









A BLUNDER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By ENRICO FERRI.

If the sort of Socialism which prebends to embrace all phases of human life like Madison's Socialism, is to be considered obscure and confused, we must, nevertheless, come to see that Madison's Socialism is not lacking itself to a mere repetition of a few merely economic doctrines and their political application, but, under the scientific leadership of Marx, Socialism involves and circumscribes all achievements and necessities of a higher intellectuality and morality of humanity as now constituted.

Paraphrasing the Roman poet who said, "I am human and nothing that is human is strange to me," we may say, "I am a Socialist and nothing that concerns the history of modern and future humanity is strange to me."

The prison! It is one of the most horrible marks of our civilization. In classical antiquity, the chief protection of society against the disease of crime consisted in the simple means of inflicting penalty for the domestic crime, or exile, banishment, and capital punishment.

Even in the middle ages when penalty gave way to fines and corporal punishment as mutilation, torture, etc., prisons were almost unknown.

Abbot Franz of Florence, Pope Clement of Rome, Count Urban of Ghent made the first experiments with solitary imprisonment in the 12th century. This system, however, had not met with general approval in Europe until the middle of the present century when John Howard, a contemporary of Cesare Beccaria and founder of the school of the classical penal code, had vividly described the condition of physical and moral rotteness in the European prisons of the close of the 18th century, and North America was the first to inaugurate, between the years 1821 and 1825, the system of long term imprisonment (the Philadelphia system) or of single night's solitary confinement (Auburn system).

All the European countries became enthusiastic adherents of the cell-system with its triple constellation of isolation, labor and, particularly, religious instruction, and millions and billions of dollars were spent for the erection of gigantic superlatives for the living which for more than a decade had been called an error of the 19th century.

An educated man may possibly stand a few months of solitary confinement. But applied to peasants and laborers who were physical and moral degenerates of their physical and moral degeneration (I speak here of the common criminal—the really dangerous, egotistic and savage type) this isolation will only serve to mummify and embitter them the more and make them unable to lead a normal existence again. For solitary imprisonment has become a universal remedy for all sorts of crime and offenses. A certain dose of this medicine is generally prescribed in advance, and all the judge has to do is to paste a label containing the number of a certain article of the penal code on the back of the living puppet called "defendant." The judge knows nothing whatever about the physiological and mental conditions of the criminal, of his family history or social environment, all he does know or affect to know is his sentence upon the commission of an unlawful act.

There is, just as clever as if a physician were to appear at the door of a hospital and say, "The medicine for all diseases is a solution of quinine." Suppose one is suffering from pleurisy; give him a liter of that solution and send him to the hospital for two weeks. And yet, at the expiration of this period, he must leave the hospital, even if he is still sick. Out with him! In the hospital he will now be known by his number; his personality disappears in the nameless multitude of other patients.

There is another, suffering from stomach disease. Very well, give him two liters of the same medicine and let him stay three weeks in the hospital. And so forth for all other diseases. The penal code proceeds in no other manner.

One has committed murder; well, he is sent for twenty years to the penitentiary, one-half or a third of which he passes in continuous isolation. It may be that if the criminal is no more dangerous after ten years, he has to stay another ten years in jail. And if, on the other hand, at the expiration of twenty years, he is still a dangerous out-throat, until he lives in society—and in many cases, the penitentiary has served to make him worse—he is, nevertheless, let loose with the understanding that he is to be clapped again in jail if, without work and family, he inevitably relapses again into crime.

Another has committed theft; well, he is administered one-and-a-half months of our medicine; and, now, on to jail to be labeled and incarcerated.

How is a man who has insulted his neighbor; take four weeks of our medicine. There is one who with a blow of his cane has broken his adversary's arm; six-and-a-half months of our medicine.

And when after that the criminal statistics are published we are surprised to discover that in spite of the universal remedy of solitary confinement, the number of criminals and those relapsing into crime is steadily increasing. Can you imagine anything more absurd, more inhuman than these practices?

The reason why prison cells met with general approval is because they were a continuation of the doctrine of the middle ages and because of the belief that the sense of repentance possesses the power of reforming the condemned. Two points, however, were lost sight of.

First, that imprisonment could mitigate the terrible consequences only when each institution would contain but a few dozen inmates, provided with a superior, aided by a staff of ten psychologists, trained in the art of being temperate and able to provide accordingly for the physical and mental treatment of the inmates.

Second, that the isolation of the inmate should be such as to prevent the inmate from being able to communicate with the outside world, and that the inmate should be able to work and to receive instruction.

But, in the middle ages, when the number of inmates was unlimited, the isolation was not only a physical one, but a moral one as well. The inmate was not only isolated from the outside world, but from his fellow inmates as well. The inmate was not only isolated from the outside world, but from his fellow inmates as well.

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SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE.

By K. SHERWOOD.

There is no hopeless crusade. The mightiest powers of evolution are pressing forward to the dawn of Socialism. The inevitable enemies of the movement admit that it will come. Only the question of detail, the When? and the How? are debatable. The Socialist Labor Party makes clear the issues and prepares the working class for their new duties and responsibilities.

Morality is nothing but an adaptation of our individual character to the conditions of existence of our fellow men who belong with us to the same social group. Crime is due exclusively to a lack of this adaptability.

This morality can be inculcated and strengthened, in social life, in constant intercourse with other people. Solitary confinement can only serve to entirely destroy this power of adaptation to social life.

That is why insanity, viciousness, mental disease, nervous debility, and suicide are inseparable from solitary imprisonment, and the inevitable reaction crime is but the inevitable reaction upon the disintegration of prison, i. e., upon the re-entrance in social life for which the individual has lost all adaptability.

It is, therefore, quite clear why the Socialists must be opposed to the error known as the prison cell which condemns the individual to an incurable degeneration, and is, therefore, unfit to protect society from the germs of crime, and, eventually, serves as an additional burden upon the taxpayers on account of the enormous expenses for the erection of the numerous prisons.

But, one may ask, what do you propose to do with criminals? The answer is quite clear and plain.

In place of the few days or weeks of imprisonment which serve to completely discredit the system, the microbes of crime, the most numerous of all, must be met by indemnification of the victim. In cases of insults, petty theft, slight bodily injury, insignificant frauds committed by persons not very dangerous, it should be sufficient to compel the offender to make good the injury caused by him. If the offender is without means or work, he should be sent to the workhouse where he could earn something and indemnify his victim.

Under the present system of prisons we find the moral absurdity that the State will not secure the right of existence to those who remain honest men.

The honest man, if he is without means or food, has only the choice between starvation or suicide; but when he wants to make the State recognize it as its duty to provide for him shelter and food, he must commit a crime—and the State will then provide for him in a prison free of charge.

On the contrary, the convict should be compelled to earn his living by his own work which the State should pay according to the average market price of labor. And thereby we would also have removed the unfair competition between prison work and free labor.

Finally, for the dangerous class of criminals, who have committed atrocious crimes, agricultural colonies should be established.

Work in free air is still the most effective means of physical and moral hygiene. Each such colony should have bed rooms to be isolated in the night, which would be much simpler and less costly than our prisons. Furthermore, each colony should have one or more institutions for occupations incidental to agriculture, and for work during the unfavorable season.

In this colony, which could also be utilized for the purpose of fertilizing barren land, a number of inhabitants must vary according to the nature of the convicts, their age, sex, muscular strength, and moral and mental endowments.

It should be borne in mind that every conglomeration is a source of stagnation and decomposition. With men this is shown in the schools as well as in the monasteries and hagbergs. A little while longer they will float in their writhing agony and the contract will open below them. They must then accept the rope of the Socialist Republic or take the final plunge over the precipice.

The water is deeper, smoother, swifter now than it was in 1883. But there are rocks ahead. The next time the tide of "prosperity" strikes the rock of "panic" instead of four millions there may be a good many more millions out of work. The magnates who have capitalised all industries will not provide work without profit. Then the idea of Socialism which has perished all ranks will cry out for the public ownership and operation of ALL the means of production and distribution. Politics will give way to Stateownership. Capitalism to Socialism. Private Ownership to the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Capitalism designates an individual in certain historic and economic relations. It attributes are:

- 1. A means of production. 2. In use. 3. Private ownership. 4. The owner to receive the larger part of the product in the form of PROFITS for permitting it to be used. 5. The producer, who uses it, gets back from the owner the smaller part of his product in WAGES.

Eliminate any one of these elements and the thing ceases to be Capital. It is therefore erroneous to speak of Capital being owned collectively. The instruments of production may be, but they are not the attributes that are indispensable to make a thing Capital—private ownership—being eliminated the thing is no more Capital.

Capitalist designates an individual in certain historic and economic relations. It attributes are:

- 1. Living in a rich community, having the absolute ownership of the tools of production, not being bothered with slaves or serfs, but having a free and abundant choice of labor in the overflowing labor-power market—this makes a Capitalist. Your feudal lord lives by his care for the health of his vassals, not of the comforts of the Capitalist. He had to buy the laborer and then feed and clothe him in order to get his labor. Our Capitalist buys labor-power only, he has millions of ill-fed, ill-dressed, ill-clad sovereign citizens of this home of the free and land of the brave to choose from.

Owner of the tools which he does not use; purchaser of labor-power which uses the tools; maker of profits which is the product that he had no share in producing; payer of wages to the worker which is only a part of the product produced by him, this is a Capitalist.

Capitalism designates a certain phase in the historic and economic development of society. It is a system of society that sometimes and defends Capital and Capitalist.

Economically, the Capitalist Society is mainly divided into the class of exploiters—the Capitalists—and the class of wage workers. Each class is pitted against the other in ceaseless struggle for a larger share in the product of the wage worker.

Politically, all the powers of government are possessed by the Capitalists and arrayed openly or covertly against the wage worker. But these are the best of days, and when the laborer has no voice in the government, all the powers of government are arrayed against the wage worker. From his cradle to his grave the wage worker is followed by the many watchful eyes of the agents of Capital.

The clergy, the teacher, the doctor, the journalist, the philosopher, the poet are all, some unconsciously, agents of Capital.

For all the aspirations in which man is used to glory, all that he is taught to receive; all rules of personal conduct that he is taught to follow; all the things that he is taught to do; all the things that he is taught to be; all the things that he is taught to have; all the things that he is taught to want; all the things that he is taught to do; all the things that he is taught to be; all the things that he is taught to have; all the things that he is taught to want.

Let us now see how the Capitalist Society really embraces the essential elements of Capital.

There is a steamer plowing the Atlantic. It sits 20 feet deep in water; for it is loaded to the brim with coal. This is Capital, sure enough. The steamer strikes a reef and goes down. It is in the bottom of the sea. This is Capital, sure enough. The steamer strikes a reef and goes down. It is in the bottom of the sea. This is Capital, sure enough.

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THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

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OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE... NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS... NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY...

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE... CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE... GENERAL COMMITTEE...

Receipts for National Fund. Table with columns for item and amount.

Donations to the Jewish "Daily Volkzeitung" Fund. Table with columns for name and amount.

National Executive Committee... Meeting of National Executive Committee... Secretary of National Executive Committee...

16th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

17th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 202 A. D. BROOKLYN... The Central Committee of the above District constituted itself on Saturday, Oct. 7...

SECTION CLINTON... The Bronx Committee submit the following resolutions for publication...

MARSHAMOUNTS STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P... Charles E. Wilson, chairman; Charles E. Frazier, secretary...

New Jersey... STREET MEETINGS, HUDSON COUNTY... Jersey City: Oct. 9-Newark and Jersey avenues...

New York... PARADE CONFERENCE... At the meeting held on Saturday, Oct. 7, with Comrade Waldinger acting as chairman...

18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

19th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

20th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

21st ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

22nd ASSEMBLY DISTRICT... A regular meeting of the above District was held with Comrade Goleiser in the chair...

EDITORIAL... The Central Committee of the above District constituted itself on Saturday, Oct. 7...

THE PASSING OF A MAN... Editor The People... When was who in the prime of life has ever been his friend?

QUESTIONS BEING IN ORDER... Questions being in order, I wished recognition for the very good services of our chairman...

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ELECTION FRAUDS... What the Vote of the "Sovereign Citizen" Counts For—The Charge Made by a Supreme Court Judge...

THE ALARM WHICH WAS FELT OR AT LEAST PRETENDED... The alarm which was felt or at least pretended, about the competition of Asiatic cheap labor has subsided...

AND THEN?... The alarm which was felt or at least pretended, about the competition of Asiatic cheap labor has subsided...

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness...

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right...

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people...

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation...

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises...

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with...

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

Travels and Societies... Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America...

CARE, BAHN CLUB... SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB... SECTION PHILADELPHIA...

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTING... THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF YORKVILLE...

Arbeiter-Kreuzer und Arbeiter-Klub... Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America...

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance... OFFICE: 64 East 70th Street...

Carl Klingelhoeffer... ANGEL PHARMACY... 74 Ave. A, Corner 6th St.

BROOKLYN LYCEUM... 640-650 Willoughby Av.

H. B. SALIBURY... DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST... 131 1/2 Broadway St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PHILADELPHIA, PA... Campaign meetings will be held from 8:30 until the close of the campaign...

L. G. MANN'S Printing Co... 625 Broadway, New York City

The Crime of Ruby Rochfort (A BAYRIDGE STORY) by Peter E. Saravon. Socialism: What it is and how to achieve it. Pocket Library of Socialism.

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