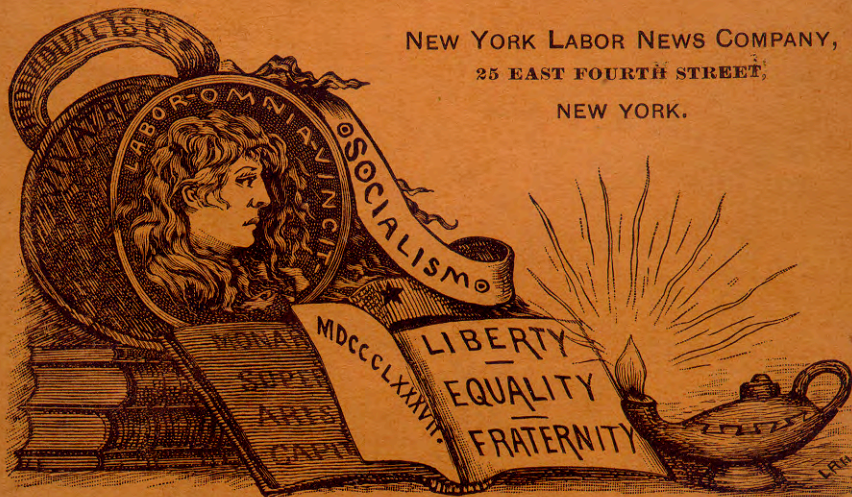


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THE PLACE OF INDIVIDUALISM IN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

BY J. EDWARD HALL.

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J. EDWARD HALL.

PREFACE.

J. Edward Hall, the author of "The Place of Individualism in the Socialist System," is one of the foremost American Socialists. Educated as such in the schools of Organized Labor, he has already shown himself to be a luminous and logical thinker, whose brain sheds light upon all the questions that it considers. Mr. Hall was the candidate of the Progressive Labor Party of New York for Secretary of State in the canvass of 1887. He is a machinist by trade and has for some time been the national secretary of the National District of Machinery Constructors, K. of L. He is an American of Americans by family, birth and associations.

Mr. Hall is a descendant on his father's side of one of the old colonial families that made the early settlements of Long Island. He was born at Glen Cove, August 22, 1851. His mother was of English birth. He attended the village school and received the ordinary school education of the period. At seventeen he started to prepare himself for the business of a locomotive engineer, and first obtained employment in a railroad repair shop. He also worked on the road

as a fireman for some time. He gave up the idea of becoming a locomotive engineer on account of defective eyesight. From 1872 to 1885 Mr. Hall worked at his trade, with the exception of six months' service at sea on a Pacific mail steamship on a voyage from San Francisco to New York. He has contrived to see a great deal of this hemisphere, and profited, too, by his seeing. In 1885 he was attacked by severe sickness and has never fully recovered.

He became an active worker in labor organizations in 1874, and with the exception of one year, has held some official position. He was nominated for assemblyman in 1878 and 1879 as a Labor candidate. Mr. Hall acted as secretary of the great mass meeting held in Tompkins Square in July, 1877, to express Labor's sympathy with the railroad strikers of that summer. He was one of the signers of a remarkably vigorous letter sent to President Hayes, urging on behalf of Labor the necessity of enlightened legislation for the prevention of strikes and riots, rather than the government's aiding capitalists by shooting starving workmen to death. Mr.

Hall was active in forming the New York Central Labor Union, was one of its first delegates, and during the winter and spring of 1882 and 1883 served it as recording secretary. The brilliant lecture published in these pages was delivered before the New York Labor Lyceum, which is under the direction of the American Section of the Socialist Labor Party.

Mr. Hall is thoroughly in accord with the fundamental idea of American liberty as illustrated in the spirit embodied by the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, and he claims that when once the energies of the American people become diverted from the mere pursuit of gain, that there is no nation or race that will accept and practice Socialism with as much readiness or success.

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Since our Anarchist friends of the "Boston school" have appropriated to themselves the title of being the only true blue Socialists, and not desiring to trench upon their individual prerogative, I deem it but honest both to that school of thought and to ourselves, to declare that the socialism implied throughout this lecture is of the form which conceives the necessity and utility of the State, of government, and of authority, in spite of all past abuses and misapplication which confuse and pervert those terms and their meanings.

Herbert Spencer has said that socialism (meaning State socialism), is "the coming slavery." In parenthesis, I may say that of all the writers in the English language, he has contributed more to my knowledge and belief towards State socialism than any other individual.

With his wide range of study and clear insight into tendencies, he admits that it is "coming." If we look about us to-day, we may well agree with him that it is not only coming, but that, as far as the slavery is concerned, it has already arrived. Unfortunately for some of his conclusions, this slavery of the present time is not due to socialism, but rather to the development of ex-

trepreneurial individualism. As one example of this fact, we may cite the latest phases of modern industrial development, i. e., the so-called trusts. Socialists do not deny, in fact they have proclaimed, that such combinations must sooner or later be the logical and necessary outcome of capitalistic production. They even now predict that the logical sequence of these trusts is a combination of trusts, or in other words, a Monopoly of monopolies. But so far from these trusts being the creatures of and nourished by the State, they exist in their most flourishing condition in affairs or relations over which as yet there is no State or Government control, either to assist or interfere—namely, international syndicates. The operations of one of these combines without State or Government control has raised the price of tin since July, 1887, 63 per cent.; lead, 5 per cent.; zinc, 20 cents, and copper from 10 to 16 cents per lb. Of course, all the lesser monopolists, who happen to need these materials, have set up a howl of indignation.

No one who is a close student of events and an observer of tendencies, can help being impressed with the tremendously rapid development of the centralizing forces of our present civilization. Not

only is it true of industrial organization, but it is true also of political activity and of religious thought and feeling. It is a fact not to be denied that these movements toward one all-embracing unity, taken by themselves, lead us irresistibly to believe that they are destructive of individual development. We may illustrate this by the relative freedom of most of those engaged in mechanical occupations prior to the monopolistic era, as compared with their bondage under the wage system of to-day. Politically we may compare their attitude to-day with the independence enjoyed by the Germanic States previous to Sadowa; the Italian republics, from the 13th to the 18th century, with the present Kingdom of Italy; of the Scottish clans prior to Culloden; or of Poland up to 1772. This tendency is also strongly manifesting itself in language. The time is not far distant when the one hundred and more languages of this era will have become dominated and probably effaced by one universal comprehensive language—though it may not be universally spoken. But social movements or tendencies can never be rightly understood, taken individually or by themselves only.

Along with these movements, tending steadily to the unity of the race, have been corresponding, we may say complementary, movements—whose tendencies have been to exalt individuality, and indeed, to do so unduly. Take such examples as our millionaires, the so-

called “self-made men” of to-day. Are they not almost universally recognized as being the only conservators of their fortunes?—while at the same time the collective energy and its inheritance the crystalized labor of the past, are subordinated and lost sight of in that anti-republican, anti-democratic spirit and sycophancy emanating from our colleges, schools and pulpits, of which the apotheosis of the millionaire is a sorry example, that should bring the blush of shame to every true American.

All things tend to unity. It is the universal law of life. Yet at the same time all beings tend to individualize themselves. Thus we see two facts that are apparently opposed. There is no necessary opposition, for they are autonomies, and when harmoniously associated, as in Socialism, they produce the true equilibrium, which is liberty. “Nature, considered rationally, is a unity in diversity of phenomena, a harmony blending together all created things, however dissimilar in form or in attribute.”

Let us examine individualism in the light of socialistic thought, and thus ascertain the truth of this deduction. We recognize the duality of the human organism:

1st. In its animal aspect, subordinate to and modified by the laws governing organic existence.

2d. Its spiritual aspect, or that higher form of life in which individuality takes its first step towards liberty.

Looking still closer, we shall discover that these two distinct spheres of human activity, the animal and the spiritual, are also within themselves of a dual character. Laying aside for the present the duality of mere animal existence, we shall see that the soul of man has two modes of life, one intellectual, and one moral. Very often these two aspects of man's spiritual nature are antagonistic, for the greatest rogues and despots the world has seen are those who have had a high intellectual development without a corresponding moral one; while on the other hand, those who oftentimes suffer the most from their *own* acts and cause others to suffer likewise, are persons who have a very high moral development, without sufficient mentality to balance it. It is a fact worthy of note that the strongest opponents of change, and those most intolerant of new ideas, are a certain class possessing all the virtues of morality, so that their very honesty becomes the occasion of their stubbornness. A very honest, conscientious man, whose moral faculties are highly developed, receiving his first and most numerous impressions of socialism from the capitalist press and from other similar sources of antagonism and misrepresentation, will be far more impervious to its great truths than one whose moral susceptibilities are weaker. The moral faculties receive a shock through these misrepresentations. They have the effect of paralyzing for the time being any intelligent perception

of the real truth, so much so in extreme cases that it even affects their hearing. As animal life may be present and yet be paralyzed, so too may intellectual and moral life exist and yet be paralyzed. The paralysis of the intellect is idiocy; that of morals is vice. Again, socialism teaches that all individualism is predicated:

1st. Upon its antecedent or inherited germ force and character.

2d. Upon environments or conditions, physical and spiritual, by which it is surrounded when its individuality first becomes humanized in birth.

Thus it is that socialism recognizes the fact of individualism, and accepts the logical consequences of its existence and its necessity. But, while socialism thus asserts the fact and necessity of individualism, the question naturally arises, What is its conception of the highest individual development consistent with the period in which said individual exists?—for human individuality is distinguished from vegetable or animal individuality by the striking off of certain restraining bonds, such as those that confine vegetable or animal existence to certain locations or certain adaptation within a very restricted sphere of activity. It is thus that liberty becomes the necessary corollary of human individualization. But liberty of what, and to do what?

Let us see. We have spoken of the soul of man as distinguishing him from the brute creation. Having certain wants or desires accompanying it

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through which we recognize its existence, we may reduce them to three classes, i. e., the true, the beautiful and the good. We find that it is the true that satisfies man's reason; the beautiful his sentiment; and the good satisfies that which is the harmony of both the true and the beautiful, or, to use a common expression, his head and his heart. The trinity of man's nature is thus harmoniously expressed when he has liberty to labor, to learn and to love. The question that now presents itself is, of what and in what does this liberty consist, with which man develops his highest individuality?

To understand this, we must go back to one of the original propositions, namely—that individualism is predicated upon its antecedent germ force and character, and upon its environments at and after birth. Taking up the first and without going into details or scientific authorities, it may safely be said that a child's physical and spiritual condition at birth is the result of modifying causes, both physical and spiritual, distinct from and unconscious to the parents of the child, and by other like forces more immediate, both conscious and unconscious to its parents. Examples of the effect of both these antecedent and immediate causes upon character, temperament and physical perfection or imperfection are so numerous and well established as to need no mention. Again, diversity of climate, of soil and of scenery play very, and, as we may say, all

important parts in this modification of the individual germ. It is these forces that have given an individuality to the races, the creeds and the politics of man. Perhaps the best example of this finds illustration through the work of the ethnologists in tracing the Aryan race to its original stock, for climate, soil and scenic influences have so diversified the original characteristics of this race that they can only be traced by coincidences in the language of those who are otherwise entirely dissimilar in complexion, tongue, religion and manners. The more immediate, conscious and local causes of modification are those depending upon industrial, political and religious environments, with art and science as the common factors utilized in these three spheres of activity. These have also formed a portion of the antecedent modifying causes. It is only after the individuality has become humanized that their powers of modification *can* exert their maximum influences. Any system, therefore, of social organization that would give to each and every individuality its most profound expression, must necessarily take cognizance of and harmoniously utilize these modifying elements in human activities. Since these antecedent forces are so far-reaching and persistent, it is impossible to control or direct them through any insular system of organization. The evolutionary process, continuously active in society, making it more and more complex, each individual function becoming

more and more dependent upon each and all other functions, has rendered this law of antecedent forces one of very vital and pressing importance.

This is especially so in its purely physical aspect, as in the case of Asiatic cholera or of leprosy. It will not do for us longer to fold our arms with complacency and console ourselves with the expression that it is only "those damned foreigners," for if we do the chances are that we may receive a very painful reminder that "all men are of one flesh and blood," and that universal energy and universal truth know no frontiers. The only thing that *is* foreign to it is inharmonious revolt against manifest destiny.

How, then, can these subtle forces, stretching from continent to continent, embracing all aspirations, all interests, authoritative yet beneficent, all powerful yet servile, monstrous, terrible to ignorance or immorality, magnificent and docile to enlightened morality, how can they be brought into reconciliation with the irreconcilable—that is, with human individuality? It is the peculiar phenomena of individuality that the more it is developed, the more development it demands—or, in the words of John Ruskin:

"The whole difference between a man of genius and other men, it has been said a thousand times, and most truly, is that the first remains in great part a child, seeing with the large eyes of children, in perpetual wonder, not conscious of

much knowledge—conscious, rather, of infinite ignorance, and yet infinite power; a fountain of eternal admiration, delight and creative force within him meeting the ocean of visible and governable things around him."

How can this infinitude of diversities become harmonized in that unity in which diversity lends a charm to uniformity; in which liberty embraces authority, and in which love and hatred are wedded to eternal war against wrong, and eternal peace for the right? This work is not for one race, one nation or one school to accomplish. It is the concentrated energy of humanity, striving to recognize itself; striving to recover its equilibrium. It is the old human agony appealing for assistance, appealing to be rescued from the charnel-house of the past, filled with the bleaching skeletons of myriads of misguided individualities. Thus it is that Socialism conceives its allotted duty, which it accomplishes by bringing the collective life and the individual life into that relation so fittingly expressed as solidarity. To this end let us examine the close relationship between collectivity and the individual, and thus ascertain their reciprocal rights and duties.

Taking some examples of highly developed individualities—and not to go back too far, let us begin with Michael Angelo. So long as St. Peter's stands it will ever be a monument to his individuality. It was his genius called it from the ideal, and made possible to mankind that mas-

sive monument to architectural knowledge. But this individuality of Michael Angelo—what was it the product of? It is true that its profound expression was in him innate; but was it not also the consensus of the collective aspiration and knowledge of his period which became personified in him? Let those who doubt this question themselves if it were possible for a Michael Angelo to have been born at Pekin, Calcutta, Madrid, or among the native Americans of that time? Even if such a miraculous event could have taken place, would it not also have necessitated another even more startling event, i. e., the sudden transformation of hundreds and thousands of human beings destitute of all aspirations or qualifications for transforming *his* genius into concrete reality—the changing of an ignorant and soulless mass into willing and capable auxiliaries? The existence of St. Peter's depended as much upon causes antecedent to the existence of Michael Angelo, and upon conditions of environments too numerous to mention here, as it did upon his own splendid individuality. Without his individuality it might have never existed. That is a question unanswerable; but of one thing we may confidently rest assured, that without the collective will and knowledge commensurate with his genius it *never* could have existed. In Isaac Newton, the philosopher and mathematician, we have another and most wonderful development of individuality. Can we conceive, how-

ever, of a Newton being born of Patagonian or Malay parentage? The collective intelligence and aspirations of those localities render that impossible. Take the characters of such soldiers as Washington, Bonaparte or Wellington—representative individualities of their class. But, had not the collective energy of the minute men and patriots of 1776 been the incident force to Washington's character, had not his individuality been the embodiment of their desires and aspirations, his latent capabilities would have remained dormant, and finally have died from inanition. Who is there can comprehend Washington as springing from and becoming the leader and exemplar to a race of cowards and poltroons? So, too, with Napoleon and Wellington. Who can dissociate the "Little Corporal" from the Convention, or the "Iron Duke" from the "Iron Guard?" Coming down to our own times and its dominant force, mercantilism, we find that it has evolved a class of very highly individualized personalities, sometimes called "Captains of Industry." So strong is their individuality that almost everything must become subordinate to it, otherwise it will get the sulks, and compel the lesser individualities to suffer in consequence. Nevertheless, it is an impossibility for such individualities to have ever existed, except within a collective atmosphere of which they were but the concentrated rays. Even the collective morality as regards social adjustments has as yet risen to no higher

plane than that which allows, aye, and assists such individualities to become warped into monsters, instead of that which they could and should be—organizers and directors of the social energy for the common welfare. In short, we may see by these few examples the necessary interdependence between the collective life and the individual life; the collectivity nourishes and perfects the individual through opportunity, and the individual reciprocates, sometimes unconsciously, oftentimes unintentionally (as to-day), and perfects the collectivity. We may say, as a rule, that the individuality of a person, however strong it may be, is simply a reflex of the collective life by which he and his parents have been surrounded.

Recognizing, then, the close relation existing between the collectivity and the individual, the next question presenting itself is the equitable and harmonious adjustment of their mutual rights and duties, and it is this that constitutes the great work of socialism. To bring about this much desired consummation, socialism recognizes that mankind must have first established a three-fold liberty:

1. Economical, or the opportunity to labor.
2. Intellectual, or the opportunity to think.
3. Moral, or the opportunity to develop his affections.

Intellectual and moral liberty have, after many centuries of struggle, be-

come recognized as abstract rights by the majority of civilizations. Still, we find both practically nullified in everyday life, through the absence of the keystone of the whole arch of liberty, i. e., economic freedom. We find that, however much we may be educated, and realize a recognized legal outlet for this expression through the ballot, that it is nevertheless handicapped, and in some cases with increasing frequency completely abrogated, by purely economic causes. We find the same impediments also in the realm of moral life. Every attraction, every vital, immediate interest, is in a direction opposed to moral excellency, until fathers and mothers having the greatest affection for their children, are nevertheless compelled by economic causes to allow them to mingle with and become a part of associations detrimental alike to their health and morality. It is because of these facts that Socialists lay so much stress upon the necessity for economic liberty.

In order, therefore, to develop the highest individuality, other things are requisite besides the "liberty to labor." In barbarous nations every individual has the liberty to labor. How shall we explain the paradox, that modern civilization needs just what barbarians have in order that it may be harmonious and equitable? It is thus that Socialism explains it: This two-thirds civilization of ours has two elements, which if the present barbarians became possessed of they would no longer be barbarians.

They are that intellectual perceptibility that has developed the association and division of labor, and that moral perceptibility that makes the family a collective unit. These two elements in civilization have enabled it to create wealth in almost unlimited abundance. Now, we have simply to add to these two elements the third, which the barbarians possess, namely, free access for all to the means of creating wealth, and the problem is solved. One of the elements first mentioned is association and division of labor. It deserves our attention before going any further.

While the association of labor, either compulsory, as in slavery, or voluntary, as is now assumed to be the case, is a step toward the solution, yet there has been another element growing out of and developing with increasing speed as civilization advances. That element is the "division of labor." It is the manifest sign of the *organization of industry*. It is one of the potent factors in rushing forward modern civilization. Through this "division of labor" the greatest economy in production has been conceived. Allied inseparably with it (under the present system of extreme individualism) has been and still is a tendency to crush out and obliterate all individuality in each of the collective units. That is, he is given an individuality not his own; forced, mechanical, and stifling all spontaneous or instinctive development, until the individual workers become an organized army of automatons,

to whom the world is a long, straight tube through which they are compelled to crawl feet foremost. Judging, then, superficially from these every day facts, we should naturally come to the conclusion that so far from associated labor and its division and sub-division being conducive to individual development, it would be, as it really is at present, detrimental to the development of individualities. By this we refer to the mass of the people. As a matter of fact, this division of labor has been one of the chief forces in creating opportunities for the abnormal development of some individualities.

Still, if we investigate this question, not only with our own eyes, but with the telescope, microscope and other "scopes" of social science, we shall discover that the real evil is not in associated labor or the division of labor, nor in the greater economy in production springing from their duality. But we shall find that all this evil, evolved, so to speak, from latent good, is due to the absence of equitable and harmonious adjustment between the collective and the individual life. One is doomed to death through atrophy that the other may die of congestion.

The work, therefore, of Socialism is to stimulate the circulation and restore the equilibrium, not by the total disintegration of structure, nor by the suppression of functions, but by arousing each to perform its duty and each to exact its rights. That it will require surgery

rather than phisic, I have no doubt, but that is a question for consideration by itself.

How then can Socialism bring about this result? I answer: "Through the organization of the social energy." This is something that has never been done as yet, except in warfare. Perhaps the best example of it has been the Southern Confederacy during the late civil war. Therein the entire social force, physical, intellectual and moral, was centralized and concentrated with the utmost intensity of purpose upon one immediate object—war. War for what? For a mistaken sense, we reply, of individuality, so-called States Rights. For, strange as it may seem, this people—and no people have ever made greater sacrifices for a principle—subordinated their individualities to a higher individuality, that of States Rights, and waged a bloody and destructive war against the principle of collective rights, called unity. Yet upon the maintenance and perfection of this unity all their rights, either as States or individuals, depended. I can not but quote a portion of an address delivered by Andrew Johnson while governor of Tennessee:

"Rather than see this Union divided into thirty-three petty governments, with a little prince in one, a potentate in another, a little oligarchy in a third, a little democracy in a fourth, and a republic somewhere else—a citizen not being permitted to pass from one State to another without a passport or a com-

mission from his government—with quarreling and warring among the petty powers which would result in anarchy, I would rather see this government to-day—I proclaim it—converted into a consolidated government."

Unfortunately Johnson only saw the evils of extreme individualism, and in remedying them he would then have invoked the other extreme of collective despotism. I have said that the solution was in the organization of the social energy. But the critics will say: "You contemplate a huge machine, with all forces centralized. You want the State, the Government, to control everything. You desire authority in order to suppress individual aspiration. What *we* want is *Liberty!*" To which *we* answer, that if science and equity applied to industrial activity is a machine, then *we* want the machine. In fact, *we* would rather have it than to leave it in the hands of Messrs. Vanderbilt, Gould or Corbin. We also know and do most heartily desire centralization; provided that its counterpart—decentralization—accompanies it.

To be more explicit, Socialists desire autonomous centralization, in which each and every group is self-regulative, in so far as its functions are group functions. As a crude example, under the socialistic system the post-office system would be on an international basis; it would be, economically speaking, many times more centralized than it is at present. It would own and control its entire plant in so far as that would not

injure or prove detrimental to other industries. There would not be any fat contractors under such a system. Every post-village would be brought into the most expeditious and economical contact through the centralization of effort, yet each post-village or town would have that amount of autonomy which would enable the citizens of that locality to elect their own postmaster, after he had qualified by an impartial and direct examination. We Socialists also believe in authority, the same as the critics believe in gravity. When men want shoes made they go to a shoemaker, because he is the authority on the subject; but as soon as the shoe is finished and paid for the wearer becomes the authority; if the shoe pinches, the shoemaker, with all his knowledge of shoe-making, has not the knowledge of the wearer as to where it pinches. Authority, properly understood, is but the assertion of a necessary fact or knowledge. If used beyond this, as it has almost always been, it destroys itself and becomes despotism. It is for this reason that we desire decentralization—not that we wish authority less, but that we may have liberty more.

Liberty, like all procreative principles, must not be hoarded in order to expand. It must be *invested*, and its very investment necessitates its contact with forces beneficial to its growth; its individuality must at times depend upon the authority of another individuality, entirely different. Who would knowingly risk his life on the rail behind a locomotive un-

der control of one who had never previously run a locomotive or engine? Again, we say liberty creates more liberty by investment. Does the farmer, in burying in the ground part of the proceeds of his last year's crop, lose thereby? Does he not reap by this very surrender an augmentation of his previous store by twenty, fifty, or one hundred fold? The same law applies to wealth. The capitalist surrenders, for the time being, the visible evidences of his wealth, that he may have a more abundant return. The same principle holds good for individuality and for liberty. If we, as men and women, would have more liberty, more individual development, we must surrender a portion of that which we already have. Take all the great world's embodiments of genius, and we shall find that their first step toward availing themselves of the opportunities of collective life was a surrender of a portion of their liberty and individuality to the pedagogue, the master, the drill sergeant or the forum. Under proper conditions and demands, subordination is exaltation; under other conditions it is insubordination instead. That is honorable. Under the socialistic system the individual will have surrendered that form of property now called private, but which is really collective or public property. Nevertheless he will have more private property than ever before, and property that, while it benefits himself and family, can in no way injure his neighbor. He will not own the ground, it is true.

but he will have the use of as much as is necessary to his higher development and happiness. He will not own machinery (except for personal pleasure and experiment); neither will machinery be the means of some other individuality owning him and his family also. He will of necessity surrender a fraction of his time to everybody else, that is, to the collectivity, but that time will be of such short duration, owing to machinery being used to save labor instead of driving and killing it, as it is used to-day, that he will really have more leisure time than thousands of very wealthy men have at their disposal to-day. To give an approximate estimate, there is no doubt that but five hours a day, or thirty hours per week, is a large estimate of the time each would find necessary to contribute to the common weal. What is of far more importance, his children need not, nor should they, work at productive labor until they have first been fitted physically, intellectually and morally to become real men and women, by having their true individualities unfolded, spontaneously, through a rational system of education, such as Fröbel and Pestalozzi have contributed so much of their individualities to perfect. It is then that we will have square individuals in square positions and round individuals in round situations, and the irregular individualities will have to put up with irregular circumstances. Leisure of itself alone would be a burden; the individual must also have access to

material suitable to develop his innate capabilities, and this also in abundance. All of which socialism will supply through co-operative scientific production. A portion of this material may go to or be acquired by each individual as private property, such as stationery, books, scientific or mechanical apparatus, etc.; but there will also be a large portion still remaining under collective control, *but for purposes of individual development*, i. e., schools, colleges, museums, laboratories, libraries, art galleries, theatres, etc., where the humblest citizen can devote some of his leisure time toward unfolding nature's gifts to him. He will be in contact with and assisted by teachers, professors and apparatus, which to-day are only accessible to the few. Again, through the instrumentality of the railroad and the steamboat, he will be afforded opportunities to view the grandeur and diversities of nature, for the mountains, the rivers and the plains are brought within the reach of all. The moral and elevating tendencies of this one fact alone are worthy of our deepest consideration. The iron horse and steamship thus become vehicles for the unfolding of a collective moral sentiment that must otherwise remain dormant. Thus it is that socialism unfolds each individuality in perfect harmony and consistency with its innermost self, and, what is equally as important, it is also developed in harmony and equity with each other individuality.

The highest and the truest conception

of individuality under socialism is not to make laws, but to avail itself of the collective energy to discover those that are still hidden in the bosom of the universe. Therefore the true Socialist, as an individual, is not a law maker but a law discoverer. It remains only for the collectivity to make the law a concrete reality by their spontaneous appreciation of the fact.

To the seeker for truth socialism offers, then, free access to science; to the seeker for the beautiful, free access to art and nature; to him who seeks the good, it offers that which is a combination of all—the ideal, and in that he will find his truer individuality unfolded.

To conclude, socialism is inclusive of

individualism, as the whole contains its parts, or as the greater contains the lesser. What the discoveries of Copernicus were to astronomy, the systemization of Linnaeus to botany, the formulas of Newton to mathematics, the researches and classifications of Paracelsus and Priestly to chemistry, the genius of Watt to mechanics, and the masterstrokes of Angelo and Raphael to architecture and decorative art, such is the relation of socialism to all these individual forces. It is the harmonizer of systems; the conservator of forces; the crystalization of truths. It is justice, peace and plenty. It is humanity.

“ÇA IRA!”

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