STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF SOCIALISM

By Albion W. Small

The fame of Ford Hall has gone abroad, and the reality is so much more impressive than the fame that in the same state of mind I was in when I reached home after speaking my piece in school. The folks asked me was frightened. "Frightened?" I said, I was only scared. This is a reaction to type. (Laughter.) A man who travels a thousand miles to address an audience is dead sure that he has something worth while to say. He must be convinced that he knows what has been thought and by his hearers, and that the things worth while have not been said. In Chicago I am conversational, but here I suppose you are trying to toboggan half-way down the slide of my ideas would fall so that I wouldn't know in what decade or in what century they had been said. (Laughter.)

Before I close, I might refer to my subject this morning as "Breeding Men," and Dr. Hugh Wilcox and Rev. H. W. Cummings' "The Problems of Education in Sex" as "The Scope of Our Own Sex." Dr. Cabot is in position he has taken the liberty of education in sex. As a head of the Congregational Church—was formerly for a number of years professor of sociology at Harvard—speak of a protracted period of travel in France, Italy and Germany and by courtesy of residence at Townbee Hall in the

not a remedy, but more knowledge of the principles of human relationships.

Those of you who are Socialists will see without very much divination that I am not a Socialist in the ordinary sense. I am a Socialist in the sense that Socialism is each and every movement which opposes our present economic order from principle, and in some form or other desires to substitute the merit of services as the ground of income for the ownership of wealth. This includes Socialism, Anarchy, the syndicalist movement, and the W. W. W. movement. You notice I have not mentioned trade unions, because they have never attacked our economic order on grounds of principle. They have sought under that order to secure a better distribution.

My theory for all this difference of opinion is that it is largely due to a fact you will not find in any economic text-books—that there is not one kind of capital, but there are three kinds of capital. Tool capital is capital made by the worker himself, and the managerial capacity is of that silly, impossible order. The New Haven Railroad is an excellent example. Suppose we should begin to operate a system to begin to capitalize the alphabet and the multiplication table, and should arrange that everyone who used them should pay a royalty to somebody every time he used them, do you think the cost of living wouldn't rise? There is no more reason for paying royalties on the material savings of previous generations than on the spiritual savings. (Applause.)

Before I close, I might refer to my subject, for the sake of formality. (Laughter.) The strength of Socialism has been and is and will be in its sagacity in pressing for analysis of our social institutions until the fallacies in their workings will be visible, and more people will be asking the question: "How can we remove those fallacies?" The weakness of Socialism has been and is and will be in its being more interested in its scheme for reforming the system than in persuading fellow-citizens that there is something to reform. There is no persuading people before you convince them. If a pure food commission were to draw up a sanitary bill of fare, it could not compel people to eat it. A Montana paper recently said my theories were "rot, because if they were true the only escape would be Socialism." Well, the conclusion doesn't follow on the premise, but you see people are not yet convinced; and the people will not adopt a plan until they are convinced that there is something in which some plan or
and
t costs the man who took the money. The
the title, subject to mort-
the owner does no work
a grist-mill, in which the owner
represented by a grist-mill, in which the owner
capital is capital in which there must be
are justifiable, and some of which are not.
income. What we want is
My theory for all this difference of opin-
whole race of man. Amen.
I have said nothing whatever about
the industrial system. They say this "For the
time to come, and will be in its being more interested
things near the hearts of
capital is capital simply on deposit, in con-
capital is capital made by the worker himself;
it might be represented by a hoe he manu-
neighbors to assist him and to pro-
the owner does no work at all; it is represented by every dollar in
they have introduced this question of finance capital, some phenomena of which
satisfaction in public, and
there is something to which some plan or
I know a farm in which $15,000 was paid
were true the only escape would be Social-
to see what can be done about it. Many of them think the system
foreordination of God, and they never
and answers

THE PRAYER

We acknowledge with grateful hearts the growing determination of
people the world over to find a better
way to live. We rejoice in the great
leaders from all ranks of society who
have been raised up to blaze the way
toward a larger truth and a sounder
righteousness. Help us, O God, to
yield ourselves to this new spirit of
the age which will not believe that
poverty and disease and crime must be
accepted as a necessary part of
our every day life. Help us to trust
Thee that the way shall be found to
reduce these evils to a negligible
minimum. Help us, we pray, open
minds and stout hearts that we may
see the Heavenly Vision and commit
our lives to it. Make us all willing
to sacrifice present and personal comfort
for the future welfare of the
whole race of man. Amen.

(Continued on Page 3,)
THE QUESTIONS

Q: Are you, Mr. Coleman, going to let Curley sell the Public Garden? (Laughter.)
A: (Mr. Coleman.) Evidently you were not here last week when I said that that was the first and last time I would ever speak from this platform on politics.

Q: Did you ever know of any rich man or king who gave up his riches and privileges for the sake of the common good?
A: I have heard of a man who got his name from this hall, out in Detroit, who is doing it on a pretty large scale.

Q: What are you going to do about the man who is unemployed, when all working men are recognized as partners?
A: There won't be so many of him; but that will be something for the first few of the 15,000,000 years to determine.

Q: (Mr. Cosgrove.) Would you attack the methods of Carnegie at Homestead and of the Calumet and Hecla?
A: I said not to attack a rich man as such. I don't approve of wrong methods by rich or poor.

Q: Where did you get your idea that Socialists undervalued management capital?
A: I did not say that all Socialists undervalued it, but some do. Tom Mann said that to me personally, for instance.

Q: (Same.) Is it not true that the Socialist party in this country at least has got its vote today from its character as a propagandist party?
A: I repeat that no one has done as much as the Socialists to inform the world that there is need of change, but the influence of the Socialists has been limited by the fact that they have insisted that the change can come only through the collective ownership of capital.

Q: (Mrs. Solomon.) Why should money be given the same earning power as human beings?
A: Yes, certainly.

Q: What remedies have you for the exploitation of the people under a profit system?
A: I distinctly said that I was concerned not with remedies but with improvements.

Q: (Mr. Vistorson.) Cannot capital be divided as Marx divided it, into standing and circulating capital? Isn't finance capital one part of circulating capital?
A: It could be so divided, but it is an entirely different plan of division.

Q: In a Socialistic state, how would the professional man be rewarded?
A: I hope some Socialist will tell us.

Q: What is your opinion in regard to the Socialistic point of view, but in general?
A: Yes, certainly.

Q: (Mr. Sachmary) : Isn't it possible that the people do not care for a government employee when they are asked to make up an unpaid bill?
A: Because we are not willing to make up a government employee.

Q: How are you going to stimulate people to lend their wealth to the capitalists and millionaires to throw dust in the eyes of the working class by profit-sharing and bonuses?
Q: Where did you get your idea that Socialists undervalue management capital?
A: I did not say that all Socialists undervalue it, but some do. Tom Mann said that to me personally, for instance.

Q: (Same.) Is it not true that the Socialists in this country at least has got its vote today from its character as a propagandist party?
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Q: (Mrs. Solomon.) Why should money be given the same earning power as human beings?
A: It never should be; that is just the point.

Q: Do you think rich people are as interested in the poor as in getting rid of the rich?
A: I am afraid a poll taken among the rich would not result in as large an average; but I have associated with rich people who were earnestly studying how they might do something in their place to make the world better.

Q: (Mrs. Hoffman.) Why are the Socialists so jealous of the ownership of the means of life?
A: They do not believe that collective ownership would be effective.

Q: Until the public partnership is established, do you believe in trade unions?
A: I most emphatically do, and also in better trade unions.

Q: I do not think interest ought to be done away with?
A: Not immediately, but we ought to aim toward that.

Q: Where is the strength in Socialism, how is it that the ministers of the Gospel are the last among the people to co-operate in it?
A: I should want the cooperation to be proved. There are some pretty active Socialists among the ministers of the Gospel.

Q: Is it not true that a larger number of working men are not Socialists because of their ignorance of what Socialism would do for them?
A: (Laughter.)

Q: Couldn't we get along now without finance capital?
A: We could as a matter of abstract theory.

Q: Have the workers to wait until the capitalists make them co-partners?
A: I think they will help bring that about by adopting measures of their own. The attitude of Socialists toward religion?
A: That again Socialists must answer.

Q: Why couldn't the people become possessors of capital and make every one of us a government employee?
A: Because we are not willing to make life a personally conducted tour.

Q: What effect has Socialism on religion and on free love?
A: Again I must ask the Socialists to tell us.

Q: What do you think of Mr. Ford's saying that Socialism doesn't do any good, and is it true?
A: I don't know if Mr. Ford said that; if he did, I don't agree with him.

Q: Couldn't the mill be worked on a co-operative plan?
A: Certainly, that is a possibility.

Q: Why does Socialism grow faster in foreign countries than here?
A: Because there are more abuses in foreign countries. (Applause.)

Q: You say we need no remedies; hasn't the literature of Socialism uncovered conditions that justify remedies of the most drastic kind, as advocated by the extreme Socialists?
A: Sometimes I have moods in which I should use just such language if I allowed myself to speak without second thought. Other times, when I have had my second thought first (Laughter) I don't really think soberly that we are making the most progress that we can when we speak in those terms. "Remedy" is an unfortunate word to use.

Q: Are there not some people to whom we must say in effect, "Root, hog, or die"?
A: I wouldn't stand in the way of any of those forceful measures.

Q: Is it not one of the mistakes of Socialism to recognize the con-
A: Didn't I say that Socialism would do for them?
servatism of churches and colleges and favored classes, instead of the conserva-
tion of the working classes, and the capitalist class does appreciate the s'
green trading stamps? (Laughter and applause.)

'The Socialistic point of view, but in gen-
ists, Anarchists, syndicalists and the l
throw dust in the eyes of the wo
land values?

w. Do you not also include the bo
Socialism is tremendous in its strength
denced by its position in Germany?
that doesn't prove anythin~
ringers for the Progressive Parl1,
induce people to lend their wealth
too much?
policy for a farmer to borrow money
prove his farm?

Q: In v iew of the unchangeabl
A: Human nature is the most
attentive audience whom I have
street car conductor, the reporter seeking
the beat, the postman at the door _ the
have shut off all intercourse. Those many
around there they are right abreast of me;
ver, the salesman calling on me, yes, even the solicitor of charity—they are
all potential every-day friends. And their
active friendliness toward me is limited
y to their potential good will I feel notwith-
provide the spiritual oxygen without which
furnish a kindly ' glance, no inquiry after the sick
never a smile, with no handshaking, never
just for forty-eight ·hours I were to go
h a bit as to those every-day friends of mine,
look at me, and fully understand my
some of the best that is in me would suf-
fication.

Some there are who seem to know me
through and through. They expect every
victory that comes to me, and fully under-
stand my shortcomings. Any time I turn
around there they are right abreast of me;
there is nothing to explain, nothing to make
up. We start right in just where we left
off the last time, no matter when or where
that was.

Then there are the friends all around me
whose potential good will I feel notwithstanding that barriers of circumstances
have shut off all intercourse. Those many
neighbors I do not really know, all those
clerks in the office I see every day, those
men in the street, the "hustle" playing along
the street as I pass by, the policeman on
the beat, the postman at the door, the
street car conductor, the reporter seeking
an interview, the salesman calling on me,
yes, even the solicitor of charity—they are
all potential every-day friends. And their
active friendliness toward me is limited
only by my capacity for friendliness.

If you think I have fished the truth
a bit as to those every-day friends of mine,
try to imagine life without them. Suppose just for forty-eight hours I were to go
through my regular schedule of life without
any good mornings or good nights, without
ever a smile, with no handshaking, never
a kindly glance, no inquiry after the sick
one at home, no interest in my affairs out-
side of business, no jokes sprung, no stories
exchanged, no jollying, no serious discus-

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF
SOCIALISM.

(Continued from Page 1.)
two funds will be created: one from which
loans will be made to enterprises that are
really for the good of the public, without
interest; and one a universal insurance
fund to provide for the sickness and old
age of all workers.

This world is not a grandfather's clock
which has stopped ever since the days of
Adam Smith. It is a live, progressive
world, and it will keep on progressing all
through those 15,000,000, and may be 100,-
000,000 years.

THE QUESTIONS.

(Continued from Page 1.)
Q: Doesn't the government already prac-
tice Socialism in the parcel post?
A: If you want to call that Socialism.
Q: Do you mean to imply that the So-
cialists think there would be no occasion
for progress in the world after they had
attained their end?
A: No, I think they would want prog-
ress still.
Q: Do you think the single tax would be
an improvement?
A: I think its principle is correct. I do
not believe in the single tax as an economic
system.
Q (Mr. Rea): Do you oppose a return
on property loans while you approve of the
banks' 3 per cent.?
A: I oppose any recompense without a
service. It is a question of fact whether a
service has been rendered in the former
case.
Q (Same): Is the division of capital
into three parts sufficient? Have you recog-
nized the value of man's thought as capital?
A: I was making a scale between kinds
of property in which there is a minimum
of social partnership and those in which
there is a maximum.
Q: What do you believe instead of the
single tax if you believe in its principle?
A: I think the tax on land values is
good but I don't think it should be the only tax.

A COLLEGE PRESIDENT'S OPINION
OF FORD HALL.

President Chase of Bates College, Maine.
靠不住。借入之钱要归还之定律，其依存于土地之所有者之税，其在财产中所有最小之价值及最大之价值之财产，为认定之资本者之税，故，是资本者之税。ProgressBar is 100%

A: I think the tax on land values is no business tax at all, but a tax on life, since it is a tax on the very fabric of society. It is a tax on the very life itself. To impose it is to speculate that life without life is worth living; there would be no heart to keep up the fight. To be stripped of all our everyday friends would strike terror to our souls. Life wouldn't be worth living; there would be no sunshine in our souls and we would have no heart to keep up the fight. Then let us cultivate these friends by being more worthy of them.

Therefore the following is a list of everyday friends of mine, try to imagine life without them. Suppose just for forty-eight hours I were to go through my regular schedule of life without any good mornings or good nights, without ever a smile, with no handshaking, never a kindly glance, no inquiry after the sick, no inquiries, no friendly intercourse with me. Could I stand it for forty-eight hours? Wouldn't I just as soon be put into solitary confinement?

To be stripped of all our everyday friends would strike terror to our souls. Life wouldn't be worth living; there would be no sunshine in our souls and we would have no heart to keep up the fight.

Ford Hall Folks

Edited by Thomas Dreier.

Published weekly by the Ford Hall Associates, whose work is to create, assemble, and distribute ideas that will help men and institutions grow more helpful in serving society, and which will promote peace on earth, good will toward men. It is the official publication of the Ford Hall Meetings, which are held, under the direction of George W. Coleman, every Sunday evening during the months of October to May, in Ford Hall, Ashburton Place, Boston, Massachusetts. All business communications should be sent to Miss Mary C. Crawford, Secretary, Ford Building, Boston, and all communications intended for the editor to The Thomas Dreier Service, University Press, Cambridge, Mass. Subscription Price: $1.00 for 26 numbers.

A COLLEGE PRESIDENT'S OPINION OF FORD HALL.

President Chase of Bates College, Maine, was at the Ford Hall Meeting last Sunday and expressed himself as most enthusiastic over the work we are doing. "The mere coming together," he said, "of so many elements in society tends, when the meetings are held under such wise, kind and firm care as here prevails, to do a great deal of good. Those who are embittered can express themselves and because treated with candor and given a kind reply often lose their bitterness. Moreover, your movement is promotive of reading and of the study of serious social problems. This, in turn, induces a moral earnestness that leads people to wait and weigh methods, and in many cases to discuss the true principle of progress and then to adopt them. Thus improvement along lines which are in harmony with the great laws of society and human nature is substituted for ill-considered methods that would turn out to be aggravators of our difficulties rather than remedies for them."

ADVERTISING

A space of this size—one inch high and two and one-half inches wide—can be had for advertising purposes for one dollar per issue. For information regarding advertising apply to Jacob London, Room 707, Ford Building, Boston, Mass.
THE STORY OF MRS. EVA HOFFMAN.

By Mary C. Crawford.

One interesting thing about the Ford Hall Meetings is that they unite families. This is said to be true, also, of the automobile and of the moving-picture show. But it is peculiarly true of our movement because its appeal and power last through the week. What happened at Ford Hall on Sunday evening last and is going to happen here next Sunday evening is being animatedly discussed, as you read these lines, in hundreds of households all over Greater Boston! Mrs. Eva Hoffman, our energetic Socialist friend, has once or twice brought her "baby," aged seven, to the meetings, often bringing her other daughter, now in her second year at High School, eagerly discusses what is said here with her younger son, who will enter Harvard next year, and reports with pride that her elder son, now a law student at Boston University, has decided to join our Town Meeting debates for the reason that every kind of politics and party view will there be represented. Nor is the head of the Hoffman family without his share in our affairs. On a recent noteworthy Tuesday, he "did what he could for most happily. She believes that nine out of every ten people who become a burden to society might have continued self-sustaining if intelligent individual aid had been given at the proper moment.

A FORUM IN THE PAPER.

Beginning with our next issue we are to have a column of our friends devoted to little letters from the people. Thus our friends at a distance as well as those who share the privileges of our meetings will have a chance to express themselves on the big questions which so deeply interest us all. It has been suggested that we consider first the justice—or injustice—of present pending immigration tests and a number of vital contributions on this topic are now in preparation. But any subject which offers a chance of interesting our readers may be discussed in this department. Write early as side of the paper only: write not more than 150 words, as our space is limited; sign your name and address (not necessarily for publication but as an evidence of good faith), and mail or hand your communications to Miss Crawford so that she will have them each Sunday. Our paper goes to press very early in the week and nothing received later than Sunday night can be used in the following week's issue.

A TALK ON VOCATIONS.

Those who failed to come to the "Folks" meeting last Sunday missed a very interesting half hour. J. Adams Puffer, who knows more about boys than almost any man in Boston—having worked with them as a teacher, a juvenile court visitor, a camp leader and an expert counselor—told us in illuminating fashion how to know the work into which a child should be guided—and then answered a volley of questions from his auditors. He advocated that a life purpose be put into the child as early as possible and that hereditary talent be respected. He deprecated the "white collar tendency" in the choice of work, directed that "blind alley" jobs be carefully avoided and counseled that the possibilities of agriculture as a vocation be considered by the very many—too many—who now choose professional. It was a valuable and suggestive little talk and the Ford Hall Folks are very grateful to Mr. Puffer for coming out to give it to us.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SPEAKER.

Prof. Edward A. Steiner, who will speak sympathetic. More than that, it was to the inside, not superficial. One speech, alluded somewhat slightly to the character of the lodgers at the ordinary lodging house and queried the wisdom of any measures for their relief. The reply, however, were quick and effective. One citizen, cut and well groomed, both physically and mentally, related his experiences when circumstances over which he later was compelled to accept the hospitality (?) of the lodging house. Another citizen passionately took to task the system which, aided by the saloon, brought about such conditions. But they all spoke from the heart and from a profound personal knowledge of the evils discussed.

The second measure was an order providing for the establishment of evening centers in the schools, and was referred to the Committee on Education, of which Henry Schnittkind is chairman.

OTHER MEETINGS.


Sunday Commons, Huntington Champlain Hall, Sunday, February 8, at 3.30 p.m., F. Charles Fleischer, leader.


Lowell Institute, Huntington Hall, February 2, and Thursday, February 5, at 5 p.m., Mohammadism, by G. Hurgronje. Monday, February 2, at 8 p.m., The Common Law, by Roscoe Conkling. Tuesday, February 3, and Friday, February 6, at 8 p.m., Sound Analysis, by Doris Miller.
head of the Hoffman family without his share in our affairs. On a recent noteworthy Tuesday, he “did what he could for Boston and our leader” — and he managed to be the only member of the Hoffman family who could do just that particular thing. Though Mrs. Hoffman organized, some time ago, an Alice Stone Blackwell circle for suffrage work, she has not yet been able to get herself a vote.

Mostly, however, Mrs. Hoffman gets what she goes after. She was who led the recent fight against the exorbitant price of meat that resulted in a chain of co-operative butcher stores being started for the Jewish people; the one in Brockton is still in successful operation by reason of the fact that local conditions in that town are favorable to advantageous buying.

Helping individuals, though, is the thing, which Mrs. Hoffman does best and most happily. She believes that nine out of every ten people who become a burden to society might have continued self-sustaining if intelligent individual aid had been given at the proper moment. “I say that I must save two persons a year from pauperism,” she confides, “and mostly I have been able to do that.”

What a record for a woman without means, who, in addition to caring for her large family, helps her husband by conducting one of his two photographic studios. The family home is connected with the Boston studio, in the heart of Boston’s Ghetto, and so Mrs. Hoffman, by night as well as by day, is accessible to every poor immigrant who lacks a friend. When an interpreter is needed by some one too poor to pay for such service, Mrs. Hoffman is called upon and answers the call. If money must be found to send a consumptive to California or to set up a deserted wife in a little candy business it is Mrs. Hoffman who undertakes and carries through the job. She knows how it feels to be a poor immigrant in a strange land, for she came to this country from Russia, an orphan of thirteen, and during her teens made her living as a garment worker. She understands better than almost any other person in Boston, too, the psychology of woman’s nature. To hear her plead for her special interest at this moment, a poor woman who refuses to give up to charity the baby to whom she has been a foster-mother—is to have your heartstrings wrung! But Mrs. Hoffman believes in the coming of a day when things will be much better: and, somehow, as you talk with her, you believe in such a day, too.

E. L. Grimes Company, Printers, 122 Pearl Street, Boston, Mass.
FEBRUARY 8.—Prof. Edward A. Sewall, Grinnell College, Iowa, a man who has been characterized as "one of the best authorities in the United States on the subject of immigration," will come this time taking for his topic "The Inter-Mind and the Inter-Racial Heart." Dr. Sewall was born in Austria and lived and studied in the world before settling down to his profession as professor of applied Christianity in a Western College. He has written one of the best books on the subject of Tolstoy, whom he knew well, and he is full of stories that are near my heart.

FEBRUARY 15 is the date of a symposium which we think ought to be the best thing of its kind we have ever had on our platform. "Breeding Men" is to be the subject of the evening and Dr. Hugh Cabot, Dr. De Witt G. Wilcox and Rev. Edward Cummins are the three speakers who will participate. Dr. Cabot's subject is "The Problems of Sex Education," Dr. Wilcox's "The Stouner of Venereal Disease" and Mr. Cummins' "The Responsibilities of Parenthood." Dr. Cabot is well known for the advanced position he has taken in Boston concerning the necessity of education in sex matters. Dr. Wilcox will be remembered as having once before given sane and sound advice from this platform concerning health, happiness and the problems of Edward Everett Hale in the pulpit of the Congregational Church—was formerly for 30 years professor of sociology at Harvard, for that post by a protracted period of service in France, Italy and Germany and by winter of residence at Toynbee Hall in London's Whitechapel district. He knows the handicaps that environment often presents, the secreted parenthood and seems fitted, in quite another fashion, therefore, to set an intelligent ethic standard for all fathers.

FEBRUARY 22.—Charles Brandon Booth, who, from being associated for many years with his mother, Maud Ballington Booth, in her remarkable work for prisoners, knows thoroughly the life,—in prison and after,—of hundreds of men who have broken Society's laws, will tell us about the problems of Parole, of prison discipline and of rehabilitation when the sentence has been served as they present themselves to his clear vision. "The Case for the Prisoner" is a recital which will start you to the