

THE SOCIALIST

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

National Secretary, v. Mahlon Barnes, 180 Washington Street, Chicago.

OUR CANDIDATES:

For President **EUGENE V. DEBS**
For Vice-President **BENJAMIN HANFORD**
For Governor of New York, **JOSHUA WANHOPE**

GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1888	2,038	1896	34,564
1892	21,157	1900	96,961
1904			408,230

WE WILL REMEMBER OUR BRAVE MARTYRS.

George A. Pettibone died as truly a martyr of the labor movement as if the Western Mine Owners had succeeded in their infernal scheme and railroaded him and his brave companions to the gallows. It is possible that in any case he would ultimately have died from the terrible disease which actually ended his life; but nothing is more certain than that the progress of the disease was greatly hastened and his span of life shortened, perhaps by many years, by the close confinement, the hardships, the humiliations, the weary waiting, the anxious alternations of hope and fear, which he endured throughout the twenty-two months of his imprisonment.

It is sad to think that, splendid as was the defense put up for him and Moyer and Haywood and Adams by the working class of the country, and complete as was the vindication finally won for them, yet that triumph could not save poor Pettibone for even a few years of life and freedom, nor can it restore to his associates in that terrible ordeal the time they lost in the Idaho bastille. That is one item—how great in itself, yet how comparatively small in the sum total of the miseries of our class—one item in the long account we have to settle with the capitalist system.

We do not wish for vengeance. Vengeance is a poor thing; it heals no wounds, it restores no losses, seldom does it even teach a lesson. But we do not forget our wrongs. We keep the record of them against the day when the masters shall plead with us, in the day of our strength and their terror—when they shall plead for more than justice, for merciful and generous consideration.

In that day we shall remember how they dealt with this brother of ours, and we shall say to them: "When you were in power you knew not the name of mercy. Your hands are red with blood. Be content, then—be more than content, be thankful from the depths of your cruel hearts—if we are willing to forgive the past and to give you a chance by honest work and submission to the common will to wipe out the memory of your guilt."

Capitalist papers in this country as well as in England are solemnly predicting bankruptcy for the British Empire as a result of the old-age pensions plan which the Labor party forced the Government to carry through Parliament. The pensions, it is calculated, will cost the treasury the sum of \$30,000,000 a year. The same capitalist spokesmen who brand it as criminal and ruinous extravagance to spend this sum in relieving superannuated working people applaud the spending of \$139,000,000 a year on the British army and \$160,000,000 on the navy. Comment is unnecessary.

When Whitelaw Reid wanted to be elected Vice-President, he unionized the office of the "Tribune," which he had before stubbornly run as a "rat" sheet. Since William Jennings Bryan has got the nomination for the Presidency, he has stopped booming the circula-

tion of the Butterick publications. But so lately as when the "Commoner" of July 3 went to press, he saw nothing wrong in a spokesman of the "great common people" giving aid and comfort to a firm that had for over two years been doing all in its power to defeat the struggle of the printers for the eight-hour day.

THIS MAY SHOCK YOU, BUT THINK IT OVER.

just remind him that it is—but a paraphrase of a famous patriotic toast which he has probably often drunk in good champagne. The original version was, "Our country, right or wrong!" There was a time when that sentiment was justified, because the country was, on the whole, essentially right, and stood for the interest of all its citizens and for the highest interests of humanity. That time is past. So far as the working masses of the people are concerned, "our" country has been stolen from us—stolen under forms of law and constitution, but stolen none the less—and is to-day the property of a small part of the people, administered for their benefit at the expense of the masses whose labor maintains it. To-day a true workingman's first allegiance, and the first allegiance of any man who loves the liberty that America once stood for, is to the working class. It is the vital, progressive and constructive element in the nation's life. It has made mistakes. It will make more mistakes, no doubt. But it is fundamentally right, and its experience teaches it to correct these mistakes. Therefore we say with our Vice-Presidential candidate, "The working class, may it ever be right! But, right or wrong, the working class!" For we know that, at the worst, it is more right than wrong, and that its success will mean the triumph of the right it essentially stands for and the elimination of the wrong with which it is incidentally contaminated under capitalist society.

"Order reigns in Warsaw," wrote Muravieff after shooting and hanging till the streets were red and the executioners weary. "Prosperity is restored and industrial peace is assured," say the Pittsburg manufacturers, after starving the workingmen into submission to a sweeping wage reduction.

MR. GOMPERS AND HIS CRITICS.

President Gompers indignantly protests that he has not tried to "deliver the labor vote" to the Democratic party. 'Tis well, for he could not have done so if he had tried. We fully recognize that a good deal of the criticism of Gompers' action in this matter has come from labor "leaders" for whom we have even less respect than for him—from men who, for an expected consideration in cash or appointive office, are trying to "swing" some part of the labor vote to Taft. But Gompers has himself to blame if these men now have him on the hip and can quote his own utterances for many years past against his present action. When it was a question of the workingmen in their unions going directly into politics for their own class upon a platform truly representing their class interests, Gompers always joined in the cry of "No politics in the union"—a cry which always meant, in fact, the dragging of the union into capitalist politics by unscrupulous union officers for the benefit of one section or the other of the capitalist class. And what Gompers now proposes, if not corrupt in motive as these were, is at least as illogical from the point of view of the working class.

It is utterly inconsistent with his old position. And it is not,

an advance on his old position. Instead of advising the workingmen to divide their votes among the different parties of the master class, he now advises them to concentrate their votes in support of one of the parties of the master class. So, while we consider a number of his critics within the labor movement considerably worse than himself, we cannot much pity him as he suffers from their attacks. We find it rather a case for crying "Sick 'em!" to both sides and hoping they may both succeed as well as did the famous Kilkenny cats.

"The best way to raise wages is to increase dividends," gravely declares the New York "Times." Sure. The best way to keep your cake is to let the other fellow eat more of it. The best way to enlarge your bank account is to give someone else authority to draw checks in your name. The best way to nourish your body is to eat less. The best way to keep warm in winter is to let the fire go out and open the windows. All these propositions are as incontrovertibly true as that which the "Times" lays down.

"I cannot go into the atmosphere of a courtroom," says Mr. Taft, "without a feeling of deep regret that I ever left it. I cannot refrain from commenting on what was to me, excepting only the family relation, the most intimate friendship and the sweetest relation I have ever experienced in my life." Wonder how many of the workingmen against whom he handed down decisions appreciate the sweetness of the thing.

IT IS FUN FOR US TO HEAR BRYAN WARN HEARST.

half of Mr. Hearst himself two and three years ago, solemnly addressed to the Socialists.

In 1900 these gentlemen who are now lauding their own alleged independence used to assure us that Debs could not possibly be elected, that Bryan had a good chance, that, while Bryan might not represent all that we desired, yet we must surely admit that his triumph would be preferable to that of McKinley, and that every vote cast for Debs was a vote against Bryan and therefore in effect a vote for McKinley. In 1905, in New York City, they sang the same song to us on behalf of Hearst as candidate for the Mayoralty; every vote for our own candidate, they told us, was just as bad as a vote for Tammany's man. In 1906, when Hearst had again become, for the time being, a "regular" Democrat and was candidate for Governor, we were yet again reproached for putting a Socialist ticket in the field; whereas in the preceding year a Socialist vote had been practically a vote for Tammany, now, we were told, a Socialist vote amounted to the same thing as a vote for the Republican party.

We never took these reproaches very seriously. We always smilingly replied that a vote for the Socialist candidates was a vote for Socialism and against both the capitalist parties alike. That we were voting FOR something, not merely against something. That we were voting for what we wanted, and would steadfastly decline to vote for one thing that we did not want in order to oppose something else that we did not want. But those eminently "practical" reformers, the Hearst men, were not satisfied; they insisted that it was very wicked of us to "split" the vote of the "plain people" by standing for our principles without fusion or compromise.

And now here comes Mr. Bryan, on whose behalf they used to protest, and says unto them:

"The question that must confront the member of the Independence party is this: Will he assist in the defeat of the Democratic party, which stands for so much that he favors, merely because he cannot get all that he would like? Either the Democratic party or the Republican party will win. The voter who joins with the Independence party merely assists the Republicans and thus defeats several of the reforms in which he is interested.

"Take for instance the plank in favor of the election of Senators by

The argument is just as good in Bryan's mouth and used against Hearst as it ever was when Hearst and his followers used it against the Socialists. A little better, in fact; for, after all, Bryan and Hearst are alike in this, that they are both merely negative radicals, protesting against something, trying to destroy something, but without any constructive policy in view, while the Socialist party stands and always has stood for something very definite and positive.

It never was a good argument. But we should really like to

see what twists and turns Hearst would resort to in trying to refute Bryan without at the same time condemning his own past.

For us, we stand where we always have stood—for Socialism, for the immediate interests and the ultimate interests of the working class, and against capitalism in all its forms and all the parties that uphold it. We call upon the workingmen to vote for the party of their own class, not to throw their votes away in an attempt to choose the least objectionable among the various parties of capitalism.

We fail to see why it should be generally assumed that the Socialist party draws more from the Democrats than it does from the Republicans. There are two good reasons why the reverse should be the case: First, the Republican party has more voters for us to draw from; second, the Republican party having been in power, it is natural that its followers in the ranks of the working class should be more disillusionized than the Democratic voters, who may still imagine that if their party had a chance it might accomplish something for them. As a matter of fact, our observation leads us to believe that it is about equally easy to make a Socialist out of a Democrat or out of a Republican, once he begins to think of things as they are, instead of dreaming of things as his father thought they were.

Francis Darwin proposes to prove that plants have intelligence. If he succeeds in establishing this thesis we shall have to revise our vocabulary. There will no longer be any sense in calling a workingman a "cabbage-head" when he votes an old-party ticket.

The workingman who supports the Socialist party and neglects the unions and the workingman who supports the unions and neglects the party are pretty nearly on a par. Each of them proposes that the working class shall try to fight with one arm tied behind its back.

No union is on a really firm basis until it can insist on the employment of union men exclusively, for its own and for other crafts, on every job. In order to make this both just and practicable, it must be made easy for every workingman to join the union. Otherwise the union stultifies itself and violates its own principles.

If Henry Ward Beecher, who was a brave and manly man, whatever his faults, can look down at his old pulpit and see the snobbish Hillis maligning the labor movement in order to please the rich men who wine and dine him, how the old preacher must long to come back to Brooklyn for one more good fight.

OUT OF THE MOUTH OF THE CANDIDATE HIMSELF.

Mr. Taft has formally accepted the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and has given to a waiting nation the letter defining his position which, according to all reports, he has worked so hard in preparing and which has been submitted to President Roosevelt and received the cachet of his approval. It is an interesting document—in a way. It bears the marks of the President's hand, with all the familiar self-laudation, altered only by the change from the first personal pronoun to the third.

There is much in the letter upon which we may take occasion to comment. To-day we confine our attention to one passage, which should be of especial interest to any workingmen or any other lovers of liberty and fair play who may still imagine that Mr. Roosevelt's domination over the Republican party means anything in the direction of relief from the judicial usurpation which has so gravely encroached upon the civil rights of the American people in recent years.

Says Judge Taft:

"The reason for exercising or refusing to exercise the power of the injunction must be found in the character of the unlawful injury and not in the character or class of persons who inflict the injury. The man whose business is being unlawfully injured is entitled to the remedies which the law has already given him.

"Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack on the judicial system as the proposal to interject jury trial between all orders of the courts made after the full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

There speaks the judge—the man who has sat long upon the bench, who has enjoyed the exercise of that arbitrary power which the black gown imparts, and who values the prerogatives of the court above the rights or interests of the people.

The reason for exercising the injunction power must be found, says Judge Taft, in the character of the unlawful injury, not in the character or class of persons who inflict it. That sounds as if it meant even-handed justice. But think a moment. Who is to decide as to the unlawful character of the alleged injury? The judge, and

the judge alone. And who is to decide as to the fact of an injury being inflicted or intended, and as to the fact of the accused person having intended or inflicted it? The judge, and the judge alone. For, says Judge Taft, to propose that a jury should be called in to decide upon these questions is an insidious attack upon the judicial system.

If the judge says that the commission of a certain act would inflict unlawful injury, and issues an injunction forbidding that act, then by the judge's word the act becomes unlawful, whether it was so before or not. And if the judge believes (or says he believes) that a certain man has committed an "unlawful" act, as thus defined, then at the judge's uncontrolled discretion or whim, the accused man must go to jail without any possibility of appeal to a jury of his peers.

Let us thank Judge Taft for speaking so plainly in this matter. After this there ought to be no question as to what the Republican "labor plank" means. It means approval for the system which denies accused men the right of jury trial whenever and wherever a judge can be found to refuse it—and such judges are not hard to find.

District Attorney Jerome says that equality of rich and poor before the law is an empty phrase. That is very true. We did not need a Jerome to tell us that. What we want to know is, What did William Travers Jerome ever do to make such equality a fact? For instance, How about that trail that he was going to follow into the private offices of the Metropolitan? After seven years, it is still an untrodden path, so far as Mr. Jerome is concerned.

The only way to guard against throwing your vote away is to vote for the party that stands for what you stand for. To vote for something that you don't want in order to avoid something else that you don't want is to do worse than throw your vote away.

TYPES OF WHOSE PEOPLE, MR. HEARST?

"These candidates are of the best types of our people," says Mr. Hearst's "American," speaking of Thomas L. Hisgen and John Temple Graves, the candidates of Mr. Hearst's Dependence party. Mr. Hisgen, Mr. Hearst carefully explains, is not a lawyer; "he has acquired a close knowledge of the law, but he is a business man." As for Mr. Graves—no; beg pardon, Colonel Graves; we mustn't forget a Southern gentleman's title—as for Colonel Graves, he understands the law, but he is not a lawyer; he is "a journalist of the widest experience"—an experience, Mr. Hearst forgets to say, which included the most shameful advocacy of lynching and race persecution in his own state of Georgia.

Now against these men, the prosperous oil dealer and the fire-eating editor, the Socialist party sets up its candidates—Eugene V. Debs, who got his education in the locomotive cab, and Benjamin Hanford, who got his in the printing office.

We are willing to concede the well-to-do oil merchant and the shifty journalist to Mr. Hearst as typical representatives of the class he caters to. But Debs and Hanford are of the finest types of OUR people, types of honest, brave, thoughtful, loyal workingmen. It is for the workingmen to say which type they prefer.

Almost as bad as the "scab," in the eyes of a loyal workingman, is the "sucker"—the man who is always trying to "make himself solid" with the boss, even at the expense of his fellow workmen.

THERE IS A HOOK INSIDE THIS BAIT.

Receiver Whitridge has paused long enough from his arduous task of demoralizing the trolley service and cutting off transfer privileges to work out a scheme of insurance and pensions for the employees of the various traction lines which he controls. Each employee will be asked to contribute fifty cents a month out of his meager pay. If fifty per cent. of the men join, the company will at the end of each month pay in half as much as the men have given; if seventy-five per cent. of the men join, the company will give three-quarters as much as the men do; and if at least eighty per cent. of the men come in, the company's contribution will just equal theirs. The fund thus established will be used, first, to pay men at the rate of \$1.50 a day when they are sick; second, to provide for a payment to the family of any member dying in the company's service; third, to establish a pension fund. The fund will be held and controlled by a board of seven directors, four of whom will be named by the company and three by the men. Perhaps some of the traction employees will be fooled by this

announcement into believing that the receiver and the bondholders whom he represents are really and sincerely interested in their welfare. The bait may tempt them, and they may not be wary enough to look for the hook that it conceals.

Pension and benefit systems paid for in greater part out of the men's wages and administered by the employers are among the favorite means by which astute capitalists control their workingmen and paralyze in advance any attempts at organization for the protection of wages and conditions of employment.

Receiver Whitridge counts that every man who comes into his paternalistic insurance and pension association will be under his thumb from that time on. The man who for a long time has been giving up half a dollar a month to the fund and who knows that the company can at any time discharge him and so deprive him of any hope to benefit by it in time of need, will, Mr. Whitridge figures, be very slow to identify himself with any independent organization of the men which would in the slightest degree antagonize the company's interests. The company will thus always have its "safe" men in the ranks of its employees to help it in gradually piling more work on their shoulders and, when a good occasion offers itself, to cut down their wages.

The apparent generosity of the company in offering to contribute to the fund half or three-quarters as much as the men pay in is entirely illusory. Not only is it a good investment, in view of the control which it will give the company over the employees' actions. Even without taking that into account, it is a good stroke of finance. The fund will be controlled by a board the majority of whose members are officers of the company and the rest employees under the company's direct influence. Needless to say, it will be invested in such a way as to be at the company's disposal in any financial operations it may have on hand. It will simply add so much to the available capital of the company, without costing the stockholders and bondholders a red cent. Moreover, the disbursements from this fund will be entirely at the will of the company. If ever the company finds that the payments for sick and death benefits and pensions are getting a little heavier than suits its purposes, all it has to do is to find pretexts for discharging a lot of the older employees who are members of the association and who are most likely to fall sick or die or to pass the age limit and become pensionable. The company of course gives no man a guarantee of continued employment. It simply invites each of them to lend it fifty cents a month on the chance that it may choose to keep him on the rolls and to give him some relief, absolutely at its own interest or whim, in case of sickness or old age.

If traction workers of New York take this bait, they will deserve the laugh in which Mr. Whitridge and Messrs. Belmont and Ryan will certainly indulge at their expense behind their backs. If the workingmen exercise ordinary common sense they will give Mr. Whitridge's little scheme the go-by and will vote for the establishment of a system of government workingmen's insurance, to be administered by their own chosen agents and without any possibility of discrimination, such as the Socialist party advocates.

Considering how much Mr. Hearst loves the working people—we know he does, for Mr. Brisbane says so in the copyrighted Hearst editorials—we would have expected that Mr. Hearst's copyrighted Dependence party would have given at least one of the two places on its tickets to a workingman. But not so. The workingmen are good enough to buy his paper and give him their votes—if they are also foolish enough to do so. But for his candidates—the finest types of HIS people, to use his own phrase—he must have a man who has prospered at letting other people work for him in the oil industry and a man who has made a good thing out of writing editorials urging white men to shoot and hang and burn "niggers."

Newspapers which applauded Roosevelt's declaration that the United States must have a large navy in order to avoid war have almost simultaneously discovered that the efforts of Brazil and Argentina to enlarge their navies is a sure sign of warlike intentions on the part of those two republics. Curious, but perhaps the geographers can explain why it is that north of the equator warships mean peace and on the other side they mean battle.

Dr. Coley proposes to cure cancer patients by giving them erysipelas. Well, that's as sensible as to try to cure the nation of the evils of Republican maladministration by inflicting Democratic misrule upon it.

The Socialist who stays outside the Socialist party organization has no right to say a word in criticism of anything that organization does. Yet, we have observed that these are just the people who are most free with criticism.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS TO ME.

By PROF. V. KARAPETOFF of Cornell University.

The present form of society is not the first and not the last one. Many of the former days have been eliminated, many are still with us. The greatest problem of to-day is to deliver humanity from the humiliating and brutalizing struggle for existence.

Co-operation must take the place of competition in industrial activity; international sympathy and confidence must replace hatred and distrust. This is the program of Socialism in a nutshell.

Socialism does not encroach upon your individuality and freedom, nor upon your views of God, man and the universe. It merely strives to establish such social and economic conditions as are best conducive to a harmonious and unhampered development of man's nature.

Are you among the fortunate few who are provided for to the end of their days, and who can plan and do whatever they please? Even so, the burden of the nation is upon you. Your sense of justice revolts against your undeserved privileges; your joys being not shared lose their savor. Lonely you stride from one end of the earth to the other, trying in vain to find satisfaction in extravagance and new sensations.

Are you among the millions of toilers, overworked, ignorant, poorly paid, not secure of to-morrow? Also, higher problems of being—nay, the most legitimate pleasures of life—are not for you. Isolated you groan like slaves under a taskmaster's lash; united, you show your teeth like wild beasts, and behave with the ethics of a pack of wolves.

Or do you belong to the industrious middle class, working diligently at your appointed trade, contented with the fruits of your labor, enjoying the modest comfort of your homes? I do not envy you, for I see two vile worms gnawing day and night in your heart's heart. The worm of greed and ambition strains your powers, depriving you of the happy hours of contentment and rest; the worm of fear of poverty bites you mercilessly, and makes you commit acts against which your whole nature revolts.

From the early days in which each savage saw an enemy in any other human being up to the Socialist doctrine which seeks to unite the whole civilized world into one friendly co-operative organism, there is but one continuous development of sympathy and co-operation.

The idea of international political sympathy has already taken a good hold on the civilized nations. The necessity and advantages of economic sympathy and co-operation have become evident only recently, with the wonderful growth of industries and the progress in transportation. It is this economic sympathy that Socialism has put on its banner.

Our is the time of associations, combinations, agreements, unions, wherein certain persons unite their efforts for a common useful purpose. But as long as such organizations remain private and limited the benefit of some is derived at the expense of other groups of the population. Socialism proposes to take one step further, to combine all the existing useful organizations, and to manage them for the welfare of the whole people.

Nobody objects that the Standard Oil Company produces and sells oil, nor that it is using the most perfect methods of production, distribution and accounting. People object that the benefits derived from such a perfect organization go not to the whole people, nor even to the employees of the concern, but to a few owners of it; these owners in some cases may not have contributed anything to the success of the undertaking.

Even now people in each township, county, State and nation are organized for numerous useful purposes; the work is conducted for the benefit of all concerned, without any idea of gain or exploitation. Schools, police, water works, highways, national defense, international postal agreement are but a few familiar examples in this country. In Europe and Australasia we find in addition railways, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, steel mills, food and clothing factories, etc., owned by the people.

In proportion as various important human activities become national or international in their scope, or seriously affect the population of a locality, it is time for the people to exercise control over them, to "socialize" them. The form of control is a matter of expediency, and must be decided from time to time by competent, public-spirited men, elected by the people.

There is plenty to do for every

man or woman on earth, and a reasonable amount of daily work produces enough goods to supply the necessary food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, as soon as the important industries will be run by the people themselves the most vital problem of human existence will be satisfactorily solved.

Honest, intelligent effort in local, national and international politics must be devoted now primarily to spreading a clear understanding of the advantages of industrial co-operation and of the public control of important industries. Ways and means must be worked out by which industries may be socialized without serious economic disturbances or injustice to the present owners.

I believe that a gradual change from private to public ownership will bring to the masses the following beneficial results:

Shorter hours of labor and a steady employment.

Less worry and less struggle for existence.

More human dignity and a higher conception of citizenship.

Purer morals, happier family life and better homes.

Better opportunities for higher thought, study and development of individuality.

Incidentally Socialism will achieve some important social and political reforms, such as prevention of child labor, old age pensions, woman suffrage, initiative and referendum, limitation of bequests, free administration of justice, etc.

Socialism is inevitable and will gain ground in proportion as the new generations assimilate the idea of co-operation and learn to see in it the best way for the progress of the individual and the race.

For these reasons I unreservedly welcome the activity of the Socialist party of America.

PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

By PETER E. BURROWES.

Between satisfaction and desire there is a space where all the wisely active men of the world engage themselves. I would not linger outside of its borders.

I would neither build me a stone house in the land of satisfaction nor pitch the frailest tent in that of desire, if while in the one I cannot see the other.

The writer of our famous American phrase, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" built better than he knew. For it is not until after you have secured life and liberty that you can even commence the pursuit of happiness. Happiness is the ardor of a wooing that never wins, a fervor of doing that is never done. The life and liberty of the race, achieving incomprehensible progress through me in my pursuit—this is happiness.

Happiness, like every other great good of mankind, is primarily an experience of the worker. Have you ever run, full of alacrity and glad, good expectation, in the dawn of the morning, to continue the unfinished task of yesterday?

One man finds not happiness in things that are finished, but he finds it in ceasing to be one man, by projecting himself into the endless movement of things without. Ego externalization is happiness, and as this is a perpetual effort and pursuit it has no other finality than the daily glow of a joyous achievement.

I cannot think of a happy dog. When I look into the face of my poor afflicted brother-of-the-proletaire, the horse, I cannot clear myself of a feeling of pain concerning the mute sorrow of that animal's life. The dog's servility and eagerness and fear give him more whimpering than barking joy. Man alone can be happy, and then only in striving to live outside of himself.

There is an incomprehensible movement outside of us. It is the movement, the program, the progress of the general common life of man as a race, in harmony with the universe as a common life. Our capacity as individuals will never comprehend it, though the logic of science, surmising what it knows not

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

CHICAGO, Aug. 4.—While an increase of 2,638 in the vote of either of the old parties means no more than the falling off of that number, that number of new members added to the Socialist party during July is mighty significant. It not only means so many fixed votes but means that many new propagandists and that many more contributors to the financial support and correspondingly so much more activity in the work.

The receipts of the National Office for dues stamps for the month of February, 1908, was \$2,178.55. That sum exceeded all previous records by \$293.55. The receipts for dues for the month of July, just closed, was \$2,310.45. July therefore tops the high water mark by the sum of \$131.90, representing an increased membership of 2,638, and a total of 46,209 good standing members.

A state charter has been granted to Nevada, a state organization having been formed at the recent convention at Sparks. A referendum is being conducted by the National Office for the election of state officers for New Mexico, a state organization having been formed in the recent convention at Willard.

Charters have been granted to locals in unorganized states, since last report, as follows: Valentine, Neb., 5 members; O'Neill, Neb., 5 members; Felton, Ga., 7 members; Elgin, Neb., 8 members; Gering, Neb., 10 members; Alma, Neb., 12 members; Aurora, N. C., 5 members; Norfolk, Neb., 7 members; Page, Neb., 14 members; Clayton, N. M., 7 members; Alnsworth, Neb., 8 members.

As the organization work is being pushed with great activity, there is every reason to believe that the membership will soon touch the 50,000 mark.

from what it knows; and the faith of Socialism surmising the society that shall be from the society that most unworthily is now, and ought not to be, pursues it.

Passing, pursuing, working along logical lines of public life from everlastingly renewed antecedent to everlastingly renewed consequent—this is the happiness of man, the life of non-achievement, the life pursuit, where ego inherits a place in the universal life, keeping pace with the grand march of all things together. It is right here, and thus, that man becomes immortal and is happy.

A PROTEST AND A VOW.

By JOHN W. BODFISH.

O Poverty, thou hast enslaved and ruined full many a life that promised fair, and but for thee had reproduced its seed an hundredfold and blessed Creation's whole!

Wherefore, I hate thee, Poverty, and as I come to know thee more, my hatred of thee grows.

I who address thee thus was in thy youth caught in thy cruel clutch, thou not with such security as most; yet how I yearned for my deliverance.

At last (how long it seemed to wait), Fortune deigns me a smile and seems to promise me emancipation—not full emancipation; nay, for that can never come to one until it comes to all.

Therefore, in Freedom's name, O Poverty, I vow with all the strength that is or may be mine, to wage unceasing and relentless war on thee until thy end or mine.

Full well I know thy cause, and Greed's far-reaching power; but Reason's power outreaches that of Greed; and while Greed has a place in Nature's wise economy, that place is far below the reasoning human's plane. If I may help humanity to comprehend this truth, thy end is sure, and I shall be content. For then shall all find place at Earth's abundant and exhaustless board, which is the common right in Reason's realm.

BOY WANTED.

Small Boy—Ma says they've got a new baby girl at the grocer's.

Small Girl—My, isn't that funny? Will they have to keep it?

Small Boy—Of course, silly. Why?

Small Girl—'Cause there's a card in the window with "Boy Wanted" on it.



THIS WAS REAL TACT.

"I—er—wish to look at some false hair," said the embarrassed young woman.

"Very well, miss," rejoined the diplomatic salesman. "What shade does your friend wish?"—London Opinion.

NOT A BIRD.

"There was a strange man here to see you to-day, papa," said little Ethel, as she ran to meet her father in the hall.

"Did he have a bill?"

"No, papa; he had just a plain nose."

—Union Signal.



WOMAN'S INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

By LUELLA R. KREHBIEL.

I believe in a movement that is strictly class-conscious, scientific, that makes no concessions. But I am wearied by the dogmatic carper in the Socialist ranks who is more iconoclastic than constructive, more dictatorial than common-sensible, and who denounces every thing that is not initiated under his personal dictatorship nor expressed in his own phraseology.

We have many who are Socialists in theory, but who, in practice, would have been as despotic as the most iron-handed capitalist had they but occupied the favored position. Our carper, who is often as bigoted and despotic as the orthodox Pharisee, would make the laboring man's movement academic, narrow, and as in-adaptable to the needs of the times as the orthodox and old party movements.

Some of our carpers declare that woman is of little consequence, an impossible incubus, and a waste of time.

Woman, who nurtures the race into being, and from whom it must draw its powers and its inspiration, has through centuries of degradation been deprived of freedom and opportunity for development. She could not own her own body, and her divine maternal capacities have been ravaged in ways the female brute never suffered. Woman has been the victim of both physical and industrial oppression, and when you limit an individual and get him to believe that he is inherently weak and depraved, you rob him of his powers and his individuality.

A stream can never rise higher than its source, and something was never yet born of nothing.

A subject motherhood means a subject race. The poor little fellows born of subject mothers were so illogical that they did not realize that if their mothers did not have souls they could not have any either. As long as women are of little consequence their sons will amount to but little more. The sons born of a subject motherhood have filled the world with war, crime, vice, insanity and imbecility.

Socialism would secure every man and woman in employment and in the products of their labor, and then neither men nor women would have to sell themselves. The people must own the machinery and duplicate it everywhere and let the people work until there is plenty for all, and under this condition the people, instead of the capitalists, would own the products of labor just as we do the stamps, and all who have produced would have access to their products.

Socialism is not a movement run in behalf of the spoil hunters, but a real, scientific adjustment that would justify every producer.

The old parties have promised so much and done so little that the workers of the country rightly believe there is "nothing in politics," but Socialism is a scientific proposition.

It is the first movement in the world's history that has ever stood for the justification and liberation of woman, and its message should be carried to every woman who is sold in the home of the brothel, or who is enslaved in the factory, sweat-shop or cotton-field. How many women in every stage of life are suffering the anguish of sex degradation, how many of them are enslaved until life becomes a curse instead of a blessing, how many are tortured in their anxiety for employment and the necessities of life; but how few of them know there is a way of liberation?

In my years of experience in suffrage, social purity, and industrial work, I have learned the truth of the conditions whereof I speak. The Socialist women of this country should band themselves together and put forth every possible effort to carry this message to their yet unknowing sisters.

We have millions of sisters in the homes, factories and sporting houses, most of whom are both industrial and sexual slaves who have not yet received the message of hope and deliverance. There is a great work this is especially woman's work, and the Socialist women of our land should come together and never stop until literature and the word of hope is car-

ried to every one of these oppressed women.

I have just received a letter from a sister comrade who says that she has given literature and shown the way out to twenty women in the last two months. Why could not all do this much and more? And we have women's departments in several of our Socialist papers, and your work could be reported in them. There is no time for indifference while humanity suffers. Let us bear the message of deliverance.

THE POWER OF WOMAN.

By DR. ANNA MERCY.

There is at last an awakening the world over to the fact that woman is a human being entitled to the rights and privileges extended to other human beings.

That woman has the brains, the capacity, and talent to pursue an active life, no one can deny. That she forms the more important part of humanity is also becoming a recognized fact. Any one who has in his hands the molding of the minds and characters of children has in his power the formation of humanity. When we study the history of the world we find that the perpetuation of certain forms of society was primarily due to the education of children. This is particularly true in regard to religion. The Catholics and Protestants have exerted, and do so to-day, all their force to the instilling into children's minds their particular doctrines. I attended a church convention one day and heard of the remarkable efforts which are being made to secure children, in order to instill them with religious ideas. The giving of a week's vacation to thousands of poor children was one of the schemes.

It becomes evident, then, that woman who controls the young people during their most plastic period, is indeed a power to be reckoned with. May we not go further and say that as long as woman is ignorant, superstitious and thoughtless, our society will be the same? And from this we may infer that the slavery of the world is nothing more nor less than the slavery of woman.

We want to make woman free, we want to open wider fields of action and interest, we want her to have a voice in the government of the country, and other things which she may want, as a broad social life, club privileges, etc. It is with this desire in our hearts that a dozen of us girls have begun a campaign in her behalf. We take our cause into the streets, where the average man and woman may hear and wake up. But we want to form a big organization so that we may become a power in the State, and have our wishes respected. Therefore we would like to have every man and woman who feels the absolute necessity of the freedom of woman to join us and work. The temporary headquarters of the East Side Equal Rights League is at 130 West Houston street, where you may call at any time, or write for information.

Our outdoor meetings are held every Friday evening in Rutgers Square, East Broadway and Essex Street. You are cordially invited to attend and work for woman's emancipation, which means the hastening of Socialism.

WHAT TO DO.

What will the switchmen have to do to get some legislation through, to put three men on every crew and other things which they want, too?
Vote for Socialism.

How can they get a raise in pay, throw their old dinner cans away and go home to their meals and stay and only work four hours a day?
Vote for Socialism.

THEY APPRECIATE GENE.

If the use of language to express thought is an art, Mr. Debs is an artist. If oratory is a science, he is a master of the science. If eloquence reaches and takes hold of the hearts and emotions of mankind, Mr. Debs has that which will make his auditors stand and deliver the goods.—Detroit Times.

TRADE UNIONISTS, WAKE UP!

By FREDERICK KELLER,

Ex-Organizer of the American Federation of Labor.

Brother Unionists: We are on the verge of the greatest campaign in history, and a few words from a union man of thirty years' standing will not be out of place, since there are so many unionists who cannot bring themselves to think how on election day they scab on themselves and their wives and children by voting for the old political parties time and again. Why? Simply because their fathers voted so, or because some friend would pat them on the back and make all kinds of promises, knowing in their hearts that they cannot keep a single promise they made.

In order to prove what I say, I will mention a few facts that you cannot deny.

You have seen a Democratic President send the Federal troops into a sovereign State of the Union in violation of the United States Constitution, and in defiance of the protest of the Governor and the people, to crush a body of peaceable workingmen at the behest of a combination of railroad magnates bent on destroying their union and reducing them into a state of helplessness.

You have seen a Republican President refuse to use his executive authority when the militia in the service of the capitalists seized another sovereign State by the throat and strangled its civil administration, while it committed the most dastardly crimes upon defenseless workingmen in the annals of capitalist brutality and military despotism.

You have seen a combination of Republican and Democratic Congressmen, the tools of the exploiting class, pass a military bill which makes every citizen a soldier and the President a military dictator.

You have seen this same Congress, session after session, laugh in the faces of labor committees who actually begged for some bill that would be to their interest, while at the

same time capitalists and corporations got every consideration in any and all bills that came before them. How much consideration did the eight-hour measure and the anti-injunction bill get?

You have seen Republican and Democratic Governors order out the militia time and again to shoot down workingmen at the command of their capitalist masters.

You have seen these same Governors construct military prisons and "bull pens," seize workingmen without warrant of law and thrust them into these vile quarters, for no other reason than to break up their unions and leave them helpless at the feet of the capitalists.

You have seen the Supreme Court of the nation turn labor out without a hearing, while the corporation-lawyers get every consideration.

You have seen State Legislatures, both Republican and Democratic, controlled bodily by the capitalist class, turning the committees of labor unions empty handed from their doors.

You have seen State Supreme Courts declare unconstitutional the last vestige of law upon the statute books that could by any possibility be construed as affording any shelter or relief to the labor unions or their members.

Brothers, these are facts, and they are only a few of the many setbacks that you have received in times gone by. And now you are again asked to vote for these old political parties. You know the one is rotten and the other corrupt. This being so, wake up and vote for the future welfare of your wives and little children.

You know the capitalists and corporations defray the expenses of the Democratic and Republican parties. This being so, do you think as fair minded men that either of these parties' candidates will look to your welfare if elected?

You know there is another political party in the field, and it is the only workingman's party, and all the money on earth cannot corrupt it or stop its growth. It stands for everything right and just, and if you love your wife and little children, and do not wish to see them crushed down, wake up and vote the Socialist ticket in future. Stop scabbing on election day! Vote as you parade on Labor Day, for your rights.

INJUNCTIONS AND TRIAL BY JURY.

By ROBERT HUNTER.

Mr. Gompers is quoted as greatly pleased that the Democrats promise trial by jury for cases of indirect contempt.

This means virtually that in case a union man offends a judge who has enjoined him from doing HIS DUTY and exercising his CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS he may be tried by jury.

Union editors have been enjoined from writing editorials; union men have been enjoined from striking; enjoined from peaceable assembly, from picketing, even from joining unions.

Mr. Gompers does not demand the abolition of that instrument which enables a judge to deny union men their CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. He demands only that when union men offend a judge by exercising these "inalienable" constitutional rights, they shall be tried by jury for their CRIME.

But Mr. Gompers surely knows that a jury has no right to pass upon the law. The jury accepts the law from the judges. It takes its instructions from the court, and it passes solely upon the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused.

That is to say, if a judge enjoins Mr. Gompers from calling a strike the jury will not decide whether Mr. Gompers did or not not have a constitutional and legal right to call a strike. It will only decide whether or not Mr. Gompers DISOBEYED HIS ROYAL EMINENCE THE JUDGE.

In other words, trial by jury does not affect the WRIT of injunction in the slightest.

In any case, how much is gained in industrial disputes by a trial by jury?

Moyer and Haywood were tried by juries, but they were kept EIGHTEEN MONTHS in jail before their case came to trial.

Suppose a strike occurs and the leaders are enjoined from speaking, picketing, or even advising men to go on strike. Suppose they disobey the judge (as they ought to do) and are

held for contempt. Can they not be kept in jail until the strike is lost?

In other words, grant the right to issue injunctions in industrial disputes, and you give a judge the power to assist the employers, to aid scabs, to imprison leaders, and to break strikes. Trial by jury in such cases will not help you. Strikes can be tied up by the courts just as easily when there is trial by jury as they are now without trial by jury.

What is wanted is the ABOLITION of injunctions. So long as judges have this power they are monarchs. So long as injunctions are granted in industrial disputes, just so long can ONE MAN over-ride our constitutional rights. So long as a single judge is able to make ILLEGAL WHAT-EVER HE DESIRES, just so long will that power be used to cripple unions, to break strikes, and to over-ride our constitutional rights of free speech, of a free press, and of peaceable assembly.

When you tell us, Mr. Gompers, that Judge Parker was your most enthusiastic supporter in Denver you convince us that you have been outwitted and the cause of Labor betrayed.

The Democrats have given you nothing. They have only been a little more dishonest about it than the Republicans. That is all.

The Republicans adopted an "anti-injunction" plank which promises to LEGALIZE the injunction.

The Democrats adopted an "anti-injunction" plank which promises to LEGALIZE the injunction.

The Democrats adopted an "anti-injunction" plank which promises to try you by jury in case you offend the autocratic ruling of a judge by exercising your constitutional rights.

The Socialists intend to abolish injunctions.

As the head of 2,000,000 union men, which of these propositions is most acceptable to you?

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS.

Author of "The History of Tammany Hall," "History of Public Franchises in New York City," Etc.

PART III.

The Great Fortunes from Railroads.

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CHAPTER I.

A PRELIMINARY REVIEW.

II.

Whatever superficial or honeyed writers may say of the benevolent origin of railroads, the fact is that railroad construction was ushered in by a widespread corruption of legislators that put to shame the previous debauchery in getting bank charters. In nearly every work on the subject the assertion is dwelt upon that railroad builders were regarded as public benefactors; that people and legislators were only too glad to present them with public resources. There is just a slight substance of truth in this alleged historical writing, but nothing more. The people, it is true, were eager for their own convenience to have the railroads built, but unwilling to part with their hard-won taxes, their splendid public domain and their rights only that a few men, part gamblers and part men of energy and foresight, should divert the entire donation to their own aggrandizement. For this attitude the railroad promoters had an alluring category of arguments ready.

Cash the Great Persuader.

Through the public press, and in speeches and pamphlets, the people were assured in the most seductive and extravagant language that railroads were imperative in developing the resources of the country; that they would be a mighty boon and an immeasurable stimulant to progress. These arguments had much weight, especially with a population stretched over such a vast territory as that of the United States. But alone they would not have accomplished the ends sought, had it not been for the quantities of cash poured into legislative pockets. The cash was the real eloquent persuader. In turn, the virtuous legislators, on being questioned by their constituents as to why they had voted such great subsidies, such immense land grants and such sweeping and unprecedented privileges to private corporations, could fall back upon the justification (and a legitimate one it seemed) that to get the railroads built public encouragement and aid were necessary.

Birds of a Feather.

Many of the projectors of railroads were small tradesmen, landlords, mill-owners, bankers, associated politicians and lawyers. Not infrequently, however, did it happen that some charters and grants were obtained by politicians and lawyers who, at best, were impecunious sharpers. Their greatest asset was a devious knowledge of how to get something for nothing. With a grandiloquent front and a superb bluff they would organize a company to build a railroad from this to that point—an undertaking costing millions, while perhaps they could not pay their board bill. An arrangement with a printer to turn out stock issues on credit was easy; with the promise of batches of this stock, they would then get a sufficient number of legislators to vote them a charter and money or land or both. After that the future was rosy. Bankers, either in the United States or abroad, could always be found to buy out the franchise or finance it; in fact, the bankers, who themselves were well schooled in the art of bribery and other forms of corruption, were often outwitted by this class of adventurers, and were only too glad to treat with them as associates, on the recognized commercial principle that success is the test of men's mettle, and that the qualities productive of this success must be immediately availed of.

In other instances a number of tradesmen and landowners would organize a company having, let us say, \$250,000 among them. If they had proceeded to build a railroad with this sum, not many miles of rail would have been laid before they would have found themselves hopelessly bankrupt. Their wisdom was that of their class; they knew a far better method. This was to use the powers of govern-

ment and make the public build the railroad for them. In the process of construction the \$250,000 would have been only a mite; but it was quite enough to bribe a legislature. By expending this sum in purchasing a majority of an important committee, and a sufficient number of the whole body, they could get millions in public loans, vast areas of land given outright, and a succession of privileges worth, in the long run, hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars.

A Welter of Corruption.

So the onslaught of corruption began and continued. Let those critics who say that this is an overdrawn picture leave aside their wheezy phrases and consult the records. As early as 1850 corruption in Ohio was so notorious that it formed a bitter part of the discussion of the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1850-51. The delegates were droning along over insertions slyly devised to increase corporation power. Suddenly up rose Delegate Charles Reemelin and exclaimed: "Corporations always have their lobby members in and around the halls of legislation to watch and secure their interests. Not so with the people—they cannot act with that directness and system that a corporation can. No individual will take it upon himself to go to the Capitol at his own expense, to watch the representatives of the people, and to lobby against the potent influences of the corporation. But corporations have the money, and it is to their interest to expend it to secure the passage of partial laws." (1) Two years later, at one of the sessions of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, Delegate Walker, of North Brookfield, made a similar statement as to that state. "I ask any man to say," he asked, "if he believes that any measure of legislation could be carried in this state, which was generally offensive to the corporations of the commonwealth? It is very rarely the case that we do not have a majority in the legislature who are either presidents, directors or stockholders in incorporated companies. This is a fact of very grave importance." (2) Two-thirds of the property in Massachusetts, Delegate Walker pointed out, was owned by corporations. In 1857 an acrimonious debate ensued in the Iowa Constitutional Convention over an attempt to give further extraordinary power to the railroads. Already the State of Iowa had incurred \$12,000,000 in debts in aiding railroad corporations. "I fear," said Delegate Traer, "that it is very often the case that these votes (on appropriations for railroads) are carried through by improper influences, which the people, if left alone, would, upon mature reflection, never have adopted." (3)

Impotence of the People.

These are but a very few of the many instances of the debauching of every legislature in the United States. No matter how furiously the people protested at this giving away of their resources and rights, the capitalists were able to thwart their will on every occasion. In one case a state legislature had been so prodigal in benefits that the people of the state demanded a constitutional provision forbidding the bonding of the state for railroad purposes. The Constitutional Convention adopted this provision. But the members had scarcely gone to their homes before the people discovered how they had been duped. The amendment barred the state from giving loans, but (and here was the trick) it did not forbid counties and municipalities from doing so. Thereupon the railroad capitalists proceeded to have laws passed, and bribe county and municipal officials all over the state to issue bonds and to give

(1) Ohio Convention Debates, 1850-51. Vol. II: 174.

(2) Debates in the Massachusetts Convention, 1853. Vol. III: 59.

(3) Constitutional Debates, Iowa, 1857. Vol. II: 777.

them terminal sites and other valuable privileges for nothing. In subsequent years the railroad owners sneaked legislation through in practically every state, or resorted to subterfuges, by which they were relieved from having to pay back these loans.

Hundreds of millions of dollars exacted from the people in taxation were turned over to the railroad corporations, and little of it was ever returned. As for the land grants to railroads, they reached colossal proportions. From 1850 to 1872 Congress gave not less than 155,504,994.59 acres of the public domain either direct to railroad corporations or to the various states, to be transferred to these corporations. Much of this immense area was given on the condition that unless the railroads were built, the grants were to be forfeited. But the capitalists found no difficulty in getting from a thoroughly corrupt congress the period of construction renewed in cases where the construction had not been done. Of the 155,000,000 acres, a considerable portion of it valuable mineral, coal, timber and agricultural land, only 607,741 acres were forfeited by act of Congress, and even much of these were restored to the railroads by judicial decisions. That Congress was honeycombed with corruption not less than the legislatures is all too evident from the disclosures of many investigations—disclosures to which we shall have pertinent occasion to refer later on. Not only did the railroad corporations loot in a gigantic way under forms of law, but they so craftily drafted the laws of both nation and the states that fraud at all times was easy.

Defrauding the Nation of Taxes.

Not merely were these huge areas of land obtained by fraud, but after they were secured, fraud was further used to evade taxation. And by donations of land in not meant only land for intended railroad use or which could be sold by the railroads. In some cases, notably that of the Union Pacific Railroad, authority was given to the railroad by acts passed in 1862 and 1864 to take all of the material such as stone, timber, etc., needed for construction from the public lands. So in addition to the money and lands, much of the essential material for building the railroads was supplied from the public resources. No sooner had they obtained their grants than the railroads had law after law passed removing this restriction or that reservation until they soon were absolute masters of hundreds of millions of acres of land which a brief time before had been national property.

"These enormous tracts," wrote (in 1886) William A. Phillips, a member of the Committee on Public Lands of the Forty-third Congress, referring to the railroad grants, "are in their disposition subject to the will of the railroad companies. They can dispose of them in enormous tracts if they please, and there is not a single safeguard to secure this portion of the national domain to cultivating yeomanry." The whole machinery of legislation was not only used to exclude the farmer from getting the land, and centralize its ownership in corporations, but was additionally employed in relieving these corporations from taxation on the land thus obtained by fraud. To avoid taxation, Phillips goes on, "the railroad land grant companies had an amendment enacted into law to the effect that they should not obtain their patents until they had paid a small fee to defray the expense of surveying. This they took care not to pay, or only to pay as fast as they could sell tracts to some purchasers, on which occasions they paid the surveying fee and obtained deeds for the portion they sold. In this way they have held millions of acres for speculative purposes, waiting for a rise in prices, without taxation, while the farmers in adjacent lands paid taxes." (4) Phillips passes this fact by with a mere mention as though it were one of no great significance. On the contrary it is a fact well worthy of elaboration: Precisely as the aristocracies in the Old World had gotten their estates by force and fraud, and then had the laws so arranged as to exempt those estates from taxation, so has the money aristocracy of the United States proceeded on the same plan. As we shall see, however, the railroad and other interests have not only but through laws relieving from direct taxation the land acquired by fraud, but also other forms of property based upon fraud.

(4) Labor, Land and Law: 338-39.

(To be continued.)

THE PARABLE OF THE ARROW

By EDWIN W. WHEAT.

Again is the coming of Socialism likened unto a man who was shot with an arrow. And behold, the arrow pierced his thigh, and remained imbedded in the flesh.

Thereupon one of the company of men who had shot the arrow, came to the wounded man, and tried to persuade him that he had not been shot, but that he imagined the arrow was there. But he laughed him to scorn.

And another of the men said: "Yes, the arrow is there, and while it may annoy you, yet it is necessary to your health, and will do you good rather than harm." But he would not listen.

Yet another man came to him and said: "The arrow certainly is there and is injuring you, but I will pour in oil and wine, which will overcome all bad effects." But he refused to believe this man also.

Still another spake in this wise: "The arrow is the cause of all your pain, and must be removed. Therefore, I will split it into fragments and remove a small portion each day until finally it shall all have been taken away; for to remove it all at once would incur grave dangers." But even this did not meet his approval.

Then came to him a certain other man who was not of that company, and said to him: "Behold, my brother, I perceive that the arrow is doing you great harm. It must be removed immediately; there is no other way. The operation will necessarily cause a momentary pain, but the cure will be certain. Therefore, you must allow me to act at once." And the injured man answered: "Physician, I believe. Because the arrow is the cause of my pain, therefore it must be extracted. I realize that you have come to me that I may have life; and I choose to live. Remove the arrow." And he began to improve from that hour.

MORAL.—Some people will tell you that there are no classes; some, that classes do indeed exist, but that they are a necessary part of civilization and will do you no harm; others, that the capitalist class is oppressing the workers, but that restrictive measures and organized charities will bring relief; others still, that "busting the trusts" one by one will gradually bring about right conditions. But there are yet others who will tell you that not only is the capitalist class unnecessary, but that it must be entirely gotten rid of; that not until the poisoned arrow of capitalism shall have been removed can the body politic be healthy.

My friend, why in the name of common sense don't you listen to the real physician, instead of the various quacks who are prescribing all sorts of fake remedies for economic ills? There is but one remedy, and it is this: Remove the cause!

A WARNING FROM DEBS.

Editor of The Socialist:

If you see any interview from me predicting either Bryan's or Taft's election, put it down for a lie. When I am interviewed by a Republican he wants me to predict Taft's election, and when by a Democrat, Bryan's election, but, of course, I refuse to make any such predictions. But when the interview appears they manage to slip it in and one such in which I am reported as predicting the election of Taft is being industriously circulated. When I am asked this question I answer that if the workers vote the ticket they ought to vote I shall be elected, but that I am not willing to discredit them in advance by predicting that they will elect a capitalist candidate instead of one who represents their own class.

Fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

HE THAT WILL NOT WISH.

Willie—I wish I had a big box of candy.

Ethel—And oh, Willie, you'd give me some, wouldn't you?

Willie—No, I wouldn't. You've got a wisher as well as me; wish for your own candy!

SOCIALISTS AS REFORMERS.

By S. PESKIN.

It is generally supposed that Socialism is diametrically opposed to reform. From one standpoint it is true. Taking private ownership of all the means of production as the basis of the present system of society, it is undoubtedly true that we Socialists strive to do away with this basis, while the reformers in their efforts to modify society will go only so far as is compatible with the existence of the present system of private ownership. But because of this difference we Socialists are also the best reformers, a fact unfortunately very often overlooked. One example will clearly illustrate this point.

We know how much time, energy and labor has been spent to carry through the present so-called tenement-house reform. But how little it has accomplished is also known to every one familiar with the real housing condition of the workingmen of this city. It is true that the reform has given more windows and more light, but for each additional window a great deal of space has been taken away, besides the fact that each additional ray of sunlight spells so much more hard earned money for rent.

As a result the poorest of the poor have benefited nothing by this reform, for they continue to live in the old, "dark holes," and pay higher rents than before. The fruits of the reform are enjoyed only by the better paid workingmen and by the lower middle class; and even they lose at least as much as they get, for, as I have remarked, what they gained in light they have lost in space and in money for rent.

One need not search very deeply to discover why this reform has turned out to be a failure. This is due to the fact that the whole affair has been engineered by the so-called reformers, and to the interests of the "poor honest landlord" are at least as dear as the hygienic and sanitary requirements of the poor tenants.

The reformer is perfectly willing to "do something for the poor," but he never forgets the landlord, who is, in his opinion, just as much entitled to a "decent profit" on his real estate investment as the poor man is entitled to sunlight. He will, therefore, be cautious in his reform, and never push it so far as to put in jeopardy the "nest profit" of "honest capital."

How differently would a Socialist approach this tenement house problem and the rent question in general. We do not believe in the possibility of honestly earned capital, nor do we believe that the owner of capital is justly entitled to profit. In our reform activity we would, therefore, entirely leave out the interests of the landlords, and the failure of hundreds of landlords would not cause us for one moment to change our policy, so long as it would be beneficial to the interest of the only honest class of wage workers.

What we Socialists would propose is this: Let the city, to start with, build about a thousand model tenements and rent them at cost, plus a small margin to cover depreciation and cost of maintenance, and the entire problem would be solved. Under the force of competition rent would come down immediately even in the best tenements, and the old holes would either have to stand vacant, or be altered to a higher standard.

Of course, that would ruin hundreds of landlords, would deprive them of their "honest profit." It would mean "confiscation." It would perhaps "stifle the spirit of individual enterpriser." But it would at

once permanently improve the condition of the workingmen, and that is enough for us Socialists, to take this step without any hesitation.

For the mere reformer to do this would, however, be the most illogical step possible, and they never lose their logic when it concerns the interests of private property.

And the same would be in every other field of reform. The reformer will never legally shorten the working day, so long as it will, in his opinion, materially cut the profits of the manufacturers, for in his eyes the employer has at least as much right to profit on his investment as have the workmen to rest and leisure. We Socialists have no such scruples at all. Our fundamental principle is that the workman is entitled to all the leisure and comfort modern civilization allows, and if the capitalists cannot run their business on this foundation, then is the time ripe for society to step in and socialize industry.

This explains the seeming paradox that the Socialists, who are the most bitter opponents of the present system, are also the best reformers wherever power is given them to act in this direction. We introduce the Socialist principle even in our reform work, and this gives us a broad and open field of activity.

WORKINGMAN REJECTS GOVERNMENT HONOR.

The spirit of defiance which animates many French union men in their relations with the Clemenceau Ministry is well illustrated by the following incident: Simon Pierre, a union miner and a Socialist, was employed at Courrières in March, 1906, when the awful catastrophe took place which cost nearly a thousand lives. He performed prodigies of valor in the work of rescuing his fellows who were imprisoned in the burning mine. These acts of heroism were brought to the attention of Minister of Public Works Barthou, and Pierre was offered the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, for which many Frenchmen would gladly risk their necks. But the honor had no charms for the miner, and was promptly refused. A few weeks ago the Minister, thinking that perhaps Pierre had changed his mind, wrote to him again complimenting him on his bravery and hinting that the decoration was still at his command. Pierre replied in a letter which read in part as follows:

"I thank you for the honor which you do me, but you might employ your time more usefully. I have only done what I could to save my comrades, and I should do the same again if another case presented itself. But I have no need of your congratulations. I belong to a party, the members of which reprove everything that comes from a government of assassins of the people, especially regarding felicitations and decorations. Merit, M. Barthou, does not consist in adding more rags to one's coat, but in doing one's duty. Please to accept my revolutionary unionist sentiments."

LITERARY ROUND UP.

"Is Stubbs the finished writer he claims to be?"
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The Rocky Mountains are on the western side of Philadelphia.
The two most famous volcanoes of Europe are Sodom and Gomorrah.
A circle is a round straight line with a hole in the middle.
Things which are equal to each other are equal to anything else.

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Advertisements of trade unions and other societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION NO. 90—OFFICE and Employment Bureau, 241 E. 84th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—316 E. 6th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 7.30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2059 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—325 E. 75th St., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION), meets every Thursday of the month, 10 a. m., at Clubhouse, 243-247 E. 84th St. Secretary, Herrmann Wendler, address as above.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL UNION NO. 476, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. in the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. Financial Secretary, Joe Maelter, 542 E. 150th St., City. Recording Secretary, Arthur Gonne, 1902 Anthony Ave., Bronx.

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WHEN WILL THIS PANIC END?

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

From the throats of between three and five millions of the American people springs a bitter cry: "When will this panic end?"

Last winter the hard times began. At first they told us it was only a "financial flurry" caused by the money stringency. But the American people soon learned that while the disturbance began with a financial panic, this was only the clap of thunder that warned us of the coming storm of unemployment and suffering to follow. It is from the flood of misery, hunger and despair that has overtaken the working class that the cry rises, "When will this panic end?"

Let us think the matter over. The present industrial depression is not due to the wrath of God. The land is blessed with abundant crops, there is no end of natural resources, and the mines, mills, railroads and other means of production are here for the workers to create all they need. It is not God's fault. Nature is not to blame. It is not a famine or a plague. Whatever the trouble is, man alone is responsible for.

The working class is not to blame. They knock at the factory gate every day and tramp from town to town in search of work. The working class are willing to work; they are even begging for work. It is the owners of the workshops who do not open the factory gate and permit the working class to labor and so provide themselves with food, clothing and shelter.

Why do the bosses stand in the way?

That we can quickly learn. Because they cannot find a market for the goods manufactured. It is the absence of a market, of a sale and profit, that closes the factory door and stills the machinery. And why is there no market? Because the people have no money with which to buy goods.

It would seem that we were traveling in a circle. The people have no money because they have no work, and they have no work because they have no money.

But the solution is in the centre of that circle.

Why have not the people enough money to buy back all the goods they make and so keep working all the time?

Because the working class are not paid in full. They do not receive as much as they create. There is a difference between the value or worth of what they produce and what they receive as wages.

That difference—the profit of the boss—is the source of the trouble.

It is that difference—the capitalist's dividends—which must be "eaten up" or there is a surplus of goods on the market, and an industrial crisis and hard times result.

The working class is very large. The capitalist class is very small. The capitalist class squander their income as never before. They buy bankrupt counts for their daughters, give monkey dinners, contribute liberally to the campaign funds of the Republican and Democratic parties, entertain foreign princes and American politicians lavishly and try in every way to rid themselves of that surplus which labor creates but does not get. In spite of which, because the capitalist class grows less from year to year, due to the concentration into trusts and the squeezing out of the small capitalists, the surplus grows larger year by year.

That means the present panic may never end!

Yes, it may never end. The army of those who are out of work constantly may increase from year to year.

There are two million now. More than that we have had panics under Republican rule and under Democratic rule. Neither Taft nor Bryan can help us. The two old parties do not dare to face the question in their platform.

Let us go back to the factory, to the wages and the profits, for that is where the trouble begins.

We saw that the wages of the workers are only a part of the wealth they create. The other part is kept by the capitalists as profits. It is as clear as daylight that if the workers—who produce everything—received all they produce, they could buy back all and there would be no profits out of which comes the surplus.

This, then, is the situation: To cut

the panic we must end profits. There is no other way.

The old parties, Republican and Democratic, will not end profits. They both stand for the profit system. They both stand for the vested interests and against the people, the working class. They both stand for the present industrial relation, whereby the few capitalists live without working while the many toilers work without living. More than that, their campaign funds come out of the profits of the capitalists. That is why they stand for the profit system.

Still, the remedy—the only peaceful remedy—is at the ballot box. And there is a party that does stand for the people and against the plutocrats, that is going to end profits and the panic and arrange affairs so that those who work will enjoy all they produce. That party is the Socialist party.

The Socialist party is the only party that gets its campaign funds out of the wages of the working class. It is the only working class party.

The Socialist party aims to have the industries, the lands, mines, mills, railroads and machinery owned by all the people together. Then all that is created will go to those who create it. Then there will be no surplus to bring hard times. When there is a superabundance, no one will suffer, but all will enjoy it.

Then, and only then, will hard times come no more. Then will the economic question be settled for all time. Then the working class and all society will have industrial freedom, out of which all other freedom comes. That is the task for labor to accomplish.

The answer to the question, "When will this panic end?" is plain.

When the Socialist party wins and Socialism comes. Not before.

HOW TO FIGHT THE INJUNCTION

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, in the St. Louis Mirror.

Strange that labor leaders in their fight against the injunction do not more squarely stand on the constitutional provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." The anti-boycott injunction is an abridgment of the freedom of the press, inasmuch as it forbids trades union journals to print what they call "unfair lists." So with the picketer—he has the right of free speech to ask one man not to work for another or for a corporation. Peaceable assemblage is a right the police ignore only too often when they are workingmen who assemble peaceably. The exercise of freedom of speech or of the press can not, therefore, be a conspiracy. There is absolutely no limitation upon the rights of free speech or free press. If the freedom is abused, the one who abuses it can be held responsible, and that is all. If the utterers of a libel in print or the men who urge boycotts have no means, are without property, wherefrom those claiming damages for such utterances can secure satisfaction, still the right of free speech and free press stands. A poor man has as much right of free speech and free press as the rich man. See the case of Marx & Haas Jeans Clothing Co. vs. Anthony Watson and others, Supreme Court of Missouri, March 19, 1902. Supreme Justice Thomas A. Sherman wrote the opinion—a little legal elastic of liberty—and Justices Burgess, Bruce, Marshall and Gantt concurred. We have been told that since his retirement from the Missouri supreme bench Justice Sherman has recanted the views set forth in this opinion. This may be, but a man may recant his assent to the multiplication table without in any way affecting the logic thereof. In the free speech and free press article of the Constitution lies the only possible protection for Organized Labor in the prosecution of the boycott against employers who do not deal fairly with Organized Labor.

A STURDY EAR.

"Your daughter has a wonderful ear for music," answered Mr. Cumrox wearily, "seems like it can stand most anything." —Washington Star.

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WILLIAM'S LITTLE PARTY.

William had a little party
He wished to fleece, you know,
And everywhere that William went
The party, too, would go.
It followed him to Denver,
And, by the two-thirds rule,
Selected him for President
Backed by the same old drool.
And when the people saw poor Will
Upon the donkey's back,
It made them laugh, hee, hee, haw,
And pummel him, kerwhack.
"Why does the party love him so?
The populace all cried.
"Because he has it by the throat,"
The editors replied.
—Ellis O. Jones, in Life.

A WOMAN'S VIEW.

"According to this paper," observed Mr. Goodwin, "an Ohio man has lived a year on beer alone."
"Well, that's as it should be," rejoined Mrs. Goodwin. "Any man who lives on beer ought to be compelled to live alone."

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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 233 local branches with 31,597 male and 6,408 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive in any of the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively, \$250 death benefit guaranteed to the beneficiaries of every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the third class upon payment of an initiation fee of \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but all candidates have to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invite to do so.
Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third avenue, Room 2, New York City.

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Comrades, send for the Socialist post-cards with pictures of Socialist candidates for President and Vice-President; 12 for 25c; 25 for 40c; 100 for \$1.00; 1,000 for \$7.00 prepaid. Order early. S. S. Ulerich, 305 Omaha Building, Chicago.

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THAT HORRIBLE, CRUEL WORD.

By HARRY ROGOFF.

The night was delightful. High in a deep blue sky was suspended a silvery moon surrounded by a wide, delicate halo. A few stars, shy and retiring, glittered at an infinite distance, beyond which pervaded a soft, mysterious darkness.

We were promenading on the Williamsburgh Bridge. Underneath, the water was flooded with a trembling light. On the surrounding islands, we could discern long rising thoroughfares flanked by symmetrical rows of bright electrical lamps. Not far from us hung the sister bridge; its ugly, clumsy cables hidden in the shadows of night, but the graceful arch brought into full relief by the lines of light. And on it were dimly visible the speeding cars moving along like a procession of light centers.

We stopped and, bending over the rail, we allowed our eyes to wander over this charming scene. A solemn silence pervaded the atmosphere, and gradually our hearts were suffused by that sweet melancholy which the contemplation of the beautiful always inspires in us.

I looked into her face. It also was now a source of radiating charm. Her eyes glittered with a hidden soul fire. Her face was overcast with a tender softness, the supreme fountain of feminine attractiveness.

Thus we stood, motionless, speechless, drinking in the joy of life as it came pouring into our souls from unknown regions. We had forgotten everything of our narrow selves, and were blended with great, infinite Nature.

Suddenly I saw her head sinking on the iron balustrade. She groped closer to me, as if seeking support. I

bent towards her, somewhat frightened, and then I heard her murmur in a low, subdued voice, "To-morrow, the shop once more."

And it was as if a miracle had been worked. Instantly a transformation was wrought in the surrounding scene. The silvery hue vanished from the moon, and it hung there dull, with the idiotic human face grinning down upon me. The halo was a streak of petrified smoke marring the blackness of the sky. The water underneath irritated me with its nervous trembling, and methought I could behold in the darkness its true color of putrescence that the dumpings give it in the day time.

Around me I saw the rotting piers, the misshapen, ill-looking structures bulging out from underneath the shadows of night. In the streets, likewise, I imagined I saw the dirty, gutters, the gray, dusky tenements, the sidewalks overloaded with refuse and filth.

The entire scene grew terribly real and frightfully oppressive. I looked into her face and it, too, was transformed. Her eyes were sunk and lustreless. A deep, dark shadow covered her face, so lifeless, so emaciated, so grief-laden.

"Let us go home." She uttered these words in a low, tearful voice. My heart was too heavy for words. I took her arm, and silently we walked off the bridge, passed a few blocks, and came up to her house.

"What has happened?" she pitifully sobbed out, as I was bidding her good night, and with a harshness that I have since regretted, I almost shouted at her, "Oh, why did you mention that horrible, cruel word!"

THE SPIRIT OF COMRADESHIP.

By EDWIN WEBB WHEAT.

When comrades meet, and comrades greet,
Though language, customs, race, divide them,
Yet are they friends—aye, more than friends;
The comrade spirit dwells inside them.

It thrills the heart! It is a part
Of that glad life we all are seeking;
When man in man a brother man
Sees always. 'Tis a prophet speaking.

Foretelling days when Right shall raise
O'erheavy loads from shoulders weary;
When Life and Light shall render bright
The million hearts now dark and dreary.

It speaks the hope of those who grope
In darkness deep, yet know the breaking
Of dawn is nigh; whose hope runs high,
Knowing that man's but in the making.

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AN "INDEPENDENT" MAN

By JAMES ONEAL.

The city of Skinville was noted for its increasing population, the open shop established by a "citizens' alliance" of employers, and its newspaper, the "Daily Blast." The "Blast" was famous for its advocacy of independence for the Philippines and for the workingmen through the open shop that the alliance had established for their benefit. Bill Scorum, proprietor of the "Blast," had firmly established (in the editorial columns) that organized effort by the workers deprived them of their independence, placed the shiftless on an equality with the industrious and placed a premium on inefficiency.

Bill would also have modestly conceded that such organization gave the workers more power than he would have them possess, but that opinion would have been given only on condition that it should not become public property. Experience had taught Bill this, and there were those who held that Bill never learned in any other way. And this was Bill's experience:

The compositors for years had been stupidly depriving themselves of their independence by reducing the number of hours per day they worked for Bill, and at the same time maintaining the wage standard and even raising it. This hallucination infected all the workers in the plant. It became a mania with them. Bill regarded it as a rank perversion of human nature. His study of human nature had convinced him that the world was made for the special purpose of investing capital and realizing dividends. He quoted the Declaration of Independence, Magna Charta, and an occasional almanac that came to the office in the mails. And, in referring to the Philippines, he would always quote that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

But the employees were a stiff-necked people. They labored under the delusion that assured improved conditions for all were preferable to a haphazard chance for each man who depended on the benevolence of dividend collectors. It was the old story of original sin cursing men imbued with the carnal appetites of this world.

Bill decided to teach these perverse men that the world had been created right. He locked out the employees, declared the open shop, and combined with two other smaller sheets and waged war "in the interest of independent workingmen, no longer intimidated by labor unions." The combination of three papers gave new power to Bill, a power that was needed, as many workers ceased to buy the "Blast."

This was the status when a period of unemployment affected Skinville. Bill was sitting in his office reading proof on a vigorous editorial he had written extolling the virtues of "independence" for all men. While engaged in admiration of his effort, a tattered, unkempt man entered the open door.

"Good morning," said Bill, "and what can I do for you?"

"I want a job and I want it bad," replied the tattered one. "I've gone from Buffalo to Minneapolis and from there here, and not a lick of work have I been able to get. I haven't sent a cent to the wife and kids for two months. How they're makin' it I don't know."

Bill, who had been twirling his thumbs, reversed them as he replied: "Well, I shall be glad to help you, but we are very careful whom we employ. Do you know anything of our plant here?"

"Yes," replied the jobless one, taking a copy of the "Blast" from his pocket. "I read the announcement heading your editorial column, which says you've combined with the 'Bladder' and the 'Bugle' so as to give a better paper at the same price and reduce the senseless waste involved in a struggle of rival papers. Good idea, Mister, and you deserve success."

"All of which is true," replied Bill, "but that is not what I referred to in my question. To be brief, let me ask: are you a member of any organization?"

"Sure, I'm right with you there, Mister," and the man fished from the

depths of his ragged coat a membership card in the Typographical Union, which he held up for the inspection of the proprietor of the "Blast."

Bill turned livid with rage. "What do you mean when you say you are 'right with me there?' You impudent tramp, don't you know that this is an open shop and meddling organizations that throttle incentive are not allowed in this enterprise?"

"W'y, wat's the matter with you, Mister," rejoined the tramp, "one would think you'd swallowed a lemon. I tell you I'm with you on this proposition. You have it here in black and white that you have combined with two other papers and actually organized a union of scattered capital so as to produce a better paper. You've organized your end and we've organized ours and that's why I say I'm with you. You haven't lost any incentive or dollars and we've gained both. The feller that's lost and is still losing is your independent easy mark who reads your editorials and displays less sense than you by taking them seriously. I'm not—"

The tramp was interrupted by Bill reaching for an ink-stand. "Get out of here, you impudent vagrant," yelled the sage of Skinville, "or I'll send you to the morgue."

"With the consent of the governed?" cried the tramp as he leered through the doorway.

A sound of breaking glass as the missile crashed through the pane in the door, was the answer the jobless man received. And the universe continued its course in the manner approved of by the "Independent" editor of the daily "Blast" of Skinville, the paradise of the poor.

NO BEGGING FOR FAVORS.

No employer ever gave a weak labor organization anything. They had to become a power by securing every mechanic into the union and demand the conditions desired, backed up by the strength that the union possessed to stop work.

Neither of the two large political parties will ever bind themselves to enact laws or unmake laws obnoxious to labor unions, because these two parties know that the trades unionists are no power in the political arena. They know the working people in and out of the trade union movement are divided, swinging back and forth from one party to the other.

These two parties are like the employer; in fact they are the employer's political organization. They are controlled and financed by them and will give nothing definite to labor. They may promise many things, but we have had so many promises before election that we cannot take stock in them.

The writer, with a committee, once had the effrontery to go before several employers to beg and plead to secure for an organization the granting to the men of a shorter workday, and the answer we received was: "This business is not a charitable institution; it is a cold business affair; we can't grant the request, no matter how much we would like to see the men work even eight hours a day, but our business does not allow us." The following year we did not beg, but demanded a shorter day, and were forced to use our power, our united strength, by leaving the shop.

By recognizing the fact that the Republican and the Democratic parties are the political expressions of the master class, there is absolutely no hope that any of these parties will ever give labor unions anything but empty promises. The Republican party did not even give a promise, but went so far as to say that injunctions against union labor are legal but should be used with a little more discretion.

Begging for favors from those who are in power and whose interests are opposed to labor is a waste of time and money. The working people, and especially the trades unionists, must show a power, must show their strength and demand and go and get it themselves. They can get these demands by organizing themselves, outside of their unions, into a political party. When they do that, show their strength, the parties in power will, without begging, give some of the political demands so as to appease the working people, so that the workers' political party may not get too strong.

Let us stop dabbling in capitalist politics. Go out and get what we want in the political field through our own workingmen's party, which we control, which we finance and to which we can hold any and all our representatives responsible to do our bidding.—The Glass Worker.


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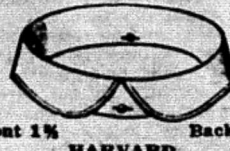
MOST SENSIBLE COLLAR TO WEAR, DON'T WILT, LOOKS LIKE LINEN, WEARS BETTER, AND YOU CLEAN IT IN A MINUTE.

BARNARD




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PRINCETON



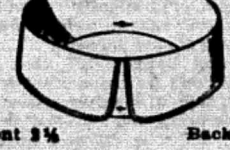
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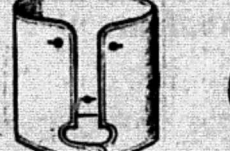
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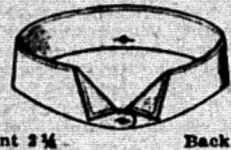
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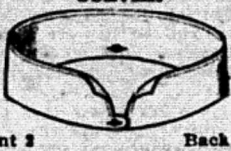
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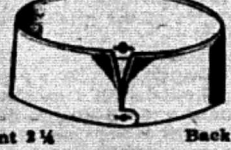
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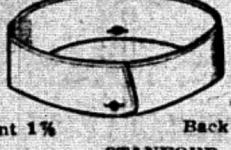
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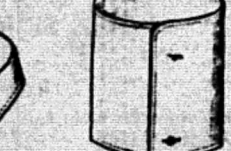
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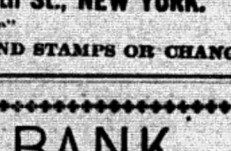
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HOW LONG?

By J. W. S. COGIE.

Behold us standing in the market place,
With tear-dimmed eyes and faces wan and pale;
Behold us here, the workers of the race,
Whose brawn and blood are offered now for sale.
Just give us work, just give a chance to toil,
Though we be slaves, these rights to us belong;
Would you from us this last resource despoil?
How long, oh, Lord, how long?

We gave you of our ripest years,
We labored late and early in your maw;
You coined in gold our agonies and tears,
You trafficked in our life blood from our hearts,
And now your maw is crammed with food we made;
From slum and den we cry our ancient wrong—
How long for us this sorry trade?
How long, oh Lord, how long?

Behold the light just breaking through the smoke,
Of furnace, forge, of mine and thundering trains,
It gleams deliv'rance from the galling yoke,
It melts like dew your burden and your chains.
Revolt's red beam bids you no longer stand
In mute despair and brooding on your wrong;
The ball lies at your right hand,
Oh, men of toil, how long? —In the Bridgemen's Magazine.

IMPORTANT NEWS OF THE WEEK IN BRIEF.

POLITICAL.

A New York labor leader is authority for the statement that John Mitchell has decided not to take the stump for Bryan nor to take any part in the campaign. At the same time comes the announcement from Secretary Easley of the Civic Federation that Mitchell will devote his whole time to the trade agreement department of the federation.

The Typographical Union of Lincoln, Neb., has elected W. J. Bryan to honorary membership. At the same time Gov. Lawson was made a member of the union. A minority objected to Bryan on the ground that his paper does not carry the union label.

Candidate Taft in his address to the Virginia Bar Association at Hot Springs, said that the greatest question now before the American people is the improvement in the administration of justice, civil and criminal, "both in the matter of its prompt despatch and the cheapening of its use." He admitted that there seemed to be no adequate remedy to the inequality of the law for rich and poor, but greater promptness and the denial of endless appeals would help.

Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate, is quoted as saying that the independence party is not likely to be an appreciable factor in the present campaign. It seemed clear to him that Hearst's party was brought into existence from motives of pique and not from principle. He added: "Had Bryan supported Hearst for the nomination for the Presidency four years ago there would not now be an independence party in the field. Every objection which Hearst makes to Bryan now could have been made with equal reason eight years ago." Debs believes that the truly radical Democrats will not be halted by Hearst in their run for Socialism.

Gov. Johnson, of Minnesota, in reply to a letter from Bryan has placed himself at the disposal of the Democratic committee after September 1.

Robert Hunter, the New York Socialist author, has been nominated for the Assembly by the Sixth district.

Candidate Taft made his entry into the ranks of union labor at Cincinnati the day after his speech of acceptance, when a delegation from the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovelmen and Dredgemen formally notified him of his election to honorary membership.

The national committee of the new independence party met at New York Wednesday, and chose William R. Hearst as chairman and Charles A. Walsh as secretary. Candidate Hisgen is quoted as saying that he will make a special canvas in New England and New York.

In his first statement replying to Taft's speech of acceptance Bryan said it showed that the Republican candidate was not satisfied with his own party's platform, and that he was disposed to appropriate the reforms proposed by the Democratic party.

Candidate Bryan at Lincoln Thursday gave out a reply to the platform of the independence party, pointing out that it contains many planks identical with the Democratic platform, and urging voters who want these things not to "throw away their votes" on a party that cannot hope to win.

LEGAL AND CRIMINAL.

In the federal Circuit Court, at Trenton, N. J., the Erie Railroad began a suit against the Interstate Commerce Commission similar to the suits started at Philadelphia by the Pennsylvania and Lehigh Valley railroads. The complaint in all three cases is that the commission has adopted improper methods in obtaining information from the railroads as to the number of hours their employees work, and the court is asked to pass upon the constitutionality of the law as a whole. The railroads assert that the commission's order requiring them to report the hours of labor of their employees is contrary to the fourth and fifth amendments to the Constitution relating to "unreasonable searches and seizures." They say this might compel them to give information which could be used in a suit for violation of the act limiting the hours of service.

Ted Smith, a seventeen-year-old negro, who was identified as the criminal assailant of a white girl near

Greenville, Tex., was taken from the sheriff by a mob in broad daylight and burned at the stake on the public common while a crowd of 36,000 persons, including many children and women, shouted jeers as the victim writhed in torture. For a similar crime another young negro was lynched next day at Lyon, Ga., the mob holding the sheriff up while others broke into the jail to get the accused. On the same day occurred a third lynching for the same kind of crime at Pensacola, Fla. The negro assailant of a white woman was in the hands of the sheriff's men when a mob tried to get possession of him. The officers fired into the crowd, killing two men on the spot and wounding others seriously. Still the mob kept on and finally achieved their purpose.

Despite the presence of State troops and numerous sheriff's deputies in the strike zone around the Pratt mines, near Birmingham, Ala., a non-union miner named Lige Nelms was fired on and killed as he was on his way to work Wednesday. He was armed and answered the fire until he dropped dead. Press reports differ as to what followed but agree that two union miners were found suffering with wounds near where Nelms fell. Prior to this Superintendent Faulk of the Arcadia mines had been shot and wounded.

At Lenox, Mass., Attorney-General Bonaparte gave out a statement saying that the Government would do everything in its power to secure a revision of the decision annulling the Standard Oil \$29,000,000 fine. It explained that the first step would be an application for a re-argument of the case and a motion for a modification of the opinion.

Col. Edward E. Britton, who assisted in drafting the Dick militia law, and F. H. Schroeder have been arrested for stealing \$48,000 from the Eagle Savings and Loan Company of Brooklyn, of which they were president and vice-president. Bank Examiner Young brought the facts to light, and the men made no denial, merely explaining that a mining investment exhausted their resources as the panic came on, and they had helped themselves, expecting to make good later.

The decision that an election board may not be guided by a State convention of a political party in giving recognition to a certain set of election inspectors has been rendered by the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court in the case brought by State Senator McCarren after he was turned down by the Democratic convention controlled by Tammany.

William F. Walker, having pleaded guilty to the charge of embezzling \$70,220 from the New Britain (Conn.) Savings Bank, of which he was formerly treasurer, was sentenced to an indeterminate term of from one to twenty years' imprisonment. Two other charges will still hang over him. Walker disappeared in February, 1907, and was caught by Pinkertons employed by the American Bankers' Association in Mexico last December.

Walter Goodwyn, the man who gave to the Kentucky authorities secrets of the Night Riders in Trigg County, and who has been under the protection of the State since the last term of the court, was shot from ambush at Lexington Monday night and dangerously wounded. Some time ago his house was burned.

President Roosevelt issued a statement Monday asserting that no action whatever had been taken by him in the cases of the West Point cadets, recently dismissed on the charge of hazing. This was a surprise to the entire press of the country, which had printed the statement given out by Secretary Loeb after the conference between the President and Secretary Wright that the eight dismissed cadets had been reinstated with the understanding that they were to be punished inside the academy. The President's latest statement also denies the report that he had approved the dismissal of the cadets.

EXECUTIVE.

Having reached the age limit for active service, Rear-Admiral Cowles, brother-in-law of the President, was placed upon the retired list.

SCIENTIFIC.

Henri Farman, the French aviator, who has arrived at New York with his prize-winning flying machine and

began giving exhibition flights, in a published interview says that it will take another decade to perfect the flying machine for practical and safe use. Half the solution of the problem rested on the perfection of a motor which would give greater power without increasing the weight. The other half lies in developing a machine with an automatic balancing device.

The latest sensation in the realm of mechanical invention is a working model of a powderless and noiseless gun with a possible discharge of 50,000 shots a minute. It is the invention of William Patten, of New York. It is fired by centrifugal force. All there is to it is a big wheel with a crank to it, the inventor getting his idea from seeing a big wheel burst. The bullets are poured into the gun and then, as the wheel attains a certain velocity, they begin to pour out in a solid stream of lead and at tremendous velocity.

SOCIOLOGICAL.

The Peace and Arbitration League, which was the outcome of the North Carolina Congress, has made President Roosevelt its honorary president. The program includes the building of an adequate armament. Senator McCrery, of Kentucky, is the active president. Another peace organization has just been formed at New York, known as the League of Peace. It proposes to unite the nations of the world in a federation with the permanent international Hague court as the judicial department of a world government, with the interparliamentary union composed of members of all the national parliaments as the legislative department, and with a world executive having the title of Peacemaker. To choose this executive they propose having an electoral college made up of about 100,000 of the intellectual leaders of the world.

The leading experts of Great Britain, Germany and Belgium in the prevention of mine accidents have been invited by the American Geological Survey to come to this country to assist in establishing this line of work here with experimental stations such as exist in Europe. Last year 3,200 men lost their lives in the mines of the United States; this is two or three times as great a proportion as were killed in the mines of any European nation. Pennsylvania alone had 1,514 killed. George S. Rice, consulting coal mine engineer of the Geological Survey, has gone to Europe to study methods there.

Revelations of revolting conditions prevailing in Georgia under the convict lease system brought out by the legislative investigation are expected to result not only in the criminal prosecution of the prison officials but in the abolition of that system. Gov. Smith wants the legislature to pass a law providing for a constitutional amendment doing away with the system. The testimony showed the frightful abuse of leased convicts, both white and colored, including the whipping to death of several prisoners.

COMMERCIAL.

Upon the return of George Gould from Europe last week the rumor ran from Wall Street that he was about to accept the financial assistance of the Harriman interests in meeting the obligations of the Wabash Railroad. It was asserted that Harriman was to enter the directorate of the Gould system. Mr. Gould said nothing would give him greater pleasure than to have Harriman associated with him. Following this interview Gould and Harriman had a confab, the outcome of which, according to rumor, was the virtual surrender of Gould control to the Union Pacific magnate in return for which Harriman's brokers are to raise capital to meet the \$8,000,000 notes of the Wheeling and Lake Erie, which were to mature this week. This would imply the abandonment of the Gould plan of a competing trans-continental system.

The right of shippers to combine small quantities of freight of various ownership either by arrangement among themselves or by a forwarding agency, was affirmed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Erie Railroad management has issued a statement alleging improved business conditions. It says they have been adding to the force of employees and getting rolling stock ready for the fall crop moving rush.

The co-operative store run for the benefit of the students reports sales

for the fiscal year amounting to \$300,000 and the payment of a dividend of 8 per cent. to the members. Similar co-operative stores at Yale, Cornell, Princeton and other colleges are in a prosperous condition.

FOREIGN.

Instead of Holland's sending an ultimatum to Venezuela demanding an apology for the expulsion of the Dutch minister at Caracas, it now appears that President Castro had ample cause for giving the Dutchman his passports. The dismissal of De Reuss was the result of a letter which he made public criticizing the rule of Castro.

When the session of the British Parliament ended for the summer on Aug. 1 only two of the 12 important measures proposed in the king's speech last January had been enacted, namely, the Old-Age Pension and the Irish Universities bills. Many important measures remain to be taken up at the autumn session. The new law gives to Irish Catholics a university at Dublin, and provides a new one for Protestants at Belfast.

Returns from the presidential election in Cuba last week have come in so slowly that at this writing the result remains in doubt. It appears that the honors were divided pretty evenly between the Conservative and the two branches of the Liberal parties. The Conservatives seemed to be in the lead, thus rebuking intervention.

A bill which has just passed the Canadian House of Commons not only limits the use of campaign funds in such ways as hiring carriages for voters, but prohibits all contributions from corporations.

During a sympathetic manifestation of building trades employees of Paris in favor of the striking sandpit men at Vigneux and Draveil, July 30, a clash with the troops occurred, in which many strikers were killed and others wounded. The reports say that the workmen first fired upon the troops who barred their way to a cemetery where they were going to honor the memory of comrades who were killed earlier in the strike. Then barricades were raised in the streets, and a general battle ensued.

INDUSTRIAL.

An almost complete absence of solidarity among the unions composing the General Confederation of Labor in the city of Paris, France, marked the response to the call of the revolutionary section for a general strike in all trades and occupations on August 2 to last twenty-four hours. Some of the daily papers were unable to appear as usual, owing to lack of employees, but the electricians and trainmen, the bakers, milkmen, etc., remained at their posts. Nevertheless the city had been virtually occupied by the troops in the expectation of a crisis. The strike was called as a protest against the killing of strikers at Vigneux, where it was charged that the paraders were provoked by the soldiers into violent demonstrations.

The employees of the International Paper Company, or trust, which operates mills in many places, were ordered out Monday as a protest against the reduction of the wages of some of the members of the union. Most of the 30,000 workmen responded and the mills were idle. Officers of the trust said that they had an abundant supply of paper on hand with which to fill orders.

The dispute between the switchmen's union and the Lackawanna Railroad neared the strike stage while friends of arbitration worked to bring about a better understanding. The cause of the strike threat, as presented by President Hawley of the union, was the dismissal of men without due cause. They demand fairness in the treatment of the men and ask a hearing from President Truesdale.

A CORRESPONDENT ANSWERED.

Francis Le Clerc.—We do not know that the advertisement to which you refer has anything to do with scientific Socialism or with any other kind of Socialism. An advertisement is not an utterance of the paper in which it appears, but of the advertiser who buys the space for it. Beyond exercising a reasonable degree of care to guard against the acceptance of advertisements for boycotted goods or for positively fraudulent enterprises, the Socialist does not assume any responsibility for the advertisements which appear in its columns. We simply sell the business man in question a certain amount of space in which to make his announcement; the advertiser is responsible for the accuracy of the statements he makes as well as for the propriety of the language in which he couches them.—The Editor.

THE NEW YORK SOCIALIST.

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NEW YORK, AUGUST 8, 1908.

"THE MAN WITH THE 'DOUGH.'"

By W. E. P. FRENCH, Captain, U. S. Army.

Inscribed to Edwin Markham in grateful regard for "The Man With the Hoe."
(Written after seeing portrait of a multimillionaire.)

Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders.

Matthew xxiii, 4.

Behold, the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud crieth out.

James v, 4.

Bowed by the weight of millions flched by fraud
And law of might from Lahor's scanty purse.

Distilled by covetous and grasping greed
From out the very life-blood of the poor.

From strong men's sweat, from women's work and tears,
From toll of children wan and white from want;

Coldly aloof from those he wrongs, he stands,
And, leaning on his blood-bought bonds, he leers

Upon the cheated people he has robbed
Of their vast birthright. Where his heart once beat

A petrification hard as adamant
Defies the sword of Justice, "dulls the edge

Of husbandry," and turns kind Pity's tears
As the eternal rocks turn summer's rain.

In the domed chamber of his sordid brain,
Where noble thoughts should father kindly deeds,

The worm of avarice breeds in the dark,
The gold-bug burrows, keeping watch and ward

Over the modern pirate's buried hoard,
Those hard eyes glitter with gold's yellow gleam;

Those ears are deaf save to the chink of coin
Or rustle of the mortgage on our Land;

That covetous, set mouth is dumb, except
To voice accursed Mammon's cruel creed;

That white right hand reaps millions from the poor,
The left, reluctant, gives a thousand back—

In what? In charity? Oh, no, fond fool!
'Tis but a trick of the great juggler's art.

That, watching how he spends his ill-got gains,
We may not notice quite how much he takes.

The soul behind that smiling, crafty mask
Is birth-marked with the dollar's sordid sign.

What father bred this bloated thing that hugs
(To its cold breast a nation's looted spoil?

What mother bore this mangled dog who growls
Fierce menace o'er the piles of plundered wealth
For which he gave no just equivalent,
And which he cannot eat or drink or take
With him to Hell, since even thread of gold
Will not sew pockets on dead Dives's shroud?

His sire's name is Human Greed, his dam's
Extortion. Cupidity, not Cupid, read
their banns
And Usury's High Priest made this twain one.

The sacred edifice where they were wed,
The Church of the Most Holy Golden Calf.

The child, begotten in fierce lust of gold,
Was suckled on the full-fed dugs of craft,

Rocked in the cradle of false pride of wealth,
And taught to fold his baby hands in prayer

To triune God of Fraud and Force and Fear.

The laws that make for poverty make wealth,
And rob the many to enrich the few.
We made this man and made his plundered dupes;

Ours is the fault; he is our handiwork,
As much our brother and as much our shame

As that disfigured, crushed and outraged thing
That stoops its brutal face above the hoe.

Looking upon this face, I seem to see
A monstrous python, fetid, swollen, foul,
Gorged with the substance of ten thousand men.

And crushing in its merciless, slow coils
A Goddess, on whose fallen cap I read
The torn and blood-blurred legend—
Liberty.

HOW HE WOULD FEEL.



Eliphalet — How would you feel, Rastus, if another man was to escote yo' lady toe de theatre, hu?

Rastus—I'd feel fo' an ax.

PERFECT ART.

"That making an artificial eye for a pug dog was quite a feat in optical science."
"It was. I understand it was so natural even the beast itself could not see through the deception."

CHINA WAKING FROM AGE-LONG SLEEP

In order properly to understand the revolutionary movement in China by which French interests are affected it is necessary to seek for the main-springs, which are to be found in a strong anti-dynastic and liberal tendency, writes the Paris correspondent of the London Standard. The Man-chu dynasty now stands as the incarnation of social and administrative tyranny, and the anti-dynastic shape given to the revolution is merely a cloak for a regular revolutionary propaganda in favor of an entire up-setting of the whole present regime.

The originators of this movement are doubtless Chinese students, and Chinese of the upper classes, as well as of the lower, who have traveled and mixed with Western civilizations. Their aim is the destruction of the society in which they were brought up—an absolute theocracy, in which human liberty has no place and the rights of man are unknown. Younger men can no longer tolerate the laws of their own land, which dictate even the cut of their clothes, and the way they are to wear their hair. They have read Rousseau and Montesquieu in French and in their own language, and they see no reason why the principal ideas of these great thinkers should not be applied to Chinese doctrines. All the rising generation of the more educated classes in China is imbued with democratic theories.

Out of these has sprung the reform movement, which is in reality an aspiration towards a newer, fairer and a more just state of society. At present the revolution is supposed to be engineered by Sun Ya-Tsen, who changes his residence in turn from Tokio to Hong-Kong or India to keep out of the grip of the Chinese authorities, who have set a price on his head. The mission of anarchists which terrorizes Peking is put down to his initiative. This mission consists, according to the Chinese newspapers, of 250 anarchists furnished with arms and explosives of every sort. They are divided into groups who have as objects to spy on the weak points of the administration, civil and military; to seize on favorable opportunities to commit outrages calculated to terrorize the ruling classes, and to exterminate the supporters of the ruling dynasty.

Another remarkable feature of the present movement is the large share taken by women, who are active members of the secret societies, and who, under the guise of magicians and prophetesses, excite the fanaticism of the people. It is especially the younger women who are most active in the struggle to throw off the yoke under which their sex has so long suffered. It must, therefore, be considered that the whole movement is a very real one, and a very dangerous one, being supported by a new spirit of mysticism and of belief in Socialist abstractions which has already severely shaken Chinese society. Hitherto the Chinese have been considered as a nation incapable of rising to an ideal, but it is apparent to-day that there are in China men and women anxious and ready, at the peril of their lives, to realize a regeneration of society.

The foregoing account requires some qualification. In speaking of "the mission of anarchists" in Peking is incorrect. Anarchism, in the strict sense of the word, cannot be said to exist in China. "Terrorism" would be a better word, in China, just as in India, and to a certain extent in Russia, the revolutionists have been compelled to use the terroristic method for the simple reason that peaceful propaganda of their ideas either by public meetings and newspapers, or even by private conversation and correspondence, is ruthlessly punished by the despotic government.

SOCIALISTS FIGHT THE ICE TRUST

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 2.—Socialist Alderman Melms has introduced in the City Council the following resolutions which speak for themselves:

"Whereas, Summer after summer Milwaukee has seen hundreds of infants perish and thousands suffer from the scarcity of ice in the homes of the poorer people, due to the monopoly of the same and the high and almost prohibitive prices charged

this necessity as a means for profit and exploitation; and

hereas, This summer we have had the added spectacle of the Ice Trust giving the children of the poor one day of surfeit, and posing as a public benefactor, while in other cities the authorities are instituting criminal proceedings against the respective ice monopolies; therefore,

"Resolved, That the Health Department of the City of Milwaukee be and it is hereby directed to investigate into the cost of establishing as a health measure a plant for the harvesting of ice next winter, or for the manufacture of artificial ice for the supply of the poorer classes, to be delivered at cost, and for emergency cases of sickness to be delivered free of charge, and report the probable cost of such a plant and such recommendations as it may deem proper to this Council. Said report to be made as early as possible in order that steps may be taken to provide such plant for the next season."

This resolution was referred to the City Attorney to determine whether such action could be taken under the charter.

The Socialist Aldermen of Milwaukee have declined to take any part in the ball game and reception given by this city to the Philadelphia Aldermen. These men are not only grafters themselves and representatives of one of the most corrupt city governments in the country, but also represent the city government which last winter officially clubbed unemployed men when peacefully demanding the right to work.

New locals of the Socialist party have been formed in Cashton and Valley Junction, this State.

SOCIALIST SENTIMENT STRONG IN N. Y. STATE.

In a letter to The Call, Clinton H. Pierce, national organizer of the Socialist party, writes, that since starting on his tour in New York State on July 6, he is glad to report that wherever he went he found a strong sentiment in favor of the Socialist party. He says:

"I have been successful in organizing three good locals in Binghamton with fifteen members, Elmira twelve members, and Hornell ten members.

"I am giving my best efforts at all my public meetings to advertise the merits of the New York Evening Call, explaining its many admirable features, urging them to support a daily that is so splendidly devoted to their class interests. I have distributed a large number of sample copies which have been generously supplied me by the management, and it does one good to see how eagerly the workers grasp for them. I have been successful already in securing quite a number of subscriptions."

MASSACHUSETTS AWAKE.

BOSTON, Mass., Aug. 5.—George H. Roewer, Jr., the Socialist speaker, who has just completed a tour of Massachusetts, reports greater activity for Socialism in the State than he has ever experienced. The people are eager to listen to Socialist speakers.

He held twenty meetings during July, fourteen of which netted \$26.44 in collections. The crowds were large and attentive, and bought literature at the close of the meetings. Mr. Roewer predicts that Massachusetts will poll a fine vote for the Socialist ticket this year.