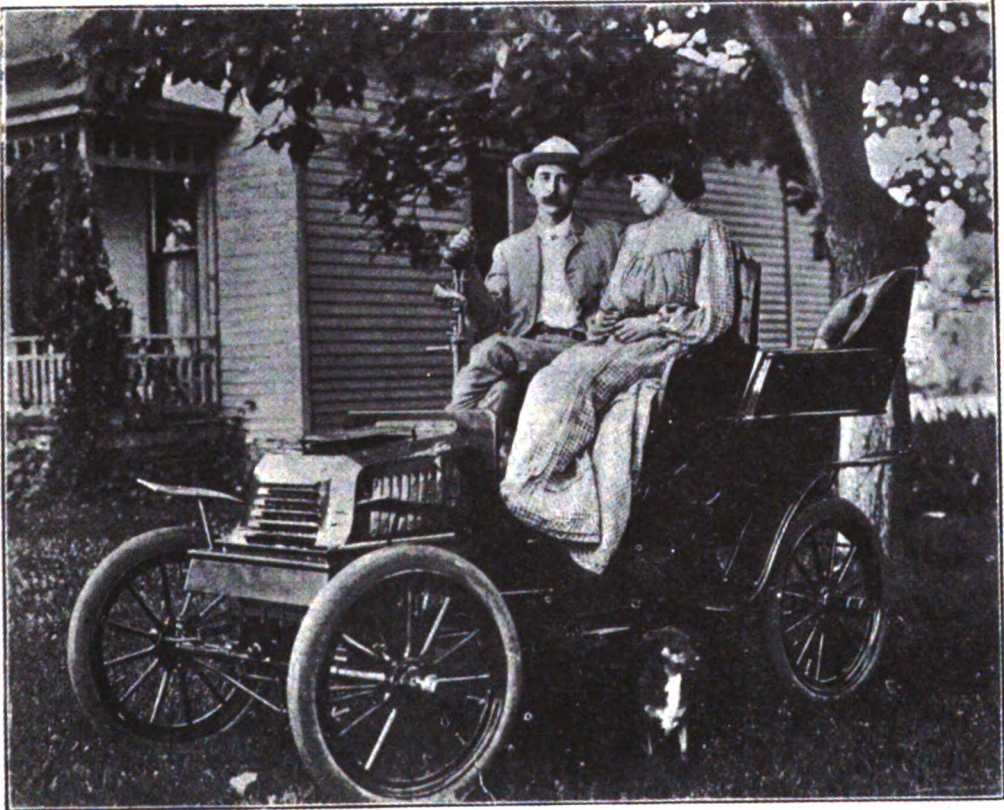
It is true they both cut off heads, and finally Robespierre cut off Danton's head, and later on Danton's friends cut off Robespierre's head, but that was simply a little bye-play of theirs. If they were alive today, and had no more advanced opinions than they had then, I would look to see both acting as delegates in a Republican convention. The Story of France should be read by all who wish the clearest account of the French revolution ever written. It is beautifully printed in two volumes, price \$5.00. If you do not buy for your own library you should see that it is ordered for your local public library.

The author is the presidential nominee of the Populist Party.



HON. THOS. E. WATSON,
Presidential Candidate of the People's Party.

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER



MR. AND MRS. G. H. LOCKWOOD IN THEIR WILSHIRE PRIZE AUTOMOBILE.

Mrs. Lockwood was the winner of the Crestmobile which we gave away to the one who sent in the most subscriptions to Wilshire's in our contest which closed some months ago. The automobile will do good work in the campaign this fall.

If our friends throughout the country could know the preparations we have been making for the fall campaign I am certain that they would feel certain that no stone will be left unturned in this office to help along the campaign.

My proposition in last month's magazine to give away absolutely free 5,000 \$10 shares of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE stock, every share representing ten dollars in cold cash invested in the magazine, has met with great favor all over the country. Of course I give with a condition—I could easily peddle the stock out if I wanted to sell without condition. But the condition is a condition that

makes for socialistic propaganda. A ten dollar share goes free as a bonus with every five dollars worth of subscription cards sold before the election, November 8th. Every five dollars worth of cards sold means ten subscribers to WILSHIRE'S, and every ten subscribers means ten votes for Debs and Socialism. If I give away 5,000 shares on this plan it means that 50,000 new readers are reading my editorials, and it means 50,000 votes. And it means more. It means 5,000 active stockholders, every one of them just as earnest a Socialist as myself and each one doing his share in spreading Socialism. If you are thinking of taking up this proposition, better

make up your mind quick. I positively will not extend this offer after November 8th, election day. Write me about it today.

Another thing. Our readers everywhere are guessing what the vote for Debs will be. Some say a million, some say only three hundred thousand. My guess is between these two figures. It has occurred to me that this interest in the probable vote can be turned into propaganda use. A million guesses of course wouldn't make a solitary Socialist. But suppose I offered a prize, a good substantial one, to be given to the lucky guesser, and then gave a guess with each magazine sold and sold a million magazines? Would a million guesses count for Socialism then? I think they would, so I am going to give a magnificent Symphony organ, value \$250, to the lucky guesser. A guess goes with every magazine sold. You get your coupons when you pay for the magazines. The idea is, of course, that you take a bundle of magazines and sell them to your friends. Give the coupon to sell the magazine if you can't interest the man any other way. Show him that he not only gets a good magazine chuck full of things he ought to know, but that he is getting a chance on a \$250 organ. If he makes the guess at all he'll have to investigate the past record of the party and make some calculations on the state of the public mind, and these little things alone may be the means of starting him on the road to Socialism. He may, on this account, vote the ticket. If he does he'll have to increase his guess by one. If you'll drop me a line I will inform you more fully.

The symphony organ can be played after the fashion of the piano players, so you do not have to be a musician to play the finest music and get the right expression too.

I haven't received as many replies as I ought to have on that special proposition of mine to reach an extra, new audience of 25,000 this campaign. This is a special plan of getting the children, or any grown person who has the time, to sell a bundle of magazines each month and reward them with substantial prizes. Write me today for a circular describing it. It is an excellent plan and ought to produce great results if you will help me.

Now is the time to get in your work for Socialism if you wish the work to count for this election. The men you interest this month and next will have plenty of time to study before the election excitement commences.

A word about agents prices. I consider the person who sells six or more subscription cards as a WILSHIRE agent and is entitled to certain rights and privileges as our representative. I am willing to sell him subscription cards on credit, to be paid for when sold, at 50 cents per year by card. To all others the price is \$1.00. The magazine for a year is worth every cent of one dollar as you will agree. Many of my agents make a good living taking WILSHIRE subscriptions, although I find that a great many agents are selling at cost without taking the 50 cents profit per card

which I offer. This makes it rather hard for the agent who is trying to make his expenses by selling cards. I would prefer that all my agents charged \$1.00. That is what I charge every subscriber who gets the magazine through this office.

The following interesting letters show very plainly the reception that WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is getting throughout the country.

Cassel, Cal., June 6, 1904.

It gives me great pleasure to thus have the privilege of writing you. I admire the masterly analysis you make of the outlook in your leaders. That is the true spirit, and the only channel through which a true conception of the situation can be reached and appreciated. I have been the recipient of a couple of sample copies of the Irish American, and when acknowledging their receipt I let them know that I had outgrown the narrow and petty limit of Irish nationality and had cast my lot with those who were making a world-wide struggle for the betterment of humanity, and had ceased to work for the supplanting of a set of English landlords in Ireland in the interest of the Irish article of the same pattern. For have we not a sample of that brand in this country in the person of Lord Scully, in Illinois, and have no further use for the pestilential scourge.

NOBLE FISHER.

Covington, Ky., April 18, 1904.

I see that my subscription has expired with this month's number. Enclosed please find ten yearly subscription cards. Please extend my subscription for that number of years, and I hope by that time Socialism will be so far advanced there will not be need for magazines or papers to interest people in it. That will take me up to 1914. I am glad to see you return to the United States. With best wishes.

Yours truly,
R. H. CHALKLEY.

James F. Kelley, of Troy, N.Y., won the prize of \$10 worth of cards which we offered in our June number to the person who purchased the most from our advertisers during June.

Palace Hotel, San Francisco, July 16th.

"Frenzied Finance," in *Everybody's Magazine*, is the sensational article now being published, beginning in the July number, by T. L. Lawson, of Boston. He writes an introduction which is indicative of the revelations to follow.

Everybody's Magazine, published by Ridgway-Thayer Co., 31 East 17th street, Union Square, N.Y.

Note how like a Socialist Lawson writes—repeatedly differentiating system from individuals and advocating the abolition of the system.

I called at the hotel news stand for a July copy, but all were sold.

TOM JACOBSON.

PRICE 10 CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"Let the Nation Own the Trusts"

SEPTEMBER, 1904

THE TENEMENT HOUSE
PROBLEM — *Wm. H. Leffingwell*
SOCIETY AT A PREGNANT
MOMENT — *Julian Hawthorne*
FACE TO FACE — *Eugene V. Debs*

Editorial Review

THE ASSASSINATION OF VON PLEHVE—
WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING—HOW
TO BE HAPPY—VOTE FOR DEBS—VOT-
ING MERELY FOR LOOT—NO FAT TO
FRY—THE BANKRUPT PRUNE GROWERS
—BRYAN'S NEW VIEWS— NATIONALIZA-
TION OF MONOPOLIES—MOTHER JONES IN
NEW YORK—THE MISSION OF NIAGARA
—LET THE CITY SWEEP THE SIDEWALKS.

125 East 23'd Street. New York.

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

September, 1904

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL REVIEW.	363
The Assassination of Von Plehve—Wages and the Cost of Living—How to be Happy—Vote for Debs—Voting Merely for Loot—No Fat to Fry—The Bankrupt Prune Growers—Bryan's New Views—Nationalization of Monopolies—Mother Jones in New York—The Mission of Niagara—Let the City Sweep the Sidewalks.	
THE FARMERS' PROBLEM.....	Editorial 373
I DREAM'D IN A DREAM.....	Walt Whitman 376
THE TENEMENT HOUSE PROBLEM.....	Wm. H. Leffingwell 377
À NOVEL CAN.....	382
THE PRESENT CRISIS (Poem).....	James Russell Lowell 383
SOCIETY AT A PREGNANT MOMENT.....	Julian Hawthorne 384
FACE TO FACE.....	Eugene V. Debs 385
WHEN MEN LOVE NATURE.....	387
EDWIN MARKHAM'S BOOK REVIEWS.....	388
WHEN CHINA ENTERS THE RING.....	390
THE SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.....	392
WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER.....	393

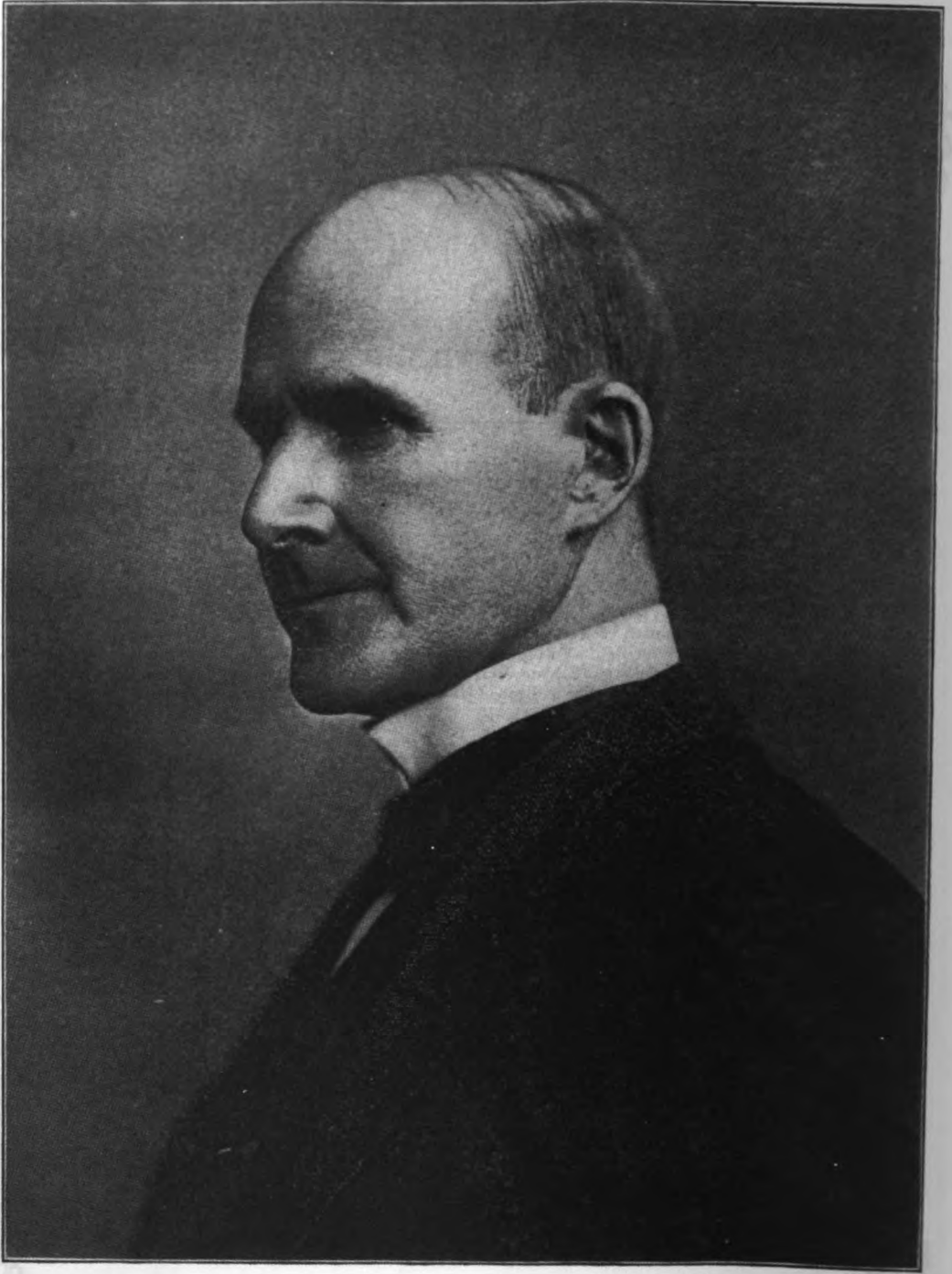
WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is published monthly by the Wilshire Publishing Co. of New York and mailed postpaid to subscribers in the United States and Canada at \$1.00 a year. To Great Britain and other foreign countries, \$1.20 (5s.) a year.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, being unreturnable, is not always found on the newsstands, but if desired any dealer will keep it on hand if given a regular monthly order. Price 10 cents. The American News Co. of New York are general wholesale agents.

When changing address always give the old as well as the new address.
The date of expiration of subscription appears upon the wrapper.

Address all Communications to

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, 125 East 23d St., NEW YORK



Eugene T. Debs

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

Wilshire's Magazine

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

Vol. VI. No. 9.

TORONTO, SEPTEMBER, 1904

\$1 Per Year

EDITORIAL REVIEW

THE ASSASSINATION of Von Plehve reopens again the question as to whether assassination is ever of advantage to the oppressed. Looking back over the different rulers who have

THE ASSASSINATION OF VON PLEHVE

been assassinated in past history, it is very difficult to find a plain case where the assassination has had the effect desired. Von Plehve certainly was one of the most arbitrary despots of the century, and if assassination was ever justified it certainly was in his case. But until the Russian people decide that they wish a different form of government than that which they now have, then certainly we can hardly expect any great change for the better, and it is quite likely that assassination of ministers will but more firmly intrench the present autocracy in its power. It is the same in Colorado. It must certainly be a great temptation to a man who has been deported from his own state by the arbitrary act of a General Bell or Governor Peabody, to visit personal vengeance upon one of those individuals by the assassin's bullet; how-

ever, it is evident that any such act would re-act disastrously upon the miners in the way of giving a justification for the arbitrary methods of Peabody and Bell. Until the people of Colorado determine at the polls that they will end this miserable condition of affairs, they must continue to bear what they have brought on themselves. Let them vote for Socialism if they do not like Peabodyism.

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE and Labor has sent out a new bulletin showing that during the last ten years, while wages have increased 18%, the cost of living has increased only 10%, and that since 1896 wages have increased 16.6% and the cost of living increased 15.5%. I will not attempt to analyze these

figures, for that has been done by others who have pretty thoroughly riddled them. It has been shown that the Department has carefully avoided taking in the railroad workers and there are a great many other eliminations which

makes the whole thing well nigh useless. The particular point, however, that I wish to emphasize is that every individual today who is earning a salary or working for wages knows perfectly well without any government statistics that he is not as well off today as he was ten years or even five years ago, and all the figures in the world are not going to make him think differently, and, even if it were possible to make him come to a different conclusion, it would not be possible to convince his wife. These figures, sent out by the Department, may have some effect upon the people who do not get wages or a salary, but not upon anyone else. However, taking the figures as correct on the face of them, it shows that there has been practically no betterment of the workers, whereas on the other hand the Republicans are only too anxious to show that there has been not only an enormous increase in the wealth of the nation but also in its capacity to produce wealth. There is no pretense that the distribution of wealth has proceeded along with the capacity to produce wealth, and this is the main point for the voters to consider. If the Republicans admit, upon their own statistics, that there is no tendency to have a better distribution of wealth, and if the Democrats do not pretend to have in view any other method than the present distribution, then I would ask, what advantage can the worker gain by voting either the Democratic or Republican tickets. We have votes in order to better our condition and the only way to better our condition is to vote for a system which will better distribute the wealth that we produce. We know that the competitive system cannot distribute it any better than it is distributing it. Both old parties are in favor of the retention of the present competitive system and there

is only one party that demands the abolition of this competitive system and the substitution of the co-operative system, and that is the Socialist Party. If the voter wishes a better system of distribution than he has at present, there is only one way of saying so and that is to vote for the Socialist Party.

THE RICH ARE ABOVE the law, and no better illustration could be had than the action of the directors of the corporation which owned the steamer General Slocum, which recently burnt up, with the loss of a thousand and lives. The evidence showed such criminal negligence to provide life preservers and proper fire apparatus that the directors have been indicted for manslaughter. After the indictment it was common talk that nothing would come of it all, and that the directors themselves are unafraid can be seen from the way they are acting regarding another steamboat they own, the Grand Republic, a sister ship to the General Slocum. The Grand Republic is used exclusively for excursions and has a legal carrying capacity of 3,700 passengers. Some weeks previous to the Slocum disaster I myself was a passenger upon the Grand Republic on an excursion up the Hudson River. There were at least 2,000 more on board than the law allowed, and there was not the least attempt even to prevent still more crowding upon her. The only reason there were no more on board was that no more tickets were in demand. It was so crowded that when she made her stop at 125th street—she started from 23d street—a great many more got off there than got on, as many had had an opportunity to realize by that time that the crowd was too great for comfort, quite apart from considering the danger of it, and they

HOW TO BE
HAPPY

preferred to forfeit their fares rather than continue the trip. If a fire had occurred that day, even if there had been plenty of good life preservers, there would certainly have been an immense loss of life, for the boat was so overcrowded that it would have been impossible to have gotten near a preserver. This kind of overcrowding is the rule with excursion boats, not only about New York, but about every other American city. There is no country in the world where profits are put so far ahead of human life as in our dear Land of Colorado Bull Pen Liberty. However, to continue my story. After the burning of the Slocum there was a demand for general re-inspection of all excursion steamers about New York harbor. I am not very innocent, but I admit that I thought to myself that the lesson of the Slocum will certainly warn the directors to get the Grand Republic in ship-shape to pass the re-inspection, sure to come shortly. I did think a man under indictment for manslaughter would be careful to avoid another indictment. Not at all. Did the directors turn to and fix up the Grand Republic after the burning of the Slocum? Not only did they not fail to prepare her for re-inspection, but they actually contested the right of the government to re-inspect. However, the re-inspection was made and what the same inspector two months ago pronounced safe he now pronounces unsafe. The life-preservers were found absolutely rotten and incapable of sustaining even twenty-four pounds of lead, and the fire-hose was as rotten as the life-preservers. As for a fire-drill, the crew never had heard of such a thing. Now it must be borne in mind that all this criminal negligence is found on the Grand Republic a full month or more after her owners had been indicted for criminal negligence regarding

the Slocum. If this conduct does not show a contempt for the power of the law when it comes to the protection of the weak from the strong, then there has never been an example of it. Money has now become such a power in this country, it has such an absolute dominance over our courts, that it is almost hopeless to look for any good results from the passage of laws designed to protect man as against the money-bag. We have seen how the trade-unions are being crippled by one decision after the other. We have seen how in Colorado the referendum is disregarded by the corporations and the constitution scoffed at. The Nation may not be Ruled by Money, but it is certainly ruled by the Men who Rule Money. The only men who can rule money are those who own money. Ergo, if the Nation would rule money it must own money. What is money? When we say Rockefeller is worth lots of money what do we mean? Do we mean he has lots of dollar bills in his vest pocket? Of course not. Rockefeller might be worth a billion dollars of money and yet not have ten dollars in bank. Let him own the Trusts and the Railways and he can own a billion of money whenever he will. The Trusts command money and money commands the Nation. When we use the word money we use it metaphorically. We don't mean actual dollars and cents, but we mean railways and other forms of capital, the ownership of which gives the owner the power of extracting the dollars from the people. Therefore when I say, Let the Nation Own the Money, I do not mean to cry, Let the Nation Own the Gold Dollars and the Greenbacks. I mean, Let the Nation Own the Trusts. Once owning the Trusts, the Nation will have no more difficulty commanding money than has Mr. Rockefeller

commanding it. If we do not wish any more burning up of people in Iroquois Theatres or Slocum steamboats, then let us do away with the profit system which causes men to burn up their fellowmen for the sake of a few half-dollars. If we do not wish to shorten the lives of millions of our fellowmen who are wearing out their lives working unnecessarily long hours and in unnecessarily unhealthy factories, then let us be the owners of those factories ourselves and regulate our hours and the conditions of our labor. Instead of allowing a few soulless corporations to sweat and murder us on the plan of making the most profit without regard to the loss of life, let us be our own masters. If we wish this Earth to be our Paradise for men then Let the Nation Own the Trusts. This sounds hifalutin. Is it? What is Paradise but a place where you do what you like? And what you like is obedience to God. Obedience to God has an ugly sound for most of us. It usually means doing something you do not wish to do, in order that someone else may have the fruit of your work. Be unhappy yourself that someone else may be happy. But this is not obedience to God. God's law is simply the law that impels us all to do what is best for the social organism, not for our own selves, not for our neighbors, but for the general good. When we do what is best for *all*, we are doing what is best for ourselves and what renders us the most happy. However, we cannot under present conditions either do what is best for ourselves, nor for our neighbors, nor for the humanity. Therefore we are unhappy and this world is not Paradise. We simply cannot be good as things are today, and unless we are good we cannot be happy. Therefore no one is happy. If we would be Good we must have

conditions which allow of Goodness. The primary condition is liberty for each individual to be able to work to the best advantage for humanity as a whole, for by so doing he is working the best for himself. To do this we must control the Earth and manage it for ourselves. Someone else cannot do this for us any more than someone else can be good and happy for us. To control and manage the Earth we must own it. The first step toward ownership will come only when we cry, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts."

ONCE AGAIN the people of this Republic are to go to the polling booths in order to declare their wishes as to how our affairs, industrial and political, shall be managed. There is no doubt what the verdict will be. We shall declare that we are quite satisfied with things as they are and that we see no reason for making any change in the established order of things. Fourteen million voters out of the fifteen million will vote either for Roosevelt or Parker. Some one reading this will possibly object to the statement that we Americans will by our votes declare that we are satisfied. He may say that it is perfectly known to everyone that 90 per cent. of us Americans are anything but satisfied with things as they are, and that our votes one way or the other do not by any means indicate our state of satisfaction. That because a man votes for Roosevelt it does not mean he is satisfied with his position in life, not at all. It simply means that he votes for Roosevelt because he knows that electing Parker will do him no more good than the electing of Roosevelt, and as he has always been a Republican, therefore he can see no reason for switching. The man

that votes for Parker will tell exactly the same story. Nobody votes today for a party because he votes for a principle he likes. A man votes today for his party simply because he has always voted that way, and he has always voted that way because his father voted that way. The reason of this voting without an end in view is simply the stupidity of the masses, and it is such a gross stupidity that the opponents of extension of the franchise to the propertyless classes, when arguing the question a century ago, never thought of it as a factor that would render the franchise valueless. And they were no admirers of the intellect of the masses, either. Before the masses had the vote it was always argued that the giving them the power to vote was giving them the power to take property from the rich by law, and it was assumed that once they were given such power it would not be long before the power would be exercised. However, this assumption was baseless, for it was made without any taking into account the conservative stupidity of the human ass. For years the masses have had the power to vote away the poverty under which they sweat and groan, and yet they never attempt to exercise this power. Instead of voting for what they want they simply kick between election days and then on election day they vote for four years more of Poverty and Roosevelt. If a five year old boy were informed that he could have an apple whenever he asked for it, and if when he became hungry he did not ask for it, we would judge him mentally deficient. But when we full-grown Americans don't ask for our apple when it can be had for the asking we are insulted if we are called idiots. The apple that will abolish our poverty is merely the adoption of a different method of distribution of the

wealth we produce. There is no necessity of inventing any more new processes of producing things. We already produce fast enough to abolish want. We don't distribute fast enough to keep up with production. That's our trouble. Today we distribute under a competitive wage system which limits us at best to a wage just above starvation no matter how much we may produce. In fact we think we are rather lucky to be sure of getting wages at all under our present competitive system. Now, all this can and will be changed as soon as we wish to make the change, and not before. The way to make the change is to say to ourselves that we wish to make it and the way to talk thusly to ourselves is to cast our ballot for a political party that advocates the abolition of the competitive system of distribution and the substitution of the co-operative system of distribution. That party is the Socialist Party, and their candidate at the next presidential election is Mr. Debs. If you wish to abolish poverty, *Vote for Debs.*

JUDGE PARKER some ten years ago thought it possible the solution of the Trust Problem might be found in government ownership; today he thinks the solution will be found in the administration of the common law by Democrats instead of Republicans. Parker's speech of acceptance is about the worst slush I have read for a long time. He has nothing to say and he has not sufficient command of English to hide his ignorance. Teddy is ignorant enough, heaven knows, but his strenuousness is so blatant that your attention is often drawn away from his ignorance to his noise. However, after all, Parker is very honest in his declaration that there is no fundamental opposition

VOTING
MERELY
FOR LOOT

between Republicans and Democrats. The sole difference is one of opinion as to what men shall administer. Which gang shall have the loot? That is the political question of the hour.

THE WALL STREET MONEY

which nominated Parker was well placed. It will bring much interest. Not that Parker has much of any chance of winning, but his nomination makes

Wall Street indifferent about Roosevelt's success, and hence unwilling to make heavy campaign contributions to the Republicans.

For the last two presidential elections, with the bogey of a Bryan candidacy to fry out fat, it was dead easy for the Republican campaign solicitors to get money. But today how different. Why should the corporations give up? They have no fear of Parker, and if the truth be known, really most of them would prefer Parker to Roosevelt. Parker is a man to depend upon. You know where he is all the time. He is the personification of conservatism; besides, he has no dangerous thirst for glory. Roosevelt is all that is dangerous, and he delights in his reputation. Cortelyou will have a hard trial in fat frying this year.

I HAVE OFTEN PREDICTED that over-production of farm products, and the resultant low prices, is going to be the final ruin of the farmer. Curiously enough, however, one of the great

THE BANKRUPT PRUNE GROWERS crops of this country, wheat, is just now selling at an abnormally high price. Wheat was quoted at \$1.07 recently in the Chicago market. But, as far as the farmer is concerned, this high price is of no bene-

fit because he has already sold all his wheat crop. All other prices, except that of corn, show a tendency downward. Cotton, which has lately been selling at the highest price for years, will probably go down this winter to an unremunerative price. California, as usual, has had the greatest difficulty in getting any price at all for most of its fruit crops. The New York *Commercial* has the following regarding prunes, which is very significant:

Everything points to an overproduction of prunes this year, both at home and abroad, and a corresponding drop in prices. The statement is made that the output of Bosnia, Servia and France will be the largest ever produced. It is estimated that the total crop for the countries mentioned will reach 400,000,000 pounds.

The California and Oregon crop, it is figured, will easily reach 150,000,000 pounds, and this added to the carryover from last year of 50,000,000 pounds, makes a total supply available for 1904 of 600,000,000 pounds.

Referring to these figures, a prominent broker said yesterday: "California prune interests are now alive to the fact that they cannot depend upon an export demand for the fruit this season. It looks like an overproduction of prunes in all sections, and we are going to see very low prices. Jobbers are holding back for better terms, and unless something happens to the crop between now and the curing season, there will be considerable pressure to sell fruit for October shipment. The jobber who buys the goods as he needs them will be on the safe side. There will be no export business from the coast this season."

What is true of prunes is also true of raisins and all other fruits in California. However, the California farmer will vote for the continuation of the existing system which means for him that the more he produces the less he gets. It would seem that until the California growers absolutely starve, Socialism will make little progress there. Comparatively speaking, however, there are already more Socialists among the California farmers than in any other state. There is nothing like the logic of events to teach a man his lesson of life. It is rather unfortunate, however, for those that have

learned their lesson that they too must take their punishment until their more stupid brethren have learned theirs.

ONE GOOD EFFECT of the defeat of Bryan and the radical democracy in the Democratic convention has been to force Bryan to take a step forward in his economic views. He now declares for the necessity of public ownership of

BRYAN'S
NEW VIEWS

railways, but instead of advising national ownership, he advocates state ownership. It looks as if Bryan has not the courage to come directly out for national ownership of railways, for he has so long rejected this reform that it would look as if he were changing his mind too rapidly after his defeat at St. Louis. By advocating state ownership it lets him down somewhat easier, so to speak. The same general arguments which apply to national ownership apply to public ownership by any method, whether by the state, country or city. However, the idea of state ownership of railways is really very impractical inasmuch as over 60 per cent. of the commerce is inter-state and state ownership affords no method of a centralized management which has proven itself so necessary to the present management of railways. There was a time when the management of our railways was a local and state affair, but that day has long since passed. The convenience of a management centralized at one point, New York, has been demonstrated beyond question. If, under the Bryan plan, we should give the states the ownership of railways, and if two or three of the central states should decline to build railways or operate them, then the east would be completely cut off from the west without any recourse. Then one state might adopt one gauge of track and another state another gauge, and

there would be no method of running cars across state lines. State ownership is absolutely impracticable, but, as we said, it is a view which allows Bryan to break himself in gently to a new idea. The time for Bryan to have brought out new ideas was before the assembling of the Democratic convention, not after it had adjourned. If he wished to have them impressed upon the Democratic Party, then he should have brought his views out in time for them to have been put into their platform. This would have been the natural act of a brave and sincere leader. I have never before heard of a man who thought his views were of any great importance to the public who refrained from promulgating them until the time when he knows they are impossible of adoption. The next time Bryan has any new thoughts on economics let him come before the Democratic convention with them.

WE NOTICED A SHORT TIME ago the fact that President Diaz of Mexico had taken warning by the example in the United States of the railways becoming too powerful, politically, and had forestalled any such event in Mexico by taking over the ownership of the railways.

NATIONALIZA-
TION OF
MONOPOLIES

This method of preventing the danger of private monopoly is certainly the only logical one. The German government has just invested \$10,000,000 in getting possession of the Hibernia Coal Co. She, too, was warned by the policy of the coal monopoly in this country, and will provide her own people with coal without the danger of monopoly under private control. Germany has already taken over control of her railroads, telegraphs and telephones, gas and water companies, and most of her municipal

street car lines. It is true that Germany, being a monarchy and a very autocratic one at that, does not gain very much in the line of democracy by this government ownership, nevertheless the fact that the German government realizes the importance of nationalizing certain industries in order to preserve its own political dominance should convey a lesson to the American government that if it wishes to preserve its political dominance it, too, must also own the machinery of production. The ownership of wealth gives to the owners the political power of the country, whether it is owned by the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser or the American government. I do not say the American President, because the President is not the "whole thing," although Roosevelt is rapidly making it such. If we Americans wish our President, our Senate and our Congress, which constitutes our government, to be the real political power of the country, then we should take note from Diaz of Mexico, William of Germany and the Czar of Russia, all of whom are nationalizing public utilities as fast as they can. In the first case it is true that the three countries named are practically autocracies, and any increase of power of the government makes the government still more autocratic, but the United States is a democracy, and any increase of power which falls to its government should mean a more democratic form of government. The danger we have today is of the industrial power in the hands of private owners becoming so powerful that it will dominate the political government and at the same time be responsible to no political pressure. But corporations are in such complete control in this country, it is very unlikely that they will allow any measures to pass which will tend to cripple them. There has never been a

case known in history where the masters have voluntarily shackled themselves. If the people in this country wish to be free, then they must realize the necessity of the ownership of the means of production. In order to demonstrate that they do realize this they must vote for the party which demands the ownership by the people of these means of production. It can never be expected that the ownership of the means of production will ever be taken over by the people before the people first make such a demand.

MOTHER JONES, the well-known agitator and organizer, was in our office the other day, having returned from Colorado to the eastern states in order to raise funds for the striking miners. She thinks that there is no doubt of the final success of the miners, that it only requires patience and steadfastness on their part to achieve final victory. She says the 103 days that Moyer passed in the bull pen has wrecked his health and that he will hardly ever be likely to regain it again. She, herself, was reported from the state and while in Utah was put in quarantine for sixteen days upon the false allegation that she was likely to convey smallpox. This quarantining of individuals obnoxious to the corporations is a new departure in their tactics and may be of great value to them later on. A man placed in quarantine is in a much safer place than one in jail, for he is beyond any act of habeas corpus, inasmuch as you never can prove that the allegation that he has been in contact with people afflicted with smallpox or some other disease is false.

NIAGARA IS PROBABLY the greatest single force in Nature which can be utilized by man. Ten million horse-

power to be had for the asking—asking the New York legislature. It would be thought that if there was any one single natural resource that should have been kept for the people as a whole, it would

THE MISSION
OF NIAGARA

have been this power of Niagara Falls, yet, as a matter of fact, a great part has already been given to various electric power companies, and it was only by a narrow margin that a bill which would have given up all of the rights that the people possess, was defeated at the last session of the legislature. It is the private ownership of this continual increasing power of man over Nature which is forcing on the social revolution. The power is outgrowing the skill of the capitalists to guide it. The transition from the present competitive system to the future co-operative system is likely to be a sudden and revolutionary one, but I do not think for an instant that it is going to rise from any conscious revolutionary movement upon the part of the people as long as conditions remain as they are at present, bad as they are, nor, in fact, as long as they remain anything like they are at present. But things will not remain like they are. We are moving and moving rapidly toward a great unemployed problem. There will be unemployment because we will have built machines to do the work of men, and these machines do not consume commodities, in any like manner, as did the men who formerly did the work. We have machines producing very much more than the hand workers did and consuming very much less. There will be no method of disposing of these machine-made products, for the old method of transforming them into new machinery must finally halt. The Trusts are an indication that this time is at hand, that there is already too much

machinery. The Trust prognosticates unemployment for labor, for the capitalist will not and cannot hire labor to make machinery for which there is no demand. When such a state of affairs culminates it is not difficult to see the necessity for a revolution. If we do not change from the competitive system, which restricts production, to the co-operative system, we will be face to face with starvation. This revolutionary period to which we are so fast approaching is not necessarily preceded by any great political movement, although a trade union and Socialist political movement is a natural preliminary to a great revolutionary movement. There was a time when the Socialists held to the theory that their politics were for propaganda only, but there is a tendency just now for a good many Socialists to look upon the political end of the Socialist movement as a means to better the condition of labor at once. Some even think that Socialism itself will be finally voted in as regularly and peaceably as electing a Roosevelt. The idea that the Socialists are finally going to accomplish the transition to Socialism through electing Socialist officials, strikes me as most unlikely, and the theory is opposed to the old one that politics are simply a means of propaganda. The fundamental concept of Socialism is that the owners of the machinery of production control the political machinery. If this be true, I would ask how can the control of the political machinery ever be gotten except by first getting control of the industrial machinery? It seems to me the logical result is to assume that by the propaganda of Socialism, the evolution of industry daily making the public more receptive, Socialists will finally bring the people to a realization of the necessity of the ownership by the nation of the means

of production, and then the people will rise up and take possession of this industrial machinery, and then, through the power of this ownership, they will have control of the political machinery. However, all this is more or less academic, for the main thing now is to get the class who are without property to become conscious of the reason of their poverty, and then wait for results. It is this lack of class-consciousness, this lack of consciousness that the non-property owners are a class by themselves, which retards events. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst, as representatives of the radical thought, really do very little more toward making the people conscious of the reason of their poverty than does conservative Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Hearst and Mr. Roosevelt would both try to make us believe that the non-property owners, who are powerless because they have no property, are by some hocus pocus going to have the power given them to regulate property for their benefit without having the ownership of that property. Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan own and control the United States through the virtue of their ownership of the machinery of production, and all the Brisbane editorials we may throw out will never make Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan less powerful than they are to-day. The only thing possible to give us control of Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller is to own the means of their power, viz., the machinery of production. When I say, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," I am eternally trying to convey this lesson to the people. The first thing for the people to do is to get the idea that they wish to own the Trusts, and the next thing is for them to express this wish and join

the party which demands the ownership of the Trusts, and that party is the Socialist Party.

A GOOD DECISION has been made by the court of appeals of the District of Columbia. It is said that it is illegal for the city to pass a police ordinance insisting that the lot owners shall keep the sidewalk clean. The court says that this is an attempt on the part of the city to shift to the shoulders of the individual citizen the burden which properly is incumbent upon itself to bear, viz.: that of keeping the streets in proper condition. Most cities of the United States have ordinances which compel the citizen to clean the snow off his pavement and otherwise keep the sidewalk in front of his house in order. This duty should devolve not upon the individual but upon the city. This is the rule in most of the European cities and the result is that the sidewalks as well as the streets are kept in perfect condition. There is no more reason for compelling the individual to clean off the sidewalk than there is for him to clean off the street. We hope every ordinance in the United States, which tries to throw this burden upon the citizen, will be contested, that the cities will be forced to do what they should have done long ago. In a number of our cities the municipality removes the snow by means of a snow plow dragged along the sidewalks by horses. This means, of course, a great economy. It is evident that if each individual were forced to clear his own little sidewalk by hand it could not possibly be done without a great and useless waste of labor.

LET THE CITY
SWEEP THE
SIDEWALKS

THE FARMER'S PROBLEM

I HAVE just been reading a very excellent book upon the farmer question, written by J. A. Everitt, and published by the American Society of Equity at Indianapolis, Ind. (price 60 cents post-paid, with cloth cover 50 cents extra). The general idea that Mr. Everitt has is to form an association of farmers which will so restrict production that consumption will be sufficient to make the demand for agricultural goods advance prices to a profitable point. I wrote to Mr. Everitt a letter pointing out the difficulty of combining a large number of farmers, and also that it would necessitate the absurdity of either preventing the fruit trees bearing fruit or if they did bear fruit, destroy the fruit. It is a more difficult proposition to close down a fruit orchard than closing down an oil refinery. The fruit orchard goes on bearing fruit every year, requiring constant expense to keep it going, and if you neglect it one season it becomes an absolute ruin.

Herewith is Mr. Everitt's reply to me, which hardly answers my point:

Note your doubt as to the possibility of farmers co-operating, but we think on the plan of the American Society of Equity, that it is well worth a trial.

We note also, your expression of doubt about being able to secure profitable prices for oranges and other crops. We anticipate that there may be times when surplus crops of perishable goods will be grown, and we agree with you that the only thing to prevent unprofitable prices is to prevent the surplus from going on the market. We hope, however, by having the situation well in hand, to direct the supplies to reach the market in more uniform quantities, supply all the markets with the maximums that they can use, and thus provide a much larger sale at profitable prices. In the case of our principal agricultural products, we do not anticipate that there will be any surplus. You must remember that it is

proposed to make profitable prices on all crops, therefore, there will not be the desire to increase the production of one crop to the exclusion of others, and inasmuch as practically all of our agricultural lands are under cultivation at the present time, and as consumption has passed production, we believe there will be a market at profitable prices for all the crops like wheat, corn, oats, etc., and staple crops that the farmers can grow.

Everything may not work out perfectly as we hope, yet we are certain that great good will come by farmers organizing on this plan.

Yours truly,

J. A. EVERITT.

However, I should say that Mr. Everitt has some very excellent information upon the farmer subject, and it is the best thing I have read except the book by A. M. Simons, entitled, "The American Farmer," published by the C. H. Kerr Co., of Chicago. Simon's book is a classic on the subject and should be read by everyone. There is a new edition just out with all statistics brought down to date. While I am advising everyone to read Simon's book, I also think that Mr. Everitt's book should be on the bookshelf of those who are interested in the agricultural question in the United States, for it is one of the most important questions that the Socialists have to deal with. Mr. Everitt points out that the legislation today for the working man, giving him an eight hour day, arbitration statutes, child labor, etc., does not in the least benefit the farmer, and the people seem to take it as a matter of course that the farmer, his wife and children should work on the farm for twenty hours a day, and, as he says, "receive a smaller wage than convicts."

Mr. Everitt has a curious idea that with better prices the farmer will take the rest cure. "He will not work so

hard with profitable prices, thus reducing the crops." I think this is quite a mistake, because as soon as the farmer gets better prices he invests in more fertilizer and more machinery, in order to get a still bigger crop next year and make still more money.

The only thing which stops production with the farmer is giving him such a small price for his crop that he cannot afford to raise a bigger one next year. From an abstract of the Twelfth Census, Mr. Everitt shows that the net income of the farmer family of the United States is \$328 per year which must be divided among 6.13 persons, which gives to each member of the farmer's family an average net annual income of \$53.50, which is \$29.50 less than the net income of the hired man on the farm. He shows that while the gross income of the farmer is \$582 per year, yet out of this the farmer must pay his insurance, taxes, cost of seed, wear and tear of farm implements, repair, etc. By deducting these costs he gets the net income of \$328 a year. This gives a net income for the farmer and his family of 14.6 cents per day per person, which he compares with the fifty cents per day cost of feeding the convicts in the Connecticut prison and 35 cents per day cost of feeding the convicts in Kentucky, and all this is now occurring in these days of "unprecedented economic and commercial progress of the United States," in this "midst of halcyon prosperity of the country." He says, "Almost every Agricultural Year Book, annually published by the United States Department of Agriculture, instructs us that with improved agricultural machinery of today, even not taking in computation the almost phenomenal machinery of the California wheat farms, the productive power of the modern farmer is at least ten times

greater than that of the farmer of a few generations ago.

But because he produces ten times as much does not mean he gets ten times the income. It is doubtful if he gets even as much as his grandfather got.

"By using all available statistics," says Professor Charles K. Walker, "it becomes evident again and again that deducting rent and interest, the American farmer receives less for his exertions than does the laborer in the factory or his own hired man on the farm." The consequence is that the American farmer of today is living largely on his accumulated capital, or the returns therefrom, and that this capital is so fixed that he can not utilize it for any other than its present use without an almost total loss (American Economic Association Studies, 1897, p. 56). This conclusion finds it further corroboration in our calculations exhibited above.

If the American farmer receives from his farm an average per capita income of 26 cents per day, and out of this amount must pay the taxes, insurance, interest, the cost of seed, etc., so that no more than a per capita income of 10 cents a day can be left for support of himself and his family, while his hired help receives in his wages an average per capita income of 22.7 cents per day, it becomes apparent in this particular case the workman receives more than his employer, and that the latter is simply his fellow co-worker, only with smaller pay.

The most striking illustration of this social phenomenon in a free country we find in the most interesting and instructive article by Charles B. Spahr, published about three years ago. "When I asked this farmer," says Mr. Spahr, "why the large farms were breaking into small ones," he put the whole case in a single

picturesque phrase. "There are," he said, "only two sure crops in the country—ice and children, and the small farmer has the children." (The Outlook, November 4, 1899, p. 566.) This means that the small farmer can successfully compete with the large farms and even compete them out of existence, simply because he employs the cheapest labor in the land, namely, the incredible and unbearable toil of his wife and babes, to which no hired man will ever submit. Yet, while the conscience of the nation has been recently aroused against female and child labor in workshops and factories, no one ever mentions about the terrible lot of farmers' children and his wife, who, according to the most reliable statistics, furnishes the largest percentage to the American insane asylums."

The above quotations show what an interesting book Mr. Everitt has gotten out on the farmer subject, but still I do not quite agree with his conclusions.

The trouble with the farmer is that he must sell his labor, for his crops are really but his labor in the last analysis, in competition with the labor of the world. Competition makes the price so low that he can't get a living. Nothing can save him but the abolition of competition. Competition can only be abolished by instituting Socialism. Socialism is the farmers' only hope.

But the farmer will not embrace Socialism until prices are so low that it means starvation for him if he does not, and that day is not so very far off.

One hundred years ago Washington was the richest man in America and he was a farmer.

Now it is an anomaly to find a rich farmer. But the farmer has still his tradition of a right to financial equality. He resents his inferior position and longs to reinstate himself. On the other

hand, the workingman has long ago reconciled himself to an inferior place and it is the greatest exception to find him aspiring to anything more than a "full dinner pail."

Bad times put the farmer much quicker in the revolutionary mood than they do the workingman. The farmer, at bay, has shown that he will go into politics, witness the moribund populist movement, and when the hard times come and a change of our system becomes necessary, the farmers of this country will be a leading factor in events.

We cannot compare the American farmer, holding ideals of freedom and equality, with the slow-witted European peasant.

Not only are the farmers themselves different, but the industrial condition of the American farmer is far more revolutionary in its aspect than that of the European peasant.

With a considerable fall in price of agricultural crops, which may happen any year, the American farmer will find himself bankrupted. He produces so entirely for exchange rather than for use that a fall in price is a much more serious matter to him than it is to the European peasant, who produces largely for use. There are also many reasons which prevent such great fluctuations in the price of crops in Europe that are experienced in America. Now that the Democratic Party, by the nomination of Parker, has so thoroughly repudiated Populistic theories and at the same time it is evident that even the nomination for president of the brilliant Georgian, Thomas E. Watson, will never galvanize the populist movement into life again, it would seem that many farmers might give their adherence to the rapidly growing young Socialist Party. That all farmers are bound to become Socialists

sooner or later is sure, that some will see the light before next November is equally certain.

At one time it was thought that the farmer must first lose his farm and become a farm laborer before he would become a Socialist, but this theory is given up for the simple reason that the farmer is already worse off than the laborer.

The political change of heart of the farmer will come to him in his present status as a farmer and will come to him as the result of low prices for his crops, so low that he will be unable to live on the income he will receive.

The California farmer is already experiencing this condition. He is selling

his oranges, lemons, prunes, raisins, peaches, and other fruits at less than cost. Very probably the enormously increased acreage now being put into cotton will so reduce the price of cotton next year that the southern farmer will be as badly off then as is the Californian now.

I regard the American farmer as fundamentally more revolutionary in his disposition than the American laborer. He is usually American-born, and has been bred on the idea that he was as good as any other man, socially, politically and financially. He resents the existing conditions which make him see the falsity of such ideas.

I DREAM'D IN A DREAM

WALT WHITMAN.

I dream'd in a dream, I saw a city invincible to the attacks of the
whole of the rest of the earth;

I dreamed that was the new City of Friends;

Nothing was greater there than the quality of robust love—it lead to rest;

It was seen every hour in the actions of the men of that city,

And in all their looks and words.

THE TENEMENT HOUSE PROBLEM*

WM. H. LEFFINGWELL

IF to be judged by its mass of detailed information on the Tenement House Problem, this is one of the most valuable contributions to sociological literature yet produced. If, by the conclusions it offers and solutions suggested, then it is one of the most miserable of failures.

Let us be charitable, however, and give the editors credit for having compiled some of the most damning statistics and facts against the capitalist system that it is possible to imagine.

Capitalism, in spite of the fact that it has almost conquered nature, enormously increased the productivity of the worker and created a system which can produce wealth far in excess of the wants of every human being, fails utterly and absolutely to provide shelter fit for human habitation for a large majority of that class of citizens which does the work, its slaves.

Socialists and others who have constantly pointed out this contradiction have been classed as "alarmists," and their statements treated as exaggerations when considered at all.

This work, as stated in the preface, "embodies the result of the investigations made in connection with the work of the New York State Tenement House Commission appointed by President Roosevelt when he was governor of the state of New York, in 1900." It should therefore be accepted at par value.

A tenement house, as defined by law,

is "Any house occupied as the home or residence of three families or more, living independently of each other, and doing their cooking upon the premises." Of these there are 82,652 in the city of Greater New York, containing a population of 2,372,079 persons, or an average of over 28 persons to a house. That this does not express the true seriousness of the problem, however, is shown by the report of the first tenement house exhibition ever held, in 1900, at which a cardboard model of an entire block of tenement houses in the City of New York was exhibited. The Editors state: "To those unfamiliar with the state of affairs in this city, the conditions here presented are almost beyond belief. The block chosen was one on the East Side of New York, being the block bounded by Chrystie, Forsyth, Canal and Bayard streets, comprising an area of 200 feet by 400 feet, or 80,000 square feet. Nearly every bit of land was covered with tall tenement houses, six stories high. This block, on January 1, 1900, contained 39 different tenement houses, having 605 different apartments or sets of rooms, and housing 2,781 persons; of these, 2,315 were over five years of age and 466 under five years. In the block were 263 two-room apartments, 179 three-room apartments, 105 four-room apartments, 21 five-room apartments, making a total of 1,588 rooms. There were only 264 water closets, and not one bath in the entire block. The block contained 441 dark rooms having no ventilation to the outer air whatsoever, and no light or air except that derived from

* THE TENEMENT HOUSE PROBLEM.—By various writers, edited by Robert W. De Forest and Lawrence Veiller. Two volumes. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$6.00.

other rooms, and there were 635 rooms in the block getting their sole light and air from dark, narrow "air shafts." During the past five years there have been recorded 32 cases of tuberculosis from the block, and during the past year, 13 cases of diphtheria. The rentals derived from this block amount to \$113,964 a year. If this were an exceptional case and these conditions limited simply to one part of the city, the question would be serious enough; *but when one considers that the block thus shown was selected merely as characteristic of the*

sicians and specialists upon this subject testified, shows that there are over eight thousand deaths a year in New York City, due to this disease alone; that there are at least twenty thousand cases of well-developed and recognized pulmonary tuberculosis in the city, and, in addition, a large number of obscure and incipient cases. The connection between this disease and the character of the tenement houses in which the poor people live is of the very closest." And there are over 361,000 dark rooms in New York!



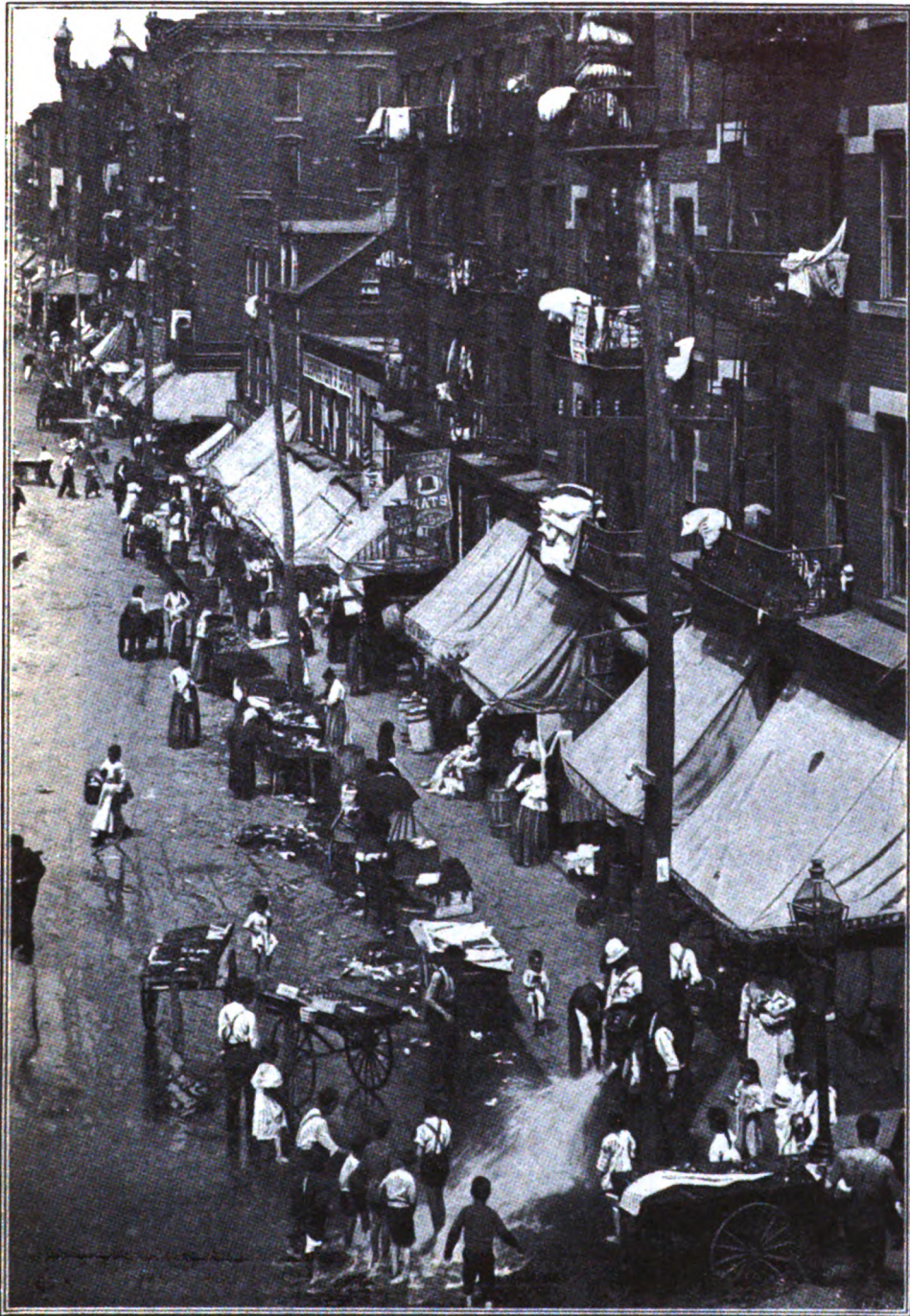
AN EXISTING BLOCK OF TENEMENTS IN 1900 ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE OF NEW YORK.

condition; throughout the city of New York, and that nearly every block is similar, one begins to realize the extent of the problem."

In another place: "The greatest evil of the present day is the lack of light and air, and it is in the new type of building which is being erected at the present time that this evil is especially felt. As a result of this lack of light and air, we find that the dread disease of pulmonary tuberculosis has become practically epidemic in this city. The testimony taken before the Tenement House Commission . . . in which leading phy-

As stated, the book is replete with facts of the most damning sort, but whenever the writers attempt to prescribe remedies they fall short and the book is full of contradictions so glaring that it seems strange, indeed, that they should escape the attention of the editors.

On p. 10, vol. 1, the editors state: "That many of the evils of such a tenement house system can be remedied by legislation, there is no doubt. They have arisen largely because of the absence of wise, restrictive legislation." In another place they praise the new law. And



STREET IN THE NEW YORK TENEMENT HOUSE DISTRICT.

—Courtesy of Leslie's Magazine.

then (on page 27, Vol 1), complain that "out of 333 new tenement houses in course of construction, which were in-

were no violations of the law. In the other boroughs there was no such house found in which there was no violation."



AN INTERIOR BEDROOM

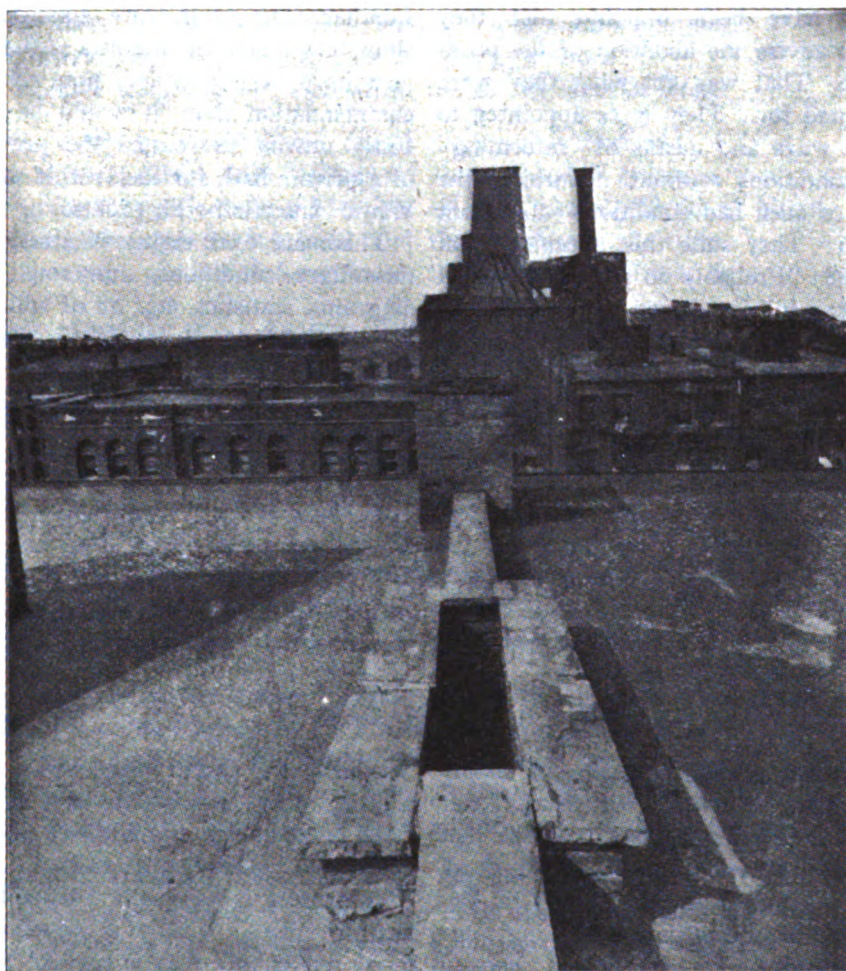
TOTALLY DARK—PICTURE TAKEN BY FLASH-LIGHT.

spected in the Borough of Manhattan, But the climax of the absurdity of their only fifteen were found in which there argument is reached when they state

(page 32, Vol. 1) "the law prescribes specific penalties of \$50 for each violation of the building law, and a further penalty of \$250 for every such violation which is not removed within ten days. The Assistant Corporation Counsel testified before the Commission that, al-

four out of eleven thousand were punished for violating it.

In chronicling past tenement house reform, a statement of the committee of 1856 is quoted. The Committee says: "This is no fancy sketch, no picture of the imagination. It is a stern reality,



AN "AIR-SHAFT."

though about eleven thousand violations of the building law had been filed in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, these penalties were collected in only four cases." They got their law, the law was ignored by the landlords and only

enacted every day amid luxury and wealth, the natural and fearful result of the rapacity of the landlord in every crowded city, unrestrained by conscience, and wholly unchecked by legislation." To this, the editors said: "These words,

written forty-four years ago, sum up the causes of all our bad conditions in New York City to-day.

One would presume that having discovered the cause, greed for profit, that the editors would advise the abolition of the cause. But as they were appointed by a capitalist governor, of course it would have been impolite that they should advise the abolition of the profit system. That was not what they were appointed for. They were appointed to advise ways and means of "reforming" bad conditions without disturbing the cause of such bad conditions—the profit system. They state this, specifically on page 38: "Probably no subject has been more carefully reviewed by the Commission than the practicability of the legislation proposed, and its effect on property interests. In the many discussions had by the Commission, it is safe to say

that the point of view of the tenement house owner has been considered quite as much as the point of view of the tenant, and properly so, for though the interests of landlord and tenant, superficially considered, may seem to be divergent, in the ultimate analysis they are identical." This argument has a sort of familiar ring to it, sure enough. To show how much the interests of the landlord have been guarded, note their recommendation that "it would be manifestly unwise to compel the providing of a private bath for each set of rooms." Why? Interfere with profits.

There are over eighty illustrations of unsanitary conditions, numerous maps, diagrams, statistics, etc., all of which are very valuable to the student. There is also a compendium of tenement house conditions and the housing problem in the chief American cities.

A NOVEL CAN

It is not always sufficient to supply the soldiers of an army with food. After a time it becomes necessary to see that they have occasional meals of hot food, even on a forced march. The War Department has recently been making some experiments with self-heated canned goods which are a new invention. They come in double-jacket cans, the space between the two jackets being occupied by unslaked lime. All that has to be done to heat these is to punch a hole in the

bottom at the proper place and pour in a little water. An intense heat is generated immediately, and within a few moments the contents are ready to serve. This process is especially adaptable for heating coffee. Candy is another material not supplied as a regular ration, but is furnished to the soldiers at cost. Certain things are found not to be absolutely requisite as necessities, but nevertheless are deemed essential for the comfort of the men.

THE PRESENT CRISIS

James Russell Lowell

When a deed is done for Freedom through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—
Yet that scaffold sways the Future, and, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes—they were souls that stood alone,
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back,
And these mounds of anguish number how each generation learned
One new word of that grand Credo which in prophet-hearts hath burned
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

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 clean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

SOCIETY AT A PREGNANT MOMENT*

JULIAN HAWTHORNE

MY DEAR WILSHIRE,—

I have read with pleasure the little Keidansky book by Bernard G. Richards, to which you introduced me. Carlyle was near forty when he wrote "Sarator Resartus," with the plan of which this book is akin. I suspect Mr. Richards of being younger: his wit, humor and irony are such as belong to the twenties; and so is his insight; and so is his quickness of sensibility. The two latter qualities or gifts are well represented in these essays; the others are employed with only too much abundance, but they seem to me less admirable. Carlyle, to be sure, and Swift, and other epoch-making writers, used irony; but it was the irony of strong and aggressive writers; and we may find its highest manifestation in Job and Isaiah. Mr. Richards' irony is not of this calibre or virility; it is jocose and epigrammatic: epigram is amusing, but prone to degenerate into shallow smartness. Paradox is another favorite form of Mr. Richards: and paradox is never used by strong men.

Oscar Wilde dealt in paradoxes in his earlier phase; but there is none of it in his only great work—"The Ballad of Reading Goal," written when suffering had given him a desperate strength. There is no wisdom or persuasiveness in turning a thing upside down or wrong-side before; and, once the trick is caught, nothing is easier. And no reform, no revolution, or good of any sort, was ever accomplished by it. Keidansky is prone

to catch at words and phrases, giving an unexpected turn that may make the reader smile, but is impotent to prick him beneath the skin.

The essays are to be taken as a criticism of life, including the present situation of the Jews. Much of the criticism is witty and keen; but nearly all of it is negative in tone—destructive: it aims to tear down, but shows no ability, or at any rate, no impulse, to construct. It is not creative; and I confess that creative criticism is the only kind that appeals to me. A child may destroy, but only a man can make. Besides, the fact of fault-finding leads one astray—tempts one to call a fraction, the whole; and therein to swerve from strict integrity and sincerity in order to make a point. One seems to hear a snigger running through this sort of argument: and, in combination with the irony and the paradox it finally brings the rhetorician to a barren desert, where one believes in nothing at all. Nothing was ever accomplished without conviction, reasonable or unreasonable. Be a fool or ridiculous, if you must, but believe in something, and love it, or mankind will care nothing for what you say.

Society is at an interesting and pregnant moment now; and an order of things radically new is about to appear. A double movement is going on;—that of God, moving toward the co-operative brotherhood of the race, but on a plane not reached by the consciousness of the individual, and therefore not constraining his free-will; and that of man, the creature, self-conscious, obstructive, perplexed, finite, but unawares carrying out

*DISCOURSES OF KEIDANSKY.—By Bernard G. Richards. Scott-Thaw Company, New York City. Price \$1.25 net.

God's purpose. It is the function of a true seer not to abuse but to discriminate and to detect the deep and all controlling sweep of the tide from underneath the surface currents and wind-flurries. It seems to me that Mr. Richards' Keidansky is not this sort of seer. He does not see how the Czar of Russia and the trust-magnate in this country are working inevitably to the same end as that proposed

by our most enlightened reformers and Socialists.

But some of the objective essays are very fine; and I should not have spoken of the book had I not believed that the author is highly gifted and will do important and useful work.

Sincerely yours,

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

FACE TO FACE

EUGENE V. DEBS

No voter, however ignorant, need be deceived as to what the two great national parties stand for this year. The workingman who votes for Roosevelt or Parker does so knowing that he is voting for capitalist rule and working class slavery; he is satisfied with things as they are and wants no change; he does not take the trouble to think and that is where his trouble begins.

Eight years ago and again four years ago the situation differed decidedly from that of to-day. The Democratic party, having kicked over its Wall Street traces, was braying lustily as the champion of the "common people."

With Bryan as the Moses of the "common people," the trusts would be uprooted, monopoly destroyed, the gold bugs put to flight, and the trusting children led triumphantly into the promised land.

It apparently did not occur to most of

those who voted for Bryan, that there are two kinds of "common people," viz., capitalists and wage-workers; nor did the working-men who rallied with the "common people" understand that they were being buncoed and that the triumph of the "common people" could mean wage-slavery for them and nothing more.

Four years ago it was difficult to make the workers understand that there was no fundamental difference between the two old parties. They were taken in by the delusive slogan about "the masses and the classes" and they were sure that with Bryan's election the day of jubilee would dawn and they would cavort in the Elysian fields forever.

Amidst such din and confusion, such ignorance and bliss, the Socialist party, standing serenely on its scientific principles, was given but scant attention and it had only to await the reaction when the

rushing mob should butt its unthinking head against the inevitable wall.

The Democratic party did not succeed in breaking into office, its paramount issue, as the champion of the "common people," so it bolted back to Wall Street and is again in the tried old traces, with Grover Cleveland at the ribbons and Alton Parker on the box.

The only thing Democratic about this moribund aggregation is its name. The harmonizer in its chameleon councils is its chronic appetite for spoils.

The Republican party has great solicitude for its Democratic dummy. If anything should happen to its sharing partner what would become of the quadrennial sham battle that divides labor and insures capitalist supremacy?

The Republican leaders and Democratic leaders want to defeat each other only to get the rich picking on the inside, but neither of them wants anything serious to happen to the other.

Each of these capitalist parties knows that the other party is necessary to its business. They must be kept evenly matched or the game is off.

Socialism will drive both of them into the same party in the near future and they will then look alike to all workingmen as they do now to Socialists who see them as they are.

It would save considerable expense if Roosevelt and Parker would shake the dice for the Presidency. Both men are

precisely alike in their qualifications to serve the capitalist class and that is all they have been nominated for. Their principles are the same and only an imaginary line and a real appetite divide their parties.

The workingman who supports either Roosevelt or Parker renounces his reason, abdicates his manhood, surrenders his self-respect, and grovels in the dirt at the feet of his chosen master, who will reward his fawning cowardice with kicks of contempt.

In this campaign, the Republican-Democratic party is avowedly the party of the capitalist class, of the trusts, the gold grabbers, coupon cutters, brokers, sharks, confidence operators, private yachts, Seeley dinners, high life and low morals, discrepant dudes, feathered and bejewelled dunces, international bargain counter marriages, plutocratic revelry, wage-slavery, poverty, misery, prostitution, suicide, bull-pens, injunctions, riots, clubbings, deportations, boodle, quackery, mental servility and moral depravity, frenzied finance and putrefied politics, Roosevelt and Davis, Parker and Fairbanks, Cleveland and Bryan, Belmont and Tillman, Peabody and Parry.

Standing against this political aggregation is the Socialist party, the party of the working class, the only party that stands for industrial freedom, political equality and social justice and this party, revolutionary to the core, will conquer capitalism and emancipate man.

WHEN MEN LOVE NATURE

One of the delights of walking in Central Park, New York, is the confident tameness of the squirrels. The pretty little creatures, so wild in the woods that only glimpses can be seen of them, are here as familiar with you as so many kittens. They have learned that man is not necessarily an enemy, a squirrel-killing monster to be avoided with the greatest care. On the contrary, he is regarded as their special friend and provider. Every man that approaches the squirrel is regarded as a possible dispenser of delightful peanuts, and treated with becoming politeness and courtesy. It's a small thing apparently—this friendship of the park squirrels—but it makes us understand how much pleasure man loses by not being on like good terms with all the harmless wild animals.

Mr. Harold J. Bolce has a most interesting account in the *Scientific American* of naturalists commissioned by the United States government on the distant island of Laysan, in the Pacific, where they have discovered some new birds, and many novel facts in regard to known species. The visiting scientists were perhaps the first human beings whom the myriads of birds that crowd this tiny speck of land had ever seen. In consequence, the visitors enjoyed an experience unusual in modern adventures. Birds representing species which in other lands wing hurriedly away at

the sight of man, came up to the naturalists, looked curiously into their faces, perched on their writing tables, wonderingly inspected the tripod and other accessories of the cameras, and permitted themselves to be stroked.

The fact that these birds are ordinarily regarded as the wildest kind of species made a profound impression on the visiting scientists. "Wherever we went," said Walter K. Fisher, who under Dr. Charles H. Gilbert directed the Laysan expedition, "we were free to watch and learn, and were trusted by the birds. It was a most touching and unique experience, and one which demonstrates all too forcibly the attitude of wild creatures which have not yet learned that man is usually an enemy.

Whenever a nest of white tern was approached, the birds would come and hover in front of the explorers. They would peer intently into the faces of the naturalists, as if attempting to discover the purpose of the unusual intrusion. Among the odd instances of lack of fear on the part of these birds of Laysan, was the action of an albatross which came up and peeped into Mr. Fisher's face and finding that he was disposed to be friendly began to make a critical examination of his camera. Many of the young birds of this species on the island permitted themselves to be stroked and soon acted as if they had been reared as pets.

Some day when man ceases to murder his fellow man for money and to shoot the wild birds for sport, the earth may become all like Laysan.

It sounds Utopian to think of a future when men will be friendly with each other, and it sounds still more Utopian to predict that man and birds and animals will be friendly; but it is not a Utopian prediction. Nothing is really more scientific, for it is subject to proof.

EDWIN MARKHAM'S BOOK REVIEWS

THE SINGULAR MISS SMITH, by Florence Morse Kingsley. \$1.25. MacMillan Company.

When Mrs. Kingsley, some years ago wrote "Titus," the story that received the one-thousand dollar prize in some Bible-house contest, she did more than pocket a neat little sum; she got her name into all the papers of the country. A year or two ago she made another hit with "The Transfiguration of Miss Philura," a "new thought" story.

Now appears "The Singular Miss Smith," a novel rippling with a breeze of fun on every page, a novel full of people just like those in one's own block, or boarding house. Mrs. Kingsley is a keen observer, a regular "Crawford" lady, sharp eye she has, and a trick of pricking foibles and follies with delicious, well-bred little thrusts. The fine-lady aunt with the Florida-water atmosphere; the voluble and impossible lady of the house who could not keep her servants; the soap-sudsy landlady of the cheap boarding house, and the splendid forelady of the stocking factory, glittering above the waist with beads and stickpins, and swishing about the heels with rustling ruffles and frills—these are all drawn with the tang of real life. Anne Smith, the Singular heroine, who leaves a luxurious home, and the arms-length theorizing of the clubs, and goes to try earning her own living, and learning thereby the real meaning of life, is a young woman of fine feeling, and full of the questioning that is in the air to-day concerning the responsibilities of wealth, and the

accountability of society. A clever bit of satire is the description of the fashionable aunt's shock at her niece's idea of following the Scriptural injunction of giving up all her worldly goods, and the aunt's sudden relief when she finds this decision only a suggestion from the words of Christ. "I thought you had fallen in with some dangerous reformer," gasps the dear duenna.

On the whole, there will not be a brighter, crisper book than this for the summer veranda, and the lady of leisure as well as the lady of busy hands will find in it things to make her think; will get a glimpse of herself, as Edith Wheaton has it, with the pink shades off the lamp. There are some pretty love stories and shadowings of love stories for the romantic not looking to be edified, and we leave *The Singular Miss Smith* in the quite commonplace glamour of a honeymoon trip.

THE GREAT PSYCHOLOGICAL CRIME. By Florence Huntley. The Indo-American Book Co., Chicago. \$2 net.

The essence of this book is the idea that hypnotism and so called mediumship are, to the one acted upon, a ruin to both body and soul. The author claims that the two processes are essentially one, in hypnotism the victim being controlled by a living mind, in mediumship by a spirit. Such control is not denied. The author, investigating the natural law of phisic phenomena, takes up Delusional Insanity, Hallucination, Lethargic

Trance, Deep Catalepsy, Religious Mania, Hysteria, and other forms of intermittent inspiration and persistent degeneracy, contending that all of these are phases of hypnotic control.

The book is so packed with argument and illustration that no review can adequately summarize it. It will have to be read to get its value. It is a volume, perhaps ahead of the general knowledge of to-day. But it is only an anticipation of the disclosures of the occult and psychic forces that are waiting for this century to harness, as the last century harnessed electricity for man's use and benefit. The author's advice to all "sensitives," and mediums, all hypnotists and victims, is "Quit it!"

The principle of all hypnotic or spirit control is the destruction of the individual will and this strikes at the very essence of life and reason. Man is made for dominion, not for surrender of powers, mundane or inframundane.

THE MAKERS OF MODERN POETRY. By W. J. Dawson. Price \$2. Thomas Whittaker, N.Y. 2 and 3 Bible House, London.

Some books of criticism, like those of Symonds and Steadman, rise to the realm of the creative, and Mr. Dawson's "Makers of Modern Poetry" would seem to stand in that class. The popularity of the work, or rather its quality of enduringness, may be judged by the fact that the present edition is the seventh to be prepared. Tennyson, Matthew Arnold and William Morris were alive when it first came out, and now the author in the preface rounds out his former estimate of these masters by a further knowledge based upon a study of their later work.

The book is a complete study of Nineteenth Century poetry, beginning with

Burns and ending with Morris. He comes to his task with excellent preparation for the work, with a keen sympathy for what is noblest in poetry, and with a fine command of the resources of expression. The studies of Tennyson and Browning, the two great latter lights, in the heaven of modern song, are elaborate and satisfying. They will be illuminating to the youth not yet saturated with these poets, while to the elders drenched with their music, the criticism will be refreshing as uncovering new beauties or confirming old delights.

Indeed, the book will be a joy to every student of English verse, to every one who wishes to come in touch with the deep springs of modern life and thought.

MOONBLIGHT. By Dan Beard. Albert Brandt, publisher, Trenton, N.J. \$1.25 net.

I find that Moonlight is another form of a theme that has been in my own mind for years, and it may make the writing of my own book unnecessary.

Moonlight is a romance that sets forth daringly the inequalities between the lot of a man of elegant leisure and the man of leisureless drudgery. Like Mr. Howell's *Traveller from Altruria*, the book makes us rub our eyes, at being made to see vividly some of the absurdity and assinity, not to say criminality, of existing conditions that we blindly accept as the divine order of things.

The hero, fresh from his club and his yacht, with his most toilsome work the collecting of rare old prints, goes to a miserable hotel in a coal-mining town, whither he is called to help lower the miners' rate of wage. By subtle means, which the book will relate, the gilded youth is made to understand the immorality of the position which he and his

company represent. His fellows naturally consider him insane, but he insists and founds for himself an ideal mining town. Neighboring mines, seeing what might be done for them, go on a strike and the book gives the history of a crisis like one we all remember.

All whose thought squares with justice will appreciate the ethics of this story. It is simply, yet dramatically written, and charmingly and forcefully illustrated by Mr. Beard's own graphic pencil.

BUILDERS OF THE BEAUTIFUL.

By H. L. Piner. \$1.50 net. Funk & Wagnalls Co.

This is a charmingly printed book with

noble margins, each page bearing in red a letter text from some great writer, emphasizing the author's own contention.

The book carries out the Delsartean doctrine that there is a correspondence of physical form and spiritual nature. That the face is the index of the soul, is one of the author's chief assertions. He claims that the ugliest countenance can, by kindly and generous thought, take on lines of grace and charm. Here is a typical paragraph from the volume:

"In your body your spiritual forces play directly upon fibre and tissue, nerve and muscle, the immortal fashioning the mortal at first hand. In the last analysis the divinest art is the soul's art of building the body. This is the only true physical culture."

WHEN CHINA ENTERS THE RING

THERE was a time when nations warred that they might *take* surplus wealth from each other. Today they war that they may *sell* their surplus wealth to each other.

Before we had steam, electricity and labor saving machinery, in the days when men were poor because there was not enough wealth produced to go around, then men had no reason to be astonished at poverty and they were not astonished. Today when we are suffocating with the over-production of wealth and people are in poverty because they cannot get a job to product wealth that is already in too great abundance we do not seem to think to try escaping poverty by distributing this surplus wealth to ourselves

but we go to war in order that we may force our goods upon the foreigner.

The war between Japan and Russia is of this order. Russia has plenty of starving Russians at home to whom she might distribute her surplus goods, but she overlooks her own people completely and casts her eyes to the furthestmost parts of the earth, to wit, Manchuria, and decides that she must monopolize that market for her goods. However, Japan has found that modern machinery has so increased her facilities for production that she too must find a dumping ground for her surplus goods so she wants Manchuria for her market. Hence the present war.

The following from the *Searchlight*,

of Redding, California, shows that that editor has the right theory of things:

Regardless of the success or defeat of Japan or Russia in the Far East, the yellow race must henceforth take an important, if not the most important, role in the great world-drama that is either beneficently shaping the human race for a regenerated world-civilization or a plunge into another series of dark ages.

The evidence multiplies, however, that a new and better order is of necessity approaching, in the startling manner and from the quarter where—

“ . . . the dawn comes up like thunder
Out of China, cross the bay.”

The present order of civilization cannot permanently be established in the midst of the millions of the Orient without self-destruction to the yellow peoples or swift decay or revolution to the rest of the human family. Because the existing competitive system depends for its perpetuity on the necessity of each to produce a surplus and the necessity of all to find a market, the spread of modern industry, with its countless machines and engines of endless production, has already infected and honeycombed with the highly developed germs of working-class revolt all of the modern Caucasian nations, each of which in consequence is couched and ready to spring like a hungry tiger at the throat of the other for possession of the market that can at best bring only temporary relief—temporary, because, accompanying the development of each market goes the introduction of the countless machines and engines of endless production by which that market speedily acquires the capacity to not only supply itself, but to produce an ever-increasing surplus for which another market still must be found.

Yet there is a limit, for this process of expansion is bounded by the geographical limitations of the planet, while the perfections of mechanical and scientific genius and skill, as applied to the productive capacity of man, are boundless.

The clash between these two telescoping factors cannot long be delayed.

The present wage system obliges the workers to consume less than they produce, else there would be no profit in their employment. This process of consuming less than is produced makes for the accumulation of a surplus that derives stupendous accession from mechanical and scientific aids that are not consumers, and thus the ever-increasing necessity of a larger and larger world-market, which, on the other hand, is becoming more and more restricted by the increasing ability of every division and subdivision of the world-market to not only supply itself, but to produce an ever-increasing surplus besides.

Consider, then, the situation when the myriads of the Orient, with their productive

capacity enormously increased, by the introduction of the non-consuming enginery of modern industry, so that they, too, must pour into a glutted world-market a Niagaran surplus from the very necessity either of keeping the wheels of their industries whirling or of grappling with the terror of millions of idle and revolutionary producers.

The Orient, it must not be forgotten, is heir of all the ages; she has nothing to do but to receive, and civilization, with its crowded mills and factories and workshops and laboratories for the fashioning of every labor-saving tool and appliance and every scientific process and device, can do nothing else but to give or shut down—and face a desperate army of idle and starving workers who must be employed in order to live.

It may sound ridiculous, but no doubt the idea of a French revolution was in its time also considered a joke.

At the same time the rapidly coming modernization of the Orient was enforced by the necessity of opening new markets. The productive capacity of Great Britain, of Germany, of France and of the United States has reached such colossal proportions that markets must be made at the mouths of cannon, and accordingly the artillery of commerce is thundering on every frontier and in all the remote and most inaccessible sections of the world.

The order of the world's productive and distributing system must be reversed—from a competitive to a co-operative basis, from the production of things for profit to the production of things for the use of all, else there is no escaping the deluge when the inevitable collapse of the existing order shall come, and that, too, at no distant day.

There is no question but that the result of the war is going to awaken China to the immense advantage which will accrue to her from the adoption of modern methods.

She will see that while it is only a few years back when Japan was no more advanced than she, yet owing to Japan having adopted modern machinery and educated herself in the ways of Europe, she has been enabled to bring the Russian Czar to his knees.

When China enters the field as a competitive producer, armed with modern machinery, the world, already overburdened with a surplus which cannot be distributed under our competitive wage system, will indeed be ready for a change.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD

The Socialist Party is the only political organization which represents the interests of the working class in all countries as against the interests of the capitalist class now ruling under every form of government, whether republican as in the United States, or monarchical as in England and Germany, or despotic as in Russia. These figures, showing the votes cast for Socialism wherever the workers have an opportunity to vote, express the growing power of the movement having for its mission the emancipation of Labor from the world wide rule of Capitalism:

	1893..... 1,876,738
	1898..... 2,113,073
	1903..... 3,008,000
GREAT BRITAIN	
	1895..... 55,000
	1900..... 100,000
HOLLAND	
	1901..... 39,000
ITALY	
	1895..... 78,359
	1897..... 120,000
	1900..... 170,841
NORWAY	
	1900..... 7,440
	1903..... 24,779
SERVIA	
	1895..... 50,000
SPAIN	
	1891..... 5,000
	1893..... 7,000
	1898..... 20,000
	1899..... 23,000
	1901..... 25,000
SWITZERLAND	
	1890..... 13,500
	1893..... 29,822
	1896..... 36,000
UNITED STATES	
	1888..... 2,068
	1892..... 21,512
	1894..... 30,120
	1895..... 34,869
	1896..... 36,275
	1897..... 55,550
	1898..... 82,204
	1900..... 98,424
	1902..... 225,903
—	
<p>Issued by the National Committee of the Socialist Party. For further information address William Mailly, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.</p>	

AUSTRIA	
1897.....	750,000
1900.....	600,000
BELGIUM	
1894.....	320,000
1900.....	463,000
DENMARK	
1872.....	268
1876.....	1,076
1881.....	1,639
1884.....	6,806
1887.....	8,408
1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,094
1895.....	31,872
1901.....	42,972
1903.....	55,479
FRANCE	
1887.....	47,000
1889.....	120,000
1893.....	440,000
1898.....	790,000
1900.....	880,000
GERMANY	
1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,000
1874.....	351,952
1877.....	493,288
1878.....	437,158
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	549,990
1887.....	763,128
1890.....	1,427,298

WILSHIRE'S BAROMETER

WILSHIRE YEARLY CARDS, 25 CENTS

In order to get WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE into the hands of the greatest number of voters between now and election day, our yearly dollar cards will be sold for twenty-five cents each until the 8th day of next November. After that date the price will be, as formerly, fifty cents per card.

Any cards now in the hands of agents may be paid for at rate of twenty-five cents each if remittance is made before November 8th.

Send in your order at once if you wish to avail yourself of this remarkable chance of getting a dollar card for twenty-five cents. Cards may be ordered on credit in \$2 lots or more, and remittance made when sold.

For every \$5 cash remitted a \$10 share of Wilshire Magazine Stock will be given away to the sender free of cost. I wish to have every worker an interested partner with me in the great work.

Here is the greatest opportunity ever offered by any magazine under the sun. Just to think of it. A magnificently illustrated magazine sent post paid to any address one year for the ridiculous sum of twenty-five cents. And besides, it is a magazine which teaches the people how to abolish poverty and make this Earth a Paradise. For doing what you want to do, namely, getting Wilshire subscribers, you are presented with a \$10 share of stock in my publishing company absolutely free of cost.

This is the chance of your life. It will be open for your acceptance but two months. Do not miss it. Fraternaly,

Gaylord Wilshire.

August is a sleepy old month for all kinds of business, especially the magazine business, and more particularly the Socialist magazine business. Judging from last year's business, I planned to give all the clerks in the office this summer a week's vacation with pay in order that they might rest up and be in trim for the heavy fall work. Those who were fortunate enough to be first on the list got their

vacations all right, but when that partnership plan began to be noised about the country, business picked up so that we had to shut down on the vacations for awhile. Orders have been pouring in for cards. Many friends have sent in the \$5.00 cash in advance, expecting to sell the cards promptly. I have had many letters from friends who are pleased with the plan, and I wish I could publish them all, but space forbids. However, just to show the sentiment which the stock plan has evoked, I will quote a few letters:

Gaylord Wilshire, Editor:

Dear Sir:—Being a full-fledged co-operator, your co-operative plan for increasing the circulation of the best magazine on earth enlists my active sympathy. I want a share in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE on the terms you propose. So send me \$5.00 worth of cards at once. I have already swelled your subscription list since the advent of initial number by at least one hundred, and know I can still further spread the light. It is no trouble to sell WILSHIRE cards, though our population is sparse. Little canvassing is necessary. People, knowing me to have your cards on hand, frequently ask for them.

F. B. LOGAN,

August 1, 1904.

Pinon, Col.

Yes, you bet I will be your partner. I like the magazine better every issue and am glad you have adopted the plan you have in getting it before the public. If every Socialist paper would adopt this kind of a plan or some similar one, it would not be long till all would be out of debt and paying their way. It seems to me the Socialist people are slow to adopt the co-operative feature of the work and are letting the grafters get in ahead of them on this. You cannot pick up a capitalist paper but what has from one to a dozen or more advertisements in it of fake firms or companies purporting to be run on the co-operative plan. Now, my opinion is the Socialist press is missing its mission if it fails to show up these fake institutions in their true light, and take the field in their own behalf and in behalf of establishment of the true co-operative commonwealth. How can this be done if the capitalist press is allowed to step in and ruin the prospects of the Socialist opportunity by making the term "co-operation" repulsive to the masses before it is made useful and honorable by Socialist endeavor and practical application?

CHAS. A. BRANNON.

Goodland, Kansas, July 31, 1904.

Chas. H. Kerr, of Chicago, thinks our new stock-free plan is sure to be a great "money loser." He has overlooked entirely the object

of giving away the stock. Perhaps he thinks I have turned philanthropist. Not at all. I am seeking "Partners," men who desire to see WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE the greatest Socialist propaganda magazine in the world, and who are willing to co-operate with me, to work earnestly towards that end. I do not give the stock away to the first man who asks for it. No. The man who desires to be "My Partner" must first show his mettle.

Here are the terms. Get 20 subscribers to WILSHIRE'S, remit me \$5.00 in cash, and I will send you one share of my stock, representing \$10.00 in cash that I have invested in the magazine. I give you my new agent's rate, 25c. per year, until election. You are to sell subscriptions at \$1.00, retaining the balance for your commission. If you already have some of my subscription cards on account, sell them, remit the \$5.00 and it will entitle you to the share of stock. If you have no cards, send for some at once, to be paid for when sold. When you remit the \$5.00 I will send you, by return mail, the \$10.00 share of Wilshire Stock, fully paid, non-assessable, and entitling you to all dividends and voting privileges.

Every man who complies with the above conditions is bound to be just the sort of a man I want for a partner, and his co-operation will mean more for Socialism than the mere good wishes of a dozen others.

I want 5,000 partners, one in every city and village in the country. Will You Be My Partner?

Yes, I want to be your partner, and I also want to help you as much as possible in the future when on the road.

W. G. CRITCHLOW.

Dayton, Ohio, July 20, 1904.

Our cash receipts from subscriptions for past three months is nearly double what it was last year.

Letters are frequently received complaining of non-delivery of the magazine containing practically no information for us to work upon. If you send in a complaint, say by whom the

subscription was sent in, when, and how; also state whether any copies were received, and if so, how many. This will save needless correspondence and much time.

Joseph Wanhope, of Erie, Pa., won the \$30.00 Columbia phonograph presented for good work done June and July.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party have gotten out four handsome campaign buttons containing the pictures of the National Candidates, Debs, and Hanford. Every man who claims to be a Socialist should show his colors, and thus encourage the timid. Write to Wm. Maily, 269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, and enclose a dime for samples.

While I was away from home someone, I don't know whom, threw the July WILSHIRE's into my house. If they do it again they may regret it for I have worn it out reading it. If they don't come after it soon I shall give away what is left of it. Herewith is one dollar for 12 more.

J. P. BROWN,
Sparks, Okla.

Aug. 2, 1904.

Mr. Brown's indignation is to be pardoned, for he followed this letter with another saying that he wished to be My Partner.

A PAPER THAT IS NEEDED.

Our readers will note an advertisement in this issue of the Slavonic Socialist paper, "Glas Svobode," published at 563 Throop Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Slavonians live in the southern part of Hungary, in Croatia and Slavonia. There are about seven or eight millions of Slovans. The oppression, political and economic, of the Hungarian government is terrible, and these poor fellows immigrate in vast numbers to the United States. In the last fiscal year, 34,427 Slavonians came to this country seeking freedom. They are disappointed. Agitation among them should bring good results.

Eugene V. Debs has just written a very concise pamphlet, "The American Movement," which gives a clear account of the history of Socialism in the United States. It is published by the Standard Publishing Co., of Terra Haute, Ind. Five cents, post paid.

"Socialism Made Plain," is a very complete statement of the theory of Socialism, by

Allan Benson. Price 10 cents, post paid. The Social Democratic Publishing Co., Milwaukee.

If you wish to get official statements regarding the existing troubles in Colorado write to your Congressman for Senate Document No. 86. He will be glad to send it to you. It costs him nothing, and it is one of his duties anyway. The document is a statement of both sides of the case, one side by the Citizens' Alliance, the other by the Western Federation of Miners.

PEGASUS IN POLITICS.

Come hither, Oh my Pegasus!
And help me take in tow
The "voting mule," that cogitates,
How he had better go.

We'll do our duty by him,
Though on election day
He's like to justify his name
And bolt the other way.

Who seeks a road to Progress,
Won't find what he would like:
Prosperity's white elephant
"Stands pat" across the "pike."

The democratic donkey
Sends up a plaintive bray,
Behind the hill, that bears the sphynx,
Which blocks another way.

Don't soar too high; remember
That you're a winged horse:
He'd never try to follow
Up the "Prohibs" water course.

There's only one way open;
We'll tread that as we can.
Yet who could hope a mule would vote
For the brotherhood of man.

KATHARINE V. KING.

July 16, 1904,
McKenzie, N.D.

Fort Worth, Texas, July 18, 1904.

Mr. Gaylord Wilshire—I don't expect you remember me, but fifteen years ago we worked in the same local in Los Angeles, California, and I worked hard with the rest of the boys trying to *elect* you to Congress. You know we very nearly succeeded, polled about 1,000 votes, if I remember rightly. Times have changed since then, however, and now we are quite a respectable party. I got WILSHIRE's this morning. I like it; it is growing better each month. The conditions are also getting better, better for us to get in our

work. Don't you think everything is coming our way very fast? First the Colorado trouble, then the Republican convention, then that fine *harmonious* convention in St. Louis, with the two Willies pledged to support the gold bug, high tariff, trust tick and then the butchers' strike, which, if it continues very long, will cut off the meat supply and set men to thinking through their stomachs (which, I believe, is the only way some men can be made to think) and they will want to know why five or six men can starve them out at will. All these things look good to me, and I feel very much encouraged. I don't agree with you on the number of votes we are going to cast for our candidates. I expect not less than 1,500,000, and I want you to say so, too.

Yours till the end,

I. D. SCHURMAN.

P.S.—We wish we could see you in Texas at our encampment August 1st.

I. D. S.

—
Vermillion, S.D., March 21.

I have heard much of the magazine you publish. If it is your custom, may I receive a copy for examination?

PROF. E. C. PERISHO,
State Geologist.

—
CAMPAIGN LITERATURE COMBINATIONS.

During the campaign of 1904 the national Headquarters of the Socialist Party will offer combinations of the best literature, so that the great educational work can be pushed to the utmost. Here is the beginning: No. 1. Five books for 25 cents, consisting of "Unionism and Socialism," by Eugene V. Debs; "Labor War in Colorado," by Ben Hanford; "The Day of Judgment," by Geo. D. Herron; "What Workingmen's Votes Can Do," by Ben Hanford; "Speeches of Acceptance," by Debs and Hanford; retail price 40 cents. Combination of same books as follows: No. 2, 3 of each (15 in all), 60 cents; No. 3, 5 each (25 in all), \$1.00; No. 4, 10 of each (50 in all), \$2.00; No. 5, 15 of each (75 in all), \$3.00;

No. 6, 20 of each (100 in all), \$4.00; No. 7, 25 of each (125 in all), \$5.00; No. 8, 50 of each (125 in all), \$10.00. All prepaid. The best bargains and the best literature. Order combinations by numbers. Address the **National Secretary of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.** All orders strictly cash.

—
Editor WILSHIRE'S—Herewith four yearly and one three-months' subscription cards, also fifty cents, for which please send me all the numbers you can for 1903.

I am particularly pleased with your editorial, "Gomper's Little Plan," in the January number. I have been a Labor Union man for the past twelve years, a member of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and the strangest thing is that Mr. Gompers cannot understand that the same thing that forced labor into the Labor Union will force the dissolution of the Labor Union, so far as trades are concerned.

When it comes to a show down, as it surely must and that soon, I would rather be most anybody else than an anti-Socialist labor leader.

Yours fraternally,

F. A. WILSON,
Angus, Minn.

—
"Unionism and Socialism" is the title of a forty-four page pamphlet written by Eugene V. Debs. It is the clearest and most forceful statement of the purpose and object of the trade union movement, its achievements and possibilities in emancipating the wage worker, and its relationship to the political party of the working class.

The vigorous, strong and beautiful style in which it is written grasps the attention of the reader, to release it only at the last word on the last page.

It is adapted to campaign purposes and general propaganda, defining the tactics of the Socialist in the trade unions and the duty of the trade unionists politically.

This work, says Seymour Stedman, will ever remain a classic in the revolutionary literature of the time. Price, 10 cents. Standard Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

