

THE SOCIALIST

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

National Secretary, J. 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.

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|------------|---------|------------|--------|
| 1888 | 2,068 | 1896 | 26,564 |
| 1892 | 21,157 | 1900 | 96,961 |
| 1904 | 406,230 | | |

WHAT CHILD LABOR MEANS TO CHILD AND PARENT.

Workingmen and Women, do you know that Two Million children of your class between the ages of ten and fifteen are to-day working for a living, when they ought to be spending their time in the home and the schoolroom and the playground?

It is a fact, proven by the United States Census. Do you know that the number of child wage-workers is increasing from year to year? That the proportion of children driven from the home and school and playground into the mills and mines and stores and upon the street, is growing greater all the time? It is time you knew it.

It is time you realized what this means—what it means to the children themselves, and what it means to you.

First, what does it mean to the children themselves?

Maybe you have never thought much about it. Shameful to say, there are many workingmen who do not consider child labor an evil.

But think about it a little.

In the first place, child labor means **BAD HEALTH** for your children. At twelve or fifteen years of age their bodies are not yet formed; they have not got their growth, and all their tissues are susceptible to every influence for good or for bad. Let them have good conditions of life, and they will grow up strong and healthy, able to enjoy life and do good work and able to resist the attacks of disease. But take them away from the playground, set them at routine work instead of the varied exercise they would get in childish games, rob them of their needed rest, shut them up in workshops and deprive them of sunshine and fresh air—you stunt their growth, you give them flabby muscles, thin blood, cramped lungs, weak stomachs, and irritable nerves. You prepare them for consumption and a hundred other diseases. Ask any doctor, and he will tell you that this is so.

In the second place, child labor means **IGNORANCE** for your children. Their minds are as unformed as their bodies. Now is the time for them to learn and for their mental faculties to be trained to observe, to remember, and to judge. Take them out of the school now and put them at the routine of tending machines or running errands or selling papers and blacking boots—you stunt their minds as you stunt their bodies; you doom them to forget even what they have already learned, to grow up incapable of real thinking, to grow up as mere working animals, without ideas of their own. Ask any teacher—or any other person competent to judge who is not bound by class interest to defend capitalist institutions—and he will tell you that this is so.

In the third place, child labor is very likely to mean **MORAL DEPRAVITY** for your children. Their will and conscience are just as weak and immature as their bodies and minds. They have not yet any clear idea of why right is right and wrong is wrong. They have it in them to become good men and women or bad ones. Which

they shall be depends more than anything else on their environment during childhood and youth. They need the home and the love of father and mother to clear their moral ideas and develop their moral strength. Take them out of the home and put them into the world of labor and business, expose them to the tyranny of bosses and the insults of foremen, set them in an environment of desperate struggle, where kindness and honor are at a discount and brute force and cunning carry the day—you pervert their ideals and stifle their consciences, you teach them to grab, to strike, to sneak, to admire success, no matter how foul the means by which it is won. You take a large chance of preparing them for the gambling hell, the brothel, and the jail. Ask any student of criminology, any probation officer, any humane and intelligent judge (there are a few such)—and he will tell you that it is so.

Again, what does child labor mean to the men and women of the working class?

It means **UNEMPLOYMENT** and **LOW WAGES**.

All through these last twenty years, while the number of child workers has been steadily creeping up to the two million mark, there have been a million men or more out of work even in so-called prosperous years; and in hard times the army of the unemployed has risen to five or six million.

And in spite of all the efforts of the labor unions, while some of the better organized trades have been able to increase their rates of pay, **THE GENERAL AVERAGE OF WAGES HAS BEEN GOING SLOWLY BUT SURELY DOWN.**

What is it that makes wages rise or fall? Just like pig iron or potatoes, your labor power rises or falls in the labor market according to the fluctuations of supply and demand. You have to compete in selling your labor power. Whoever can sell cheapest, succeeds in selling.

Women are cheaper than men at many kinds of work. The bosses care only for cheapness. They hire the women and let the men walk the streets. At many kinds of work children are cheaper than either men or women. The bosses hire the children, while men and women beg in vain for a chance to work.

BUT IF THEY COULD NOT GET CHILDREN TO DO THEIR WORK AT LOW WAGES, THEY WOULD HIRE MEN AND WOMEN AT BETTER PAY. THEY MUST HAVE LABOR, OR NO PROFITS ARE PRODUCED.

Just as putting a cheaper grade of pig iron on the market lowers the general price for pig iron of the higher grades, exactly so, putting children's labor on the market lowers the general rate of wages for men.

The Steel Trust knows how to keep the prices of iron and steel up by not allowing the market to get overstocked. The Working Class has the power (through the ballot), if it has the intelligence and determination, to reduce the glut in the labor market and so keep up wages **BY ABOLISHING CHILD LABOR.**

The capitalists who make a profit out of the labor of your children will tell you—or they will hire some venal professors and editors to tell you—that industry cannot be run without child labor, that they would have to close their mills if you take the children out. That is a lie. Fifty years ago the English mill owners said that they could not run their mills without the labor of six-year-olds. Parliament raised the limit to twelve years—and the mills did not stop.

Take the children out of the mills. Stop their competition in the labor market. The capitalists will simply have to **HIRE MORE MEN**, and they will have to **OFFER HIGHER WAGES** to get them, because their will be fewer persons hunting for each job.

No one else will stop the crime of child labor if you do not.

Take it up in your unions, and use your united power to take the children out of the market and give men a chance to work.

Rally to the support of the Socialist party, the only party abso-

lutely pledged to the prohibition of child labor. Send Socialist representatives of your class to the Legislatures and to Congress to enact laws against this murderous and profitable crime. Put Socialist representatives of your class on the bench to uphold those laws. Put Socialist representatives of your class in the city halls and state houses and the Capitol at Washington to enforce those laws.

AND DO IT NOW.

**BRAVO, COMRADES
OF LOS ANGELES.**

It was a splendid fight that our comrades in Los Angeles put up in defense of their right to hold meetings on the streets for the propaganda of Socialist principles. And they have won the decisive victory which their courage and persistence well deserved. Week after week the local continued to announce street meetings in defiance of the unconstitutional ordinance by which a servile mayor and council sought to throttle free speech. Week after week devoted comrades got upon the stand and began to speak, were arrested and dragged to court and fined by lawless magistrates, refused to pay their fines, and were cast into jail along with thieves, drunkards and prostitutes. Several women were among the victims, and they bore the ordeal—we will not say “like men” but, what is better, like women. Meanwhile, all steps were being taken to fight the cases in the courts to the very last resort. The one thing that was firmly resolved upon was that the party would not accept any “mercy” that would even remotely imply a surrender of its rights.

Eventually this determined course had its effect. The authorities discovered that they were “up against the real thing,” that threats would have no effect, that it was a question of recognizing the right of free speech or making themselves odious by literal enforcement of their infamous ordinance. Public sentiment became aroused. Men who had never thought seriously of Socialism before were drawn into sympathy and active co-operation with the party when they saw it fighting for the fundamental rights of citizens against overwhelming odds. Week after week the protest gained in strength, and at last the authorities were compelled to confess to a most humiliating defeat. While a crowd of ten thousand people surrounded the City Hall and clamored for the right of free speech, the “city fathers” assembled and repealed their ordinance, and the mayor sent orders to the jail for the immediate release of all the Socialists and sympathizers confined there for upholding the law against the official usurpers.

Heartly congratulations to our comrades in Los Angeles. Not only have they won a memorable victory for themselves. They have done a valuable service to the Socialist party and to the working class of the whole country.

The really excessive care with which Mr. McComish restrained himself from treating James Creelman's vulgar and untruthful tirade against Socialism with the severity it deserved makes all the more culpable the refusal of “Pearson's Magazine” to print the reply. It is up to our readers to give Mr. McComish's article as wide circulation as Mr. Creelman's has already had. The only fault we have to find with the answer is that Mr. McComish carries courtesy to an extreme when he gives Creelman credit for being “an eminently fair-minded man.” To cite no other instance, Creelman showed his utter lack of anything like fairness in 1906, when, just a few days before election, when he knew it was too late for the Socialists to reply (since we had only a few weekly papers then), he invented and published the statement that Eugene V. Debs desired to withdraw from the field and advise his friends to vote for Bryan. The man who did that was not, and cannot be now, and cannot ever have been a fair-minded man.

When you go to get a suit of clothes look for the union label in the inside pocket of the coat and the hip pocket of the trousers.

**THE FINAL DEFEAT
OF THE
GREAT CONSPIRACY**

A year ago the Mine Owners' Association pretended to have an absolutely clear case against William D. Haywood, Charles H. Moyer, George A. Pettibone and Steve Adams in the matter of the alleged conspiracy of the Western Federation of Miners to accomplish its purposes by systematic and wholesale murder. The Republican and Democratic press of the country, almost without exception, supported the pretense, treated the guilt of the four men as an unquestionable fact, which needed only the formality of a trial to justify their execution, and clamored for what they called justice.

In spite of all this and in spite of the efforts made by all the powers of capitalism, from President Roosevelt down to Detective McPartland, to force a conviction, a jury declared Haywood innocent,

another jury declared Pettibone innocent, the State was obliged to dismiss the case against Moyer, and now at last a third jury has found the charges against Adams to be without foundation.

Such repeated verdicts in favor of the accused men ought to put an end, once and for all, to the insinuations of the old-party press that the Western Federation of Miners is a lawless and murderous organization. But it has not, and it will not. The acquittal of Adams has been met by these same Republican and Democratic papers with vague hints of some occult influences which compelled the thirty-six jurors in the three cases to give a verdict against the facts; and the public will still be led to believe, if the journalistic prostitutes can possibly effect it, that a great crime committed by workingmen has gone unpunished, instead of the fact indicated by all the evidence brought out in the last two and a half years, by all the most dastardly conspiracy ever concocted by propertied interests has been detected and overthrown.

The acquittal of Steve Adams completes the triumph of the Socialist and Union forces in this memorable historic episode. One battle in the long war for the emancipation of the working class has been won. With increased courage we go forward to new struggles.

An American detective went over into Mexican territory and kidnapped a Mexican citizen who was accused of having committed a murder in the United States. Later the detective was incautious enough to go to Mexico again and get caught. And now the Mexican authorities are going to hang him for the crime of kidnapping. It is rather a striking contrast to the glorification in this country of the scoundrels who perpetrated the kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. On general principles we are not in love with Diaz' government, but in the present case it seems to deserve a word of praise.

The “World” says that if New York wants to have “honest and competent men” at the head of the Police Department, it should be willing to pay at least \$15,000 a year instead of the \$7,500 it now pays to the Commissioner. It is a curious fact that it is easy to get honest and competent men to produce property for other people at the risk of their own lives for \$500 or \$1,000 a year, but twenty times as much should be necessary to hire gentlemen to do honest and competent service in protecting that property at the risk of other people's lives.

It is reported that a Cleveland man has invented an electrical device which will reduce the skilled typewriter to the level of “common labor.” Unfortunately, the girls whom it will injure have no power to vote for public ownership, which would give the benefit to the workers in increased leisure instead of giving it to the capitalists in increased profits.

So there were Standard Oil men mixed up in that rotten fire-hose deal. Well, did anyone suppose that the associates of the pious John D. would let a good thing like that get past them? And after all, it's not so very much worse than hiring men to blow up a rival oil refinery. If you want to know about that, read Henry D. Lloyd's “Wealth Against Commonwealth.”

The President took a good deal of credit to himself for having “hit hard” at the Oil Trust by the hand of his appointee, Judge Landis. Unfortunately for him, Judge Baker and Judge Seaman are also his appointees, and Judge Grosscup owes his place on the bench to Mr. Roosevelt's revered predecessor, President McKinley.

When the capitalist talks of the “open shop,” he means a shop that he is free to close against union men at his own sweet will.

It remained for President Roosevelt, the not too modestly advertised champion of the “square deal,” to forbid workingmen employed in the Navy Department to take an active part in any political movement, under pain of losing their positions and being turned out, in the midst of an industrial depression, to beg private capitalists for a chance to earn a living by the labor of their hands.

When Theodore Roosevelt was Police Commissioner of New York City he did not hesitate to “use his official influence to affect the result of an election.” When he was Governor of New York he did not consider that his position as a servant of the public debarred him from “using his influence to affect the result of an election.” Since he has been President of the United States he has not missed a single opportunity to “use his official influence to affect the result of an election.” He has not even thought that it was improper for him, as Chief Magistrate of the nation, to issue a statement which he well knew would have the tendency to influence, not merely the result of

an election, but the result of a trial in which the lives of three workmen were at stake and the Standard Oil Company and its accomplices were eagerly thirsting for their blood.

All this was perfectly proper for Theodore Roosevelt, the Superman with the Big Stick. But for common workmen—machinists, pattern makers, iron molders, carpenters, and other mechanics who do their hard day's work, week in and week out, for a good deal less than \$50,000 a year—for them to think of taking active part in a political campaign was a crime for which American jurisprudence has not yet developed an appropriate name, but which the Germans designate by the formidable word *Majestatsbeleidigung*. Kaiser Billy knows what that means, and so does Kaiser Teddy.

For the case is plain. Let no one make any mistake. This order, issued by executive authority, without any warrant from the legislative branch of the government, and yet enforced with penalties just as terrible as those of real law—this order issued from on high was not aimed against men in the upper ranks of the government service who might use their influence over men in their departments to compel them to work for the election of Mr. Roosevelt's candidate. Not a bit of it. The "men higher up" are just as busy to-day doing Roosevelt's political work as men in like positions ever were under McKinley or Cleveland. The steam-roller at Chicago proved that.

The men against whom the "no politics" order is directed are the mechanics and laborers in the government service—men who draw wages instead of salaries—men who do work instead of "performing duties"—men who use their own hands and their own brains in their work instead of getting paid for allowing other men to work—and men who have also begun to use their own brains in political affairs, instead of letting the Great I Am do all their thinking for them—men who have had the manhood to open their mouths without asking their official superiors for leave and to tell their fellow workmen what they think about political and economic affairs.

That Socialism was gaining ground among the workmen in the navy yards has been well known to the Socialist party for some time. Now it has become known at the White House, and the consequence is this notice that the order forbidding any person in the executive civil service "to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or influencing the result thereof" will be construed to mean that "laborers and mechanics at navy yards and naval stations will be subject to discharge for political activity."

But we give our Kaiser warning: This will not check the growth of Socialism, in the government service and elsewhere, any more than have the similar measures attempted by his imperial friend at Potsdam.

"Timber Land Swindle Unearthed" is the latest. What with insurance exposures, traction receivership exposures, embalmed beef exposures, Littauer glove scandals, Borah land-fraud scandals, Knickerbocker Trust investigations, and all the other revelations of profitable rascality made within the last few years, who will dare to speak of such a thing as "legitimate business" if this thing goes on a little longer? The fact is, under the conditions of our highly developed capitalism, honesty in small business and honesty in large business is impossible.

Since it appears that it is really practicable to use airships to fly over other people's heads and drop bombs among them, the Department of War at Washington wants Congress to appropriate a million dollars at once and ten millions in the near future, that the United States may take a hand in the game. Suggest to any department at Washington that a million should be spent in giving men a chance to earn a living by hard and useful work, and imagine the sneer you would get in reply. But we must be patriotic, live for "our" country, die for "our" country, and always be ready to kill the people of other countries whenever our masters give the word.

Poverty and wealth, in civilized society, are as closely connected as day and night, or sunshine and shadow. The existence of either implies the existence of the other.

Before you buy a hat, make sure that the union label is in it, sewed under the sweat-band.

It is a long time since Jesus Christ plied the trade of a carpenter in Nazareth. Suppose one of his fellow workmen at that time had been endowed with immortality on earth. Suppose he had worked at his trade every week in the year, every year from that time on. Suppose he had saved ten dollars out of his wages every single week. He would have been as rich as Rockefeller long before this, wouldn't he? Well, if you think so, just sit down and figure it out. You will find that he would not yet be quite a millionaire—that Rockefeller

would be able to buy him out a hundred times over, and have plenty to spare. And yet you are expected to believe that our capitalists have accumulated their wealth by simple industry and economy, and that any workingman could do the same if he would.

THE CZAR IS THE ENEMY OF MANKIND.

Leo Tolstoy's outspoken and courageous denunciation of the Russian government as an organized system of murder should have, and undoubtedly will have, a tremendous effect through the civilized world. His criticism of the revolutionary movement, unwarranted as it is, may be passed over in silence. Tolstoy has never been able to see just what the revolutionary movement means. It seems to him that the revolutionists are "trying to regulate other people's lives by force," which is very far from the truth, since what they are struggling for is nothing less than the extension to all the people of the largest possible freedom to live their own lives and develop their own personalities in peace and harmony. This injustice, however, we may willingly forgive to the brave old man who has come out before the whole world and plainly branded the Czar and his minions as simply uniformed hangmen. In so far as Tolstoy is mistaken in his judgments, the common knowledge of the world will counteract his words; but the truth which he speaks about the Autocracy will ring over all the seas and continents.

Just at this time, when the Russian government is obviously preparing to attempt to float another loan—and this time, it seems likely, to try to float it in the United States—everything is to be welcomed which helps to isolate that criminal autocracy and to draw closer the bonds of sympathy between the suffering Russian people and all the progressive and liberty-loving men and women of all lands.

It is a great satisfaction, at such a time, to record the fact that the government of Japan has responded to the efforts of the Autocracy to establish an extradition treaty by giving a solemn assurance to the numerous Russian refugees in Japan that they need have no fear, that under no circumstances will the Japanese government give them up to the Czar. We await with interest the outcome of the extradition and deportation cases now under consideration by the officials of our own government, to see if it is possible that they will be less firm in their stand against the demands of the bloody Nicholas than are the rulers of Japan.

"Teaching the poor to be clean" is the function of a benevolent society in the city. It is a laudable work, no doubt. How would it do now to organize a society for "teaching the rich to be honest?"

Ireland needs emancipation, no doubt. But the city of New York sees more evictions every year than the whole kingdom of Ireland—and the working people of New York stand for it, though they have the remedy right at hand.

It is asserted that Richard Croker will come out of retirement in order to work for the election of William Jennings Bryan to the Presidency. A candidate is to be known very largely by the men who support him.

The Russian official press is lamenting that "America is prejudiced against Russia." Well, America ought to be ashamed of itself if it were not prejudiced against that official Russia which slaughters thousands of Russians every year and keeps tens of millions in chronic starvation. All we regret is that official and "respectable" America actually does not share the "prejudice."

"Contentment in mind is all there is in this world worth while, and no man is more contented than I am. The spirit of happiness is over me to-day." Who was it that gave out this beatific utterance? Thomas C. Platt, Senator for the United States Express Company. It is worth remembering, if only to warn us against being taken in by sweet-sounding phrases. "The Devil can quote Scripture," and men who public and private life reeks with corruption can talk like saints.

Defective steel rails furnished to the railways by the steel manufacturers are responsible for a large proportion of the train wrecks which give this country such an evil reputation, say the experts in session at Washington. Defective armor plate and boiler tubes furnished to the government by the same manufacturers have been responsible for many fatal accidents in the navy, too. But Messrs. Morgan, Carnegie, Gary, Corey, Schwab, and the rest of them are "honorable men," for all that, and the country couldn't live without them.

THE SOCIALIST BUGABOO--AND OTHERS.

By WILLIAM MAILLY.

From an article in "Success Magazine" for August.

The Socialist Bugaboo is abroad in the land and seeking whom it may devour. The surest and quickest way to achieve press notoriety is to attack Socialism, whether he who attacks be politician, clergyman, labor leader, or what not.

Bugaboos have always played an important role in history, although their own history has never been written. Since the time when the aboriginal created an image of dread and horror which embodied his own fears of the unknown, mankind has been haunted by bugaboos. The human mind has always fashioned from its surroundings a bugaboo, hewn out of its own conception of future dangers. Progress has always had to battle with the dread of the unseen. The bugaboo has been the ally of reaction of all ages.

Socrates drank the hemlock, Christ was crucified, Bruno was burned at the stake, Columbus was ridiculed and persecuted, James Hargreaves had his revolutionary spinning-jenny smashed by his neighbors in 1767, Lovejoy was mobbed and killed at Alton. All of these were sacrificial offerings to the bugaboo of their respective times.

The Socialist Bugaboo is a thing of many shapes. It creators have endowed it with every attribute of every spook that ever frightened mankind into blind antagonism to the truth, and no spook ever terrorized a shivering small boy into burying his head under the blankets more effectively than the Socialist spook terrorizes the ordinary citizen into getting under the blanket of age-long conservatism, there to invite race suffocation and retrogression. No advance was ever made by mankind without the fear of destruction being evoked.

The Public School Bugaboo.

For instance, when the Socialists are charged with pursuing an agitation that would destroy every institution, human and divine, that man holds sacred, how many people know that the proposal to establish free public schools first met with the same sort of reception? And yet that is a fact. The public-school system came into existence through the agitation of a group of weavers, tailors and mechanics in Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

These working men organized a party in 1829, with "free public schools, where the children of rich and poor alike can attend on an equal footing," as its chief demand. A public meeting called to discuss this proposition in Philadelphia at the old city hall was broken up by the police and the speaker arrested and taken to jail. And the New York "Evening Post" of that day called on "the bankers, the preachers, the merchants, and other respectable members of society," to organize to put down "this pernicious agitation which threatens to undermine the very foundations of society." That must sound very familiar to readers of certain metropolitan newspapers which habitually thrust forward the Socialist Bugaboo.

Also, when the authorities are called upon to suppress Socialist agitation and either imprison or deport the agitators, it should be remembered that William Penn, apostle of non-resist-

ance and good will toward all men, was once tried for "preaching and speaking." The jury three times refused to find the Quaker guilty, thus disobeying the instructions of the court, and upon returning a verdict of "not guilty" the fourth time, the jurors were adjudged in contempt. It is not inconceivable that a jury might be found in this day, that would act similarly in a trial against a Socialist agitator, nor that a judge would be as narrow-minded and arbitrary.

The Bugaboo of 1776.

History has an uncomfortable habit of producing coincidences. When editorial writers on the daily press emit fulminations, and public speakers throw verbal bricks at the Socialist agitators, they differ little in their methods of attack from the antirevolutionists and the antiabolitionists that preceded them. Samuel Adams in his day was the "Great Incendiary," John Adams a "reckless political adventurer," Thomas Paine a "child of the devil," the American Congress a gathering of "obscure, pettifogging attorneys, bankrupt shopkeepers, outlawed smugglers, etc.; and its supporters the "refuse and dregs of mankind; their generals men of rank and honor, nearly on a par with those of the Congress." And those who now predict that Socialism would mean slavery and the abolition of religion had their prototypes in those who predicted that the War of Independence would result in a "despotism that will know no limit and no pity." The people were told that the alliance of France with the "rebels" meant that "an absolute dominion over you will be set up by your late protectors; an American bastille will be erected; the Romish religion will be established; the English language will be forbidden; the French language will be made the language of the country," and other dire things of the same sort. The literature of invective has not altered much in a hundred years.

The Abolition Bugaboo.

The Abolitionists were "crazy fanatics," "self-seeking agitators," "designing demagogues," and "foul-mouthed anarchists." The term "nigger-lover" was applied just as readily to them as "free-lover" is to Socialists now. "Do you want your son or your daughter to marry a nigger?" was considered the most powerful anti-abolition argument; just as the question, "Do you want to see free love rampant in the land?" is considered the last word in the antisocialist argument.

The New York paper (the New York Herald) that in 1860 denounced the antislavery sentiment as "Northern fanaticism," and declared that "the Southern States had an undeniable right to secede from the North," is the same paper that a short time ago suggested that Socialist agitators be summarily deported from the United States. And in the same Philadelphia where, in 1860, George William Curtis was threatened with a riot if he dared deliver an antislavery lecture, a Socialist meeting was broken up by police in 1908! There is a striking similarity between the Abolition bugaboo of the fifties and the Socialist Bugaboo of to-day.

Stripped of its modern trimmings, the Socialist Bugaboo is the same old scarecrow, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, and others were pictured in the identical language used upon the Socialist agitators, who do their work under much the same conditions that the Abolitionists did theirs.

THE PARABLE OF THE GOLD DIGGERS.

By EDWIN W. WHEAT.

Again is the coming of Socialism likened unto ten men who went into a far country to dig gold. And as they proceeded on their journey they questioned among themselves as to how the gold should be divided.

And behold, five of them said: "When any one that is among us shall find gold, let that gold belong to us all, and the divided among us, according to the labor that each of us is able to perform in obtaining it; moreover, let us agree that if any one among us shall fall ill, or shall become, from any cause, unable to earn for himself the necessities of life, we will each contribute our share to his support until he shall again be able to labor for himself."

But the other five strenuously objected, saying, "No, we believe in individual opportunity, and not in dividing up. Without the incentive of competition we should become lazy. Let each of us have an equal opportunity, and let each have all the gold that he finds. Moreover, those of us having rich claims can employ those who are less fortunate, and thus all shall be provided for." And they argued so well that finally the other five also consented.

And it came to pass that the very first day one of the men discovered a rich vein of gold, and commenced to work it, while the other nine continued the search. And, though they searched diligently they found so little that in a few months they gave up in despair.

Then, said the man with the rich claim: "Come, work in my mine, and I will give you half of all that you dig." And they did so, and their wages kept them in comfort.

But in the course of time the owner

of the mine was enabled, by means of the wealth accumulated from his half of all the gold dug, to buy machinery, which did away with the work of two-thirds of the men, so that he could no longer use more than three men to advantage, and six of them were thrown out of employment. Thereupon, three of the men who had been thrown out of employment offered to work for a lower wage, and took the jobs away from the three who had been retained. And again the remaining three, who were near to starvation, offered to work for a still lower wage, and replaced the three who were then at work.

And the outcome was that three of the men continued to dig gold for a wage merely sufficient to keep them alive, six others stood ready to take their places whenever they became disabled or ill, and the tenth man kept nine-tenths of all the gold produced for his own enjoyment, and became exceedingly rich.

And behold, the ten men continued to enjoy equal opportunity and the incentive of competition, and were not obliged to divide the proceeds of their labor with their fellow-workers.

Moral.—Socialism might give a little more to a good worker than to a poor worker or a shirker; capitalism gives about all to the shirker who happens to be in control of the means of production.

The earth and the fulness thereof are not for one man or for a thousand men, but for all the people; and the laborer is worthy of what he produces.

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just—think on these things."

FUNDS NEEDED FOR CAMPAIGN

TO THE MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY:

Comrades—Once more the Socialist Party enters the field in City, State and National Campaign, uncompromisingly advocating the interest of our class—the working class.

Present conditions give to the Socialist movement an unparalleled opportunity for splendid growth. At the National Conventions of both the Democratic and Republican parties the so-called "radical" element was so crushed and humiliated by the real managers of those parties as to make it plain to all that they are both completely controlled by the great capitalists. Never before was this fact so plain and unescapable than at this time, and never before have the powers of government been so brutally, recklessly and wantonly used against the workers as during the last few years. Everywhere are strikes, lock-outs, wage reductions, wholesale discharges, unemployment and monopoly prices. Never was the inability of the capitalist system to provide comfort for the workers better demonstrated than at present: thousands of workmen are in vain marching through the streets in search of a master; the number of those thrown out of work keeps on increasing daily and the reductions in wages have reached a point where even those employed are working for starvation wages.

Our great movement has made wonderful progress in recent years, thanks chiefly to the energy and devotion which you, the rank and file of the Socialist Army, have labored for its success. Our party now commands the respect of the capitalist politicians and begins to inspire them with fear, while it daily becomes more and more the rallying center for the intelligent aspirations of all who hope and strive for a better social order.

If we are to grasp the extraordinary opportunity offered the Socialist movement by these conditions, we must have the utmost financial and personal aid of everyone in sympathy with our movement. Only by united action can our condition be bettered and our emancipation achieved.

The Socialist party carries on a great campaign of education, to unite the working class at the polls. It needs your help in that work. As

the organized employers and landlords and the great corporations will contribute to the campaign funds of the capitalist parties, for the purpose of corrupting and confusing and dividing the voters, so we call upon you, our fellow workingmen, to contribute to the extent of your ability to the Campaign Fund of the Socialist party, that the light of knowledge and reason may be carried into every workshop and tenement in the City, State and Nation.

Not alone do we ask for your own contribution, but we also appeal to you to circulate the subscription lists among your friends and shopmates and assist us to collect as much money as you possibly can; the people are giving gladly if they are but asked. The funds will be divided with the City, State and National Committees, and by a liberal contribution you will not only help the movement in this City, but in State and Nation as well. There are no secrets about the financial arrangements of the Socialist party. All contributions are acknowledged in our party press, and a full accounting is made of the way in which the money has been expended.

Remember one other thing, comrades: Since ours is a campaign of education, not an orgy of hero-worship, and thoughtless enthusiasm stimulated by brass bands and fireworks, and beer and bottle, it follows that we must begin our work early, while the people's minds are still open to reason. Money is need now to pay for the printing of literature and hiring of halls, and all other necessary expenses of such an important campaign; therefore give early. A dollar contributed now will do more good than two dollars a month before Election Day.

Let each do his share and do it without delay. The burden of each will be but small and the benefit will be great for all.

Fraternally yours,
NEW YORK CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Address all communications and make all checks and money-orders payable to U. Solomon, financial secretary, 239 East Eighty-fourth street, New York City. All contributions will be acknowledged in the party papers.

UNIONS AND THE PUBLIC.

The Bakers' Union of Milwaukee refused a contract with one of the baker bosses recently, because his shop was not in a sanitary condition. Such incidents as this should be proof enough that labor organizations are doing a grand work in looking out for the health and welfare of the general public.



"AMERICA'S TROUBLE-MAKERS."--A DEFENSE.

By JOHN McCOMISH.

(The following article in reply to James Creelman's wild tirade against Socialism was refused publication by the editors of Pearson's Magazine. May it reach as many through The Socialist as it would had they accepted it.—Ed.)

Mr. Creelman's article, "America's Trouble-Makers" in the July Pearson's, is an almost perfect demonstration of the methods and arguments of those who oppose the Socialist movement.

It could hardly be otherwise, coming from its author, whose faculty for conveying his ideas to his readers has placed him in the front rank of journalistic and magazine writers in the United States.

Mr. Creelman is an eminently fair-minded man; and his professed purpose in the article in question is merely to warn the indolent, conservative American that he is in danger from Socialism; but the whole article is colored by the unconscious prejudice of the "conservative" thinker, which crops out in almost every sentence, and which is of the kind that, in all ages of the world, has been a worse foe to progress and civilization than any conscious antagonism based on logical argument or observed fact.

Mr. Creelman, even while he writes of the thousands of American-born, educated men and women—among them being college professors and students, writers, lawyers, doctors, teachers and ministers of the gospel who are openly advocating Socialism in all parts of the country—can see no inconsistency in speaking of Socialism as "moving, openly or secretly, toward the destruction of American civilization;" of the "naked horrors of ultimate Socialism;" in asserting that Socialism "carries in its bosom treason to the moral, political, social and economic ideals of America" and "contemplates the wreck and ruin of what it has taken a thousand years of human progress to achieve." Truly, Mr. Creelman must have a strange idea of the above-mentioned thousands of American-born Socialists, who, it might be supposed, would naturally love their country as dearly, and work for her good as patriotically as would he himself or any of his conservative "defenders of civilization."

He undertakes to tell Socialists what they intend to do. "The one hundred billions of private wealth now owned by individuals are to be seized by the state and held in common by the people." There is to be a "general confiscation." And he goes on to prophesy what will happen when Socialism gains control of the government. It will "sweep away all rights of private ownership" and "reduce all men to the same economic level." By destroying private property it will deprive society of its strongest bulwark against lawlessness and disorder." (This is particularly good, considering that the very marrow of the Socialist doctrine lies in the extension of law and order into those realms of industry where now there is only chaos and anarchy.)

Creelman's Vicious Circle.

Turning to argument, Mr. Creelman achieves a culminating triumph of logic. He gravely informs us that, under Socialism "the control of the industries will rest in the hands of those who control the votes," and forthwith proceeds to demonstrate, in most masterly fashion, that "the men who control the industries must inevitably control the votes."

I have given up this puzzle completely. Mr. Creelman may have discovered some fourth dimension in the domain of thought which enables him to understand such things, but for myself—in the language of the late A. Ward, of honored memory—it is "a mitch." And I, therefore, respectfully refer it to all those clever persons who have solved the question of priority between the chicken and the egg.

Being a fair-minded man, Mr. Creelman admits that bomb throwing, atheism and free love are not essential parts of the Socialist creed—which will be something in the nature of a revelation to many otherwise well-informed people; but he takes pains to point out the devilish ingenuity of the method by which the Socialists prepare the innocent minds of children to receive their noxious teachings. His illustration, taken from an English Socialist Sunday school

catechism, with the accompanying comment, are really too rich to be passed over.

"Q. Who owns the factories and warehouses?"

"A. The rich capitalist class; who will not employ men unless they can make a profit."

"Q. What is the consequence?"

"A. That men, able and willing to work, cannot get food for their wives and children."

"See," says Mr. Creelman, "how the innocent mind of a child is prepared for the idea of * * * * "general confiscation," etc.

He sees, of course, that the child's mind will be ready to condemn the conditions he sees around him as wrong and unnatural; but to Mr. Creelman this is a rank injustice and heresy, and his every word shows his resentment that children should be so taught.

Would Base Society on Lies.

This is the universal anti-Socialist viewpoint. "It is Socialism, therefore it is bad." Here is an implacable truth, stripped down to the naked bone, viz., "that men, able and willing to work cannot get food for their wives and children."

Yet, Mr. Creelman asserts that by calling attention to it we threaten the ruin of civilization. Does he favor a civilization based on a catechism of lies? Does he think that even our present civilization needs a foundation of starving humanity to ensure its safety? If that is true, then God help civilization! Human men, made in the image of God, will not see their loved ones starve for the sake of preserving it; and the sooner Mr. Creelman and his like realize that fact, the better it will be for humanity.

The real trouble, however, that sours the milk in Mr. Creelman's cocoanut, is the rapid growth of Socialism in the United States during the last few years, from a voting strength of less than thirty thousand in 1892, to an estimated vote of more than a million in the present year. He cannot understand it, except as a result of what he terms the sleepless, merciless, tireless, enthusiastic propaganda carried on by the party, so very different from the work of all other parties.

Creelman's "Arguments."

Mr. Creelman makes serious charges against Socialism—charges that, if well founded, should and would discredit it for all time. "It is," he says, "anti-American * * * * it strikes at the heart of the Republic * * * It is an organized insult to the honesty or intelligence of every great statesman and patriot of the Anglo-Saxon race * * * It spurns with contempt and scoffing the counsels of the heroes, sages and martyrs of American history * * * It tramples on the constitution of the United States."

This is a terrific arraignment; and when we consider that it is launched against a great party, numbering in its ranks many thousands of educated, American-born men and women of every class and profession, as Mr. Creelman himself admits, we are inclined to ask if the calamities he so greatly dreads have not already fallen upon us. It will surely be a dark day for America when her own children are guilty of such crimes as those charged against Socialists by Mr. Creelman.

It is possible, however, that Mr. Creelman is mistaken in this matter. Does he really wish us to believe that any attempt to change any law or custom that may have been in force at any former time involves an insult to the honesty or intelligence of the men of that time, and a repudiation of their ideals? Did Abraham Lincoln and the Northern states of this Union cast insult on the memory of George Washington and the men of the Revolution, when they took up arms and wiped out in bloody war that institution of slavery which, in Washington's time, was not only embodied in the statute law, but was universally held to be sanctioned by Holy Writ?

When Washington and his ragged, barefoot heroes cast off the idea of kingship and aristocracy and established this republic—did they insult the memory of all former heroes, sages and statesmen of the Anglo-Saxon race, who

had based their ideal state on a government of king, lords and commons? Rubbish! anti-Socialist rubbish!

New Occasions Teach New Duties.

The heroes, sages, statesmen and martyrs of American and Anglo-Saxon history each grappled with the immediate difficulty that confronted him in his own time; and the one priceless heritage that they granted for us, and which they have handed down to us through the generations, is the right and the power to do as they did—to decide, by and for ourselves, as to how we shall govern ourselves. Liberty! This is the American and Anglo-Saxon ideal, which all true sons of the race must continually uphold if they would honor the memory of the men who won it for them.

The Socialists of the United States are not unpatriotic or un-American. Quite the opposite. With true American courage and pertinacity they are working to the good of their fellow-men, and thereby doing honor to the memory of those who in former days won for them—in tears and blood and sacrifice—the precious privilege of doing that very thing. Mr. Creelman may rest assured that the Socialist party of the United States, which includes the thousands of American-born men and women of whom he speaks so scornfully, are not trampling on that Constitution that guarantees them in their right, peaceably to endeavor to convince their fellow-citizens that a radical change is necessary in our economic system.

Mr. Creelman may be safely cleared of the charge of self-interest in his attack on Socialism. God knows the man of genius has nothing to lose and everything to gain from the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. He has simply been accustomed to look at things through capitalistic spectacles which, not being ground to true, give him a distorted view of things.

He Ought to Know Better.

But he ought to realize that prejudice is not argument; that scorn and epithet and unreasoning abuse cannot carry conviction to the minds of intelligent men, and that the truth can harm none but those whose intent is evil.

Perhaps, if he took off those spectacles and examined Socialism in his clear of common sense, he might find the solution of the puzzling problem by its sturdy growth. He might realize that the debaucheries of "Society" and the miseries of the slums do not constitute the American ideal; and that civilization might possibly survive if both were wiped out of existence.

He might even be able, with those English Sunday-school children, to perceive the sinister significance of that preposterous fact stated in their catechism, viz., "that men, able and willing to work; are unable to get food for their wives and children."

When he now speaks of the spreading discontent as if it were a crime, he would then see that any man who can look on our present conditions of living and remain contented must be both criminal and degenerate.

Why Socialists Are So Tireless.

And, speaking again of that puzzling rise of Socialism—simply to help him a him—if he pays VERY particular attention, after he gets rid of those spectacles, to Socialists at work, he may find that it is the undying appeal to truth and justice embodied in their doctrines that makes of them such enthusiastic, energetic missionaries, and also makes it easy work for them to gain adherents among intelligent and fair-minded men.

This is not the place for an exposition of the principles of Socialism. Those principles will be proclaimed during the coming political campaign in thousands of places where they have never yet been heard; and Pearson's readers, like other citizens, will have opportunity to hear them. But the phenomenally rapid rise of the party to its present strength is in the nature of a mystery to thousands to whom it has come in a flash of realization; and no doubt anything that will go to explain the mystery will help to ease their minds.

I can credit it to no other cause than that THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM, or, as the Socialists prefer to call it, the wage system, HAS SHOWN ITSELF AN IGNOMINIOUS FAILURE. THE FULL MEASURE OF ITS

EXPRESSED IN THAT ONE COLLAPSE MAY BE TERSELY DAMNING SENTENCE. "MEN, ABLE AND WILLING TO WORK, CANNOT GET FOOD FOR THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN." AND THE DEFENDERS OF THE WAGE SYSTEM CAN OFFER NO SOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTY.

Mr. William H. Taft, the Republican nominee for President, made his initial speech of the present campaign at Cooper Union, New York, last February. When he had concluded, a man rose up in the audience and said to him, "Mr. Taft, what would you do in the case of a man who had lost his employment and was unable to support his family?" Now, notice the answer. "God knows," said Mr. Taft, "I don't. Such a man has my deepest sympathy."

I consider these to be about the most significant words ever uttered on a public platform in the United States. For they mean nothing less than that the dominant party in this country has finally, after forty years of hopeful experiment and brilliant promise, been compelled to throw up its hands and acknowledge defeat. It now holds out no hope of betterment to the unemployed man or those dependent on him.

Were Mr. Bryan, or any other among the leaders of the Democratic party, confronted by the same question, he would be compelled to give the same answer.

The Socialist party alone comes forward with a definite programme that promises relief, not only to the man out of work, but to every other man who is suffering from our unscientific system of economics; and the Socialist doctrines alone convey the blessed hope of salvation to the oppressed millions of capitalism.

That there is nothing vague or indefinite either about those promises or the hope of their fulfillment is proved by that very phenomenon that is so disquieting to Mr. Creelman, viz., that thousands of well-educated, American-born men and women are eagerly flocking to the Socialist standard and unselfishly giving their talents and energy to the enlightenment of their fellow-citizens.

It is but fair to the readers of Pearson's therefore, that they be given a chance to see the other side of the shield. Without that opportunity they cannot judge fairly or intelligently. Socialism has no fear of the light, and asks no greater favor than that it be allowed to openly confront its opponents. If those opponents are afraid or ashamed to come out and meet it in fair debate, those who look on and listen will then decide for themselves as to who have right and justice with them in the fight.

No doubt thousands of Pearson's readers will come within the range of Socialist platform speakers during the approaching campaign. Let them remember that these speakers are championing a cause that has appealed to thousands of their fellow-citizens, as strongly as a religion, and that hundreds of ministers of the Gospel of Christ have placed themselves on record, declaring that Socialism is synonymous with true Christianity. Surely such a cause is worthy of a respectful hearing.

THE MARCH.

By THEODOSIA GARRISON.

I, who was very weary, turn again
To face the journey of the winding
day,
To take my place amid the march of
men
And be as brave as they.

To toil—to dare—to battle—to rejoice
Until again night yields us resting
place;
And yet I have not heard my captain's
voice
Nor ever seen his face.

Nor do I know wherefore we strive or
when
The strife shall end. I only know
each day
I take my place amid the march of men
And listen—and obey!

—The Reader.

STRONG.

Mrs. Newlywed—You need not have bothered to bring this butter up to the house this morning.
Grover—No bother at all, ma'am.
Mrs. Newlywed—But it could have come alone.

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 II.

The Great Land Fortunes.

(Copyright, 1908, by Gustavus Myers).

CHAPETR X (Continued).

FURTHER VISTAS OF THE FIELD FORTUNE.

IV.

And now by the most natural grade we come to those much-bepraised acts of our multi-millionaires—the senatorial donating of millions to "charitable" or "public-spirited" purposes.

Like the Astors, the Schermerhorns, the Rhinelanders and a galaxy of others, Field diffused large sums; he, like them was overwhelmed with panegyrics. Millions Field gave toward the founding and sustaining of the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago and to the University of Chicago. It may be parenthetically added that, (to repeat), he owned, adjacent to this latter institution, many blocks of land the increased value of which after the establishment of the University more than recouped him for his gifts. This might have been either accidental or it might have been cold calculation; judging from Field's consistent methods, it was probably not chance.

So composite, however, is the human character, so crossed and seamed by conflicting influences, that at no time is it easy to draw any absolute line between motives. Merely because he exploited his employees mercilessly, and cheated the public treasury out of millions of dollars, it does not necessarily follow that Field was utterly deficient in redeeming traits. As business is conducted, it is well known that many successful men (financially) practice the most cruel and oppressive methods, while, outside the realm of strict business transactions, are expansively generous and kind. In business they are beasts of prey, because under the private property system, competition, whether between small or large concerns, is reduced to a cutthroat struggle, and those who are in the contest must abide by its desperate rules. They must let no sympathy or tenderness interpose in their business dealings, else they are lost.

Stolen Money and Charity Gifts.

But without entering into a further philosophical disquisition, this fact must be noted: The amounts that Field gave for "philanthropy" were about identical with the sums out of which he defrauded Chicago in the one item of taxes alone. Probed into it is seen that a great part of the sums which multi-millionaires have given, represent but a tithe of the sums cheated by them in taxes. William C. Schermerhorn donates \$300,000 to Columbia University; the aggregate amount that he defrauded in taxes was much more. Thus do our magnates supply themselves with present and posthumous fame gratuitously. Not to consider the far greater and incalculably more comprehensive question of their appropriating the resources of the country and the labor of hundreds of millions of people, (8) and centering attention upon this one concrete instance of frauds in taxes, the situation presented is an incongruous one. Money belonging to the public treasury they retain by fraud; this money, apparently a part of their "honestly acquired" fortune, is given in some form of philanthropy; and then by some curious oversetting of even conventional standards, they reap blessings and glory for giving what are really stolen funds.

"Those who enjoy his confidence," wrote the effervescent Adams of Field, "predict that the bulk of his vast fortune will be devoted to purposes of public utility." But this prediction did not materialize.

\$140,000,000 to Two Boys.

Field's fortune, conservatively estimated at \$100,000,000, yet, in fact, reaching about \$140,000,000 was

(8) "Hundreds of millions of people." Not only are the 85,000,000 people of the United States compelled to render tribute, but the peoples of other countries all over the globe.

largely bequeathed to his two grandsons, Marshall Field III, and Henry Field. Marshall Field, as did many other multi-millionaires of his period, welded his fortune into a compact and vested institution. It ceased to be a personal attribute, and became a thing, an inert mass of money, a corporate entity. This he did by creating, by the terms of his will, a trust of his fortune for the two boys. The provisions of the will set forth that \$72,000,000 was to be set aside in trust for Marshall III until the year 1954. At the expiration of that period it, together with its accumulation, was to be turned over to him. To the other grandson, Henry, \$48,000,000 was bequeathed under the same conditions.

These sums are not in money, although at all times Field had a snug sum of cash stowed away; when he died he had about \$4,500,000 in banks. The fortune that he left was principally in the form of real estate and bonds and stocks. These constituted a far more effective cumulative agency than money. They were and are inexorable mortgages on the labor of millions of workers, men, women and children, of all occupations. By this simple creed, called a will, embodying one man's capricious indulgence, these boys, utterly incompetent even to grasp the magnitude of the fortune owned by them, and incapable of exercising the glimmerings of management, were given legal, binding power over a mass of people for generations. Patterson says that in the Field stores and Pullman factories fifty thousand people work for these boys. (9) But these are the direct employees; as we have seen, Field owned bonds and stock in more than one hundred and fifty industrial, railroad, mining and other corporations. The workers of all these toil for the Field boys.

Glimpses Into the Reverse Side.

They delve in mines, and risk accident, disease and death, or suffer an abjectly lingering life of impoverishment. Thousands of coal miners are killed every year, and many thousands more are injured, in order that two boys and others of their class may draw huge profits. (10) More than ten thousand persons are killed and 97,000 injured every year on the railroads, so that the income enjoyed by these lads and others shall not diminish. Nearly all these casualties are due to economizing in expense, working employees to an extreme fatiguing limit, and refusing to provide proper safety appliances. Millions more of workers drudge in rolling mills, railroad shops and factories; they wear out their lives on farms, in packing houses and stores. For what? Why, foolish questioner, for the rudiments of an existence; do you not know that the world's dispossessed must pay heavily for the privilege of living? As these lads hold, either wholly or partly the titles to all of this inherited property; in plain words, to a formidable part of the machinery of business, the millions of workers must sweat and bend the back, and pile up a ceaseless flow of riches for them.

Marshall Field III, still in knickerbockers, receives \$60,000 a week; his brother Henry \$40,000 a week. The sum in both cases automatically increases as the interest on the principal compounds. What do many of the workers who supply this revenue get? Patterson gives this authentic list of wages:

(9) Marshall Field's will, by Joseph Medill Patterson. Reprinted in pamphlet form from Collier's Weekly.

(10) The number of men killed per 100,000 employed has increased from 267 a year in 1895 to about 355 at present. (See report of J. A. Holmes, chief of the technological branch of the United States Geological Survey.) The chief reason for this slaughter is because it is more profitable to hire cheap, inexperienced men, and not surround the work with proper safeguards.

POVERTY CHIEF CAUSE OF CRIME.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, is not perhaps as widely known as Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, or Judge William H. Taft, of Cincinnati. But his fame rests on a better foundation. His distinction is not that he has declared many labor laws unconstitutional, nor that he has used the injunction to break workmen's strikes. He will be remembered as the first judge in America who presided over a children's court and did his share toward stopping the practice of sending little boys and girls into the schools of crime known as jails and prisons. He will be remembered, too, as the judge who made a valiant attempt to introduce better methods in dealing with adult offenders, who tried to make it a rule to get the culprit a chance to live an honest life, instead of punishing his family by locking him up for thirty or sixty days and then turning him out more helpless than before. The politicians, whose interest is in promoting crime in order to get salaries for punishing it or hoodling for conniving at it, did all in their power to hamper his activities, but the example he set will bear fruit.

In a recently published article Judge Lindsey gives his answers to several questions addressed to him by a public school superintendent in New England. We quote in part:

Schools and Crime.

"In your opinion, to what extent is the public school system responsible for juvenile crimes?"

"I cannot say that the public school system is in any particular responsible for juvenile crime. The public school system represents education, and education has done more to reduce crime than almost any other cause. Of course, I recognize that there are some shortcomings in the public school system. For instance, in my judgment, if we had more of that kind

of training which would equip children for industrial efficiency through the more direct teaching of trades or the furnishing of some kind of a commercial training it would make of the children surer breadwinners, and everything that increases the opportunities to earn a livelihood to that extent reduces the temptations to crime.

"I am convinced that poverty is the chief cause of crime in this country—that is, the crime that is generally punished by the courts, for the people who get into the courts are usually poor and ignorant. It is only occasionally that the crimes of the intelligent, cunning and wealthy are punished.

"To hold the public school responsible for what it fails to do and might do to equip morally the future citizen would shoulder upon it the responsibility of any crime resulting from that failure. We can only urge upon the school the great importance of neglecting no opportunity to make as perfect a citizen as it is possible for it to make within the reasonable scope of its purposes and functions."

Immigration and Crime.

"How far does immigration contribute to the increase of juvenile crime?"

"I am not of those who lay much stress upon immigration as a cause of crime in this country, whether adult or juvenile. My own investigations of police records (and I have investigated those of nearly all the large cities) have rather startled me by showing how few of our juvenile criminals are of foreign parentage. Perhaps more children of immigrants get into court, but my judgment is that this is largely because of poverty and ignorance.

"I am coming more and more to the conclusion that the causes of crime must be searched for among those evils that afflict our social, economic, industrial and political conditions. The prayer most repeated is that one containing the supplication, 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil'; but many of the conditions in this civilization of ours gainsay the prayer."

- Pullman Company blacksmiths, \$16.43 a week; boiler-makers, \$17; carpenters, \$12.38; machinists, \$16.65; painters, \$13.60, and laborers, \$9.90 a week. As for the lower wages paid to the workers in the Field stores, we have already given them. And apart from the exploitation of employees, every person in Chicago who rides on the street or elevated railroads, and who uses gas, electricity or telephones, must pay direct tribute to these lads. How decayed monarchical establishments are in these days! Kings mostly must depend upon parliaments for their civil lists of expenditure; but Capitalism does not have to ask leave of anybody; it appropriates what it wants.

The Golden Age for Wealth.

This is the status of the Field fortune now. Let the Field striplings bless their destiny that they live in no mediaeval age, when each baron had to defend his possessions by his strong right arm successfully, or be compelled to relinquish. This age is one when Little Lord Fauntleroy can own armies of profit producers, without being distracted from their toys. Whatever defence is needed is supplied by society, with its governments and its judges, its super-serviceable band of lawyers, and its armed forces. Two little tender stalks are upheld in their possessions and power, while millions of stomachs, adult and juvenile, go hungry or half hungry.

Yet, if those empty stomachs should attempt to act on the principle (while an officialdom indifferent or hostile to them is in power), that NO stomach lack food, and that human life takes precedence of property, they would receive grim provender via gatling guns, with which same diet the arsenals are being stocked to-day for this very coming purpose. Thus is Society organized; and were it not that a radiant era draws nigh, full of inspiration, the very beholding stars might fade away in despair.

(To be continued.)

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT.

Minister—When will you sing this chant, beginning "Lord, have mercy upon us?"
Choir Director—Just before the sermon.

THERE AIN'T GOIN' TO BE NO SERVANT GIRLS.

By BEN HANFORD.

Few and far between are the crumbs of comfort seen as one looks over the world of capitalism. But there are two recurrent news items that cause me to chortle with glee and warm the cockles of my heart. One is the wall raised by the gentlemen of commerce because it is so difficult to get American-born boys to be sailors. The other is the whining of our fine ladies because of the scarcity of servant girls. Generally speaking, a common sailor is treated a little better than a dog. Most servant girls are treated worse than dogs. "Domestics" they are called by their "mistresses," but few of them meet the kindness and consideration accorded domestic animals.

Every male member of the household has a right to insult her. No matter who or what he is—raw and driving youth, burly master, or drooling and senile grandpa. When attacked by foreman or employer, the factory girl may save her soul at the price of her place and bread, but oftentimes the "domestic" must give up all on the altar of slavery.

"No, dear madame, my fine, fat old female with the stony eye and double chin, there ain't goin' to be no servant girls in the world that is to be. It's a terrible thought! But take heart of hope. It may not be as bad as you fear. True, there shall be no servants, but it does not follow that there shall be no service. First of all, tools and machines, organization of labor, division and subdivision of labor, shall do many things now done by the domestic slave. And about machines and their labor there shall be no small or servitude or slavery, no taint of the "menial."

ALWAYS DEMAND MORE.

Mayor Whitlock of Toledo, in his opening address before the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' convention, which was held in the Golden Rule City, said: "Give up nothing. Workers should hang to every luxury. If you let go, your standard of wages is reduced because your standard of living is lower. Concede nothing, and always demand more."

TO IRISH WAGE-WORKERS IN AMERICA.

Manifesto of the Irish Socialist Federation.

Fellow Workers: As all the political forces of the United States are busily engaged to-day in lining up for the great conflict of the Presidential election of 1908 as on every hand there is a measuring of strength, a scanning of "issues" and a searching of souls, we desire on our part to approach you for the purpose of obtaining your earnest consideration of our principles before determining where to cast your support in the campaign. Let us reason quietly together! We speak to you as fellow workers and as fellow countrymen, and we ask where do you stand in politics to-day? Hitherto the Irish in the United States have almost entirely supported the Democratic party, but the time has come when the majority of thoughtful Irishmen are beginning to realize that as the causes that originally led to that affiliation are now no longer existent, the affiliation itself must be reconsidered. Political parties must thrive or fall according to the present development of the class in society they represent, and cannot be kept alive by a mere tradition of their attitude in past emergencies. The antagonism of the Democratic party towards the Know Nothing movement in the past won for it the support of the Irish workers, but Know Nothingism is not an issue to-day, and as the Democratic party is going down to an unhonored grave because of its inability to grasp the problems of our own time shall we Irish workers suffer ourselves to be dragged to social perdition with it?

What Parties Represent.

No; fellow countrymen, political parties are the expression of economic interests, and in the last analysis are carried to victory or defeat by the development or retardation of economic classes. Examine the history of America for the last decade in the light of this analysis of the springs of political action, and the truth of that contention will be at once apparent. The Republican party is the political weapon of advanced capital, of great trusts and mammoth combinations of wealth. Hence as during the last decade the whole trend of industry has been toward greater concentration of capital we find that the Republican party has grown stronger and stronger and its hold upon the political institutions of the country has proportionately tightened. To-day the governmental machinery of the United States is completely in the hands of the servants of capital, and Senate and Congress are but instruments for registering the decrees of the trust magnates of the United States. On the other hand the Democratic party is the party of the small business man, and of those narrow ideas upon economics and politics which correspond to the narrow business lines and restricted economic action of the middle class in general. Hence as the last decade has witnessed the continual absorption by the trusts of the business of its petty competitors so it has also witnessed the absorption by the Republican party of the one time adherents of the Democracy; as it has witnessed the downfall of the middle class as a social factor, so it is witnessing the downfall of the political party of the middle class and its elimination as a political factor. And just as the petty business man may hang on to a meagre existence in business whilst no longer seriously considering himself as a competitive factor in industry, so the political party of the Democracy may hang on to a sordid existence in local affairs by means of its control of graft whilst entirely eliminated as a serious aspirant to national power.

Know-Nothingism Out of Date.

We Irish workers are then not under the necessity of considering ourselves as bound by tradition to the Democratic party; political parties are not formed by traditions, but by interests. Where then do our interests lie? Certainly not in the Republican party—that is the party of our employers, and as our employers we know do not allow their actions to be governed by our interests we are certainly not under any moral obligation to shape our political activity to suit the interests of our employers. Where then? To answer that question properly we must ask ourselves why are we Irish here at all in this country, in-

stead of in Ireland? Certainly we have no complaint to make against our native land, and we for the most part did not come here for pleasure. We came here because we found that Ireland was private property, that a small class had taken possession of its resources—its land, its lakes, its rivers, its mountains, its bogs, its towns and its cities, its railways, its factories, and its fisheries. In short, that a small class owned Ireland and that the remainder of the population were bond slaves of these proprietors. We came here because we found that the government of the country was in the hands of those proprietors and their friends, and that army and navy and police were the agents of the government in executing the will of those proprietors, and for driving us back to our chains whenever we rose in revolt against oppression. And as we learned that since that government was backed and maintained by the might of a nation other than our own, and more numerous than us, we could not hope to overthrow that government and free our means of living from the grasp of those proprietors, we fled from that land of ours and came to the United States.

Landlordism Here, Too.

In the United States we find that every day the condition of matters for the working class drifts more and more in the direction of the conditions we left behind. Here the resources of the country are also in the hands of a small class—the land, the rivers, the lakes, the forests, the fisheries, the towns, the cities, the factories, the railroads, the entire means of life of eighty millions of people are in the hands of a class which every day grows smaller and whose rapacity and greed and lust of power grows as its numbers diminish. Here also we find that government is but the weapon of the master class, that the military and police forces of the nation are continually at the service of the proprietors in all disputes just as in Ireland, and that the "rifle diet" is served out to workers in America oftener than to peasants in the old country. But here the analogy stops. In Ireland the government was a foreign government, it was outside of our control and beyond our reach, and hence no political action of ours could completely master the situation or achieve our freedom from the oppression of the master class. That class sheltered behind the British Government, and our vote for freedom was answered by a foreign army shaking thirty thousand bayonets in our faces. But, in the United States, although the master class—the proprietors—rests upon the Government, and although that government rests upon armed forces to maintain and enforce its will, yet all alike, being native and not foreign, are within the reach of the political and economic action of the American workers, and can at any moment be mastered by them. Hence the hopelessness which at one time seized upon the popular mind in Ireland need never paralyze the action of the wage-slaves here. Freedom lies within the grasp of the American wage slave, he needs but the mind and knowledge to seize it.

What then is the lesson for the Irish workers in America? We are not trust magnates, nor little business men, and the interests which bind us to those who work beside us and suffer with us are infinitely stronger than the traditions which draw us towards those of our race whose interests are those of our despoilers. Hence our duty is plain. We must fight against in America that which plundered and hunted us in Ireland. Here as there, and here greater than there, the enemy of our race is private property in the means of life. In Ireland it was fundamentally private property in land that was the original and abiding cause of all our woes; in America it is again private property in land and in machinery that recreates in the United States the division of classes into slaves and enslaved. In Ireland it was private property, immature but bloodthirsty, in America it is private property grown mature from the sucking of human blood. In both it is the enemy of the human race.

Ernest Jones's Words.

To quote if you wish of Ernest Jones, the Charlisters of '48, friend of

Ireland and fellow worker of John Mitchel in whose defense he spent one year in prison—

"The monopoly of land drives him (the worker) from the farm into the factory, and the monopoly of machinery drives him from the factory into the street, and thus crucified between the two thieves of land and capital, the Christ of Labor hangs in silent agony."

We appeal to you then, fellow countrymen, to rally around the only banner that symbolizes hope for you in America as in Ireland—the banner of Socialism. Cast off all your old political affiliations, and organize and vote to reconquer society in the interests of its only useful class—the workers. Let your slogan be, the common ownership of the means of life, your weapons the Industrial and Political Organization of the Wage Slaves to conquer their own emancipation.

Vote for the Socialist party, the political standard-bearer of the American working class.

HIS EXCUSE.

Father—Didn't I see him hugging you as I came in?
Daughter—No, papa; he was showing me how he telephones by holding the transmitter close to their east.—Harper's Bazar.

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Branches: Albany, Yonkers, Troy, Gloversville, Binghamton, Oneida, Tonawanda, Schenectady, Rochester, Portchester, N. Y., Trenton, Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, Passaic, South River, Rahway, N. J., New Haven, Waterbury, Hartford, Meriden, Bridgeport, Rockville, Stamford, Conn., Adams, Boston, Holyoke, Springfield, Mass., Luzerne, Philadelphia, Allegheny, Altoona, Scranton, Erie, Allentown, Pa., Chicago, Ill., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Cal., Cleveland, Toledo, O., Manchester, N. H., Baltimore, Md., St. Louis, Mo., Providence, R. I., Milwaukee, Wis.
For addresses of the branch financial Secretaries see "Vorwärts."

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LABOR DIRECTORY.

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, Hermann 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 Maester, 542 E. 150th St. City; Recording Secretary, Arthur Gonne, 1992 Anthony Ave., Bronx.

UNITED JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION meets second and fourth Mondays in Link's Assembly Rooms, 231-233 East Thirty-eighth St.

SOCIALIST WORKING WOMEN'S SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Branches in New York, Brooklyn, Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, Syracuse, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis. Control Committee meets second Thursday in the month at 11 a. m. in the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., New York City.

BROOKLYN, 224 A. D., Br. 1 (American), meets the second and fourth Friday at 675 Glenmore Ave.; Br. 3 (German), meets the second Monday of the month at 675 Glenmore Ave.

WORKMEN'S CHILDREN'S BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: WILLIAM SCHWARTZ, Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, New York City.

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MINERS' UNIONS GET TOGETHER

DENVER, Col., July 21.—The annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners held here last week showed that the old fighting spirit of the most radical labor union of the United States is far from being extinct, and the work done gives good promise for a great increase in membership and activity in the near future. Some of the more important acts of the convention are given herewith.

An agreement was reached with the United Mine Workers of America, by which the two organizations, while not really consolidating their forces, will work hand in hand upon the separate fields of coal and metallurgical mining, and will assist each other in various ways.

The report of the executive board advocated education as the means of awakening the laboring man to his opportunities. It stated that in Alaska the struggle had commenced for the establishment of an eight-hour day and against discrimination and the black list. In regard to the recent judicial contests the report said: "The association stands to-day vindicated before the world, while the mine owners and their supporters stand convicted of the foulest conspiracy recorded in the annals of crime."

The following resolution relative to the litigation was submitted by the Nevada union and unanimously passed:

"Denver, Col., July 16, 1908. To the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners:

"Whereas, During the past two years the combined forces of organized plutocracy in the West has used every effort to strangle the Western Federation of Miners and destroy the organization, which for the last fifteen years, courageously battled to better the conditions of the men employed in the mines, mills and smelters. As a part of this infamous plot, these forces of capitalists have attempted to legally murder men, who, as the leaders of our organization, have remained true to their trust when this foul attempt was made, organized labor of America rallied loyally to our financial support and the labor and Socialist press exposed the infamous plot, and in placing before the world the truth saved innocent men from the gallows and vindicated the Western Federation of Miners of the charge of being a criminal organization.

"Whereas, During the numerous labor conflicts the Western Federation of Miners has been engaged in during the past years, organized labor has also been generous in giving us moral and financial support in our struggles to better our conditions and defend our rights, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Western Federation of Miners, ever grateful for the assistance it has received in the hour of need, desires to express to organized labor and the Socialist and labor press our heartfelt appreciation for their noble defense of the Western Federation of Miners."

William D. Haywood and Vincent St. John no longer have official positions in the federation. The former is not a delegate, and is simply an ordinary member of the organization. St. John is not at present a member, being the secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, with headquarters at Chicago.

A CORRECTION.

The name of Bannister Merwin was mistakenly attached to the report of the Sagamore conference which appeared in our issue of July 18. As editor of the Socialist Writers' Syndicate, Comrade Merwin supplied the report, but he wishes it explained that it was written not by himself but by one of the syndicate's contributors.

It should also be noted that John Spargo has explained that no discourtesy was intended when he and Robert Hunter left the conference before its close, as both had to fill other pressing engagements.

COMPETITION.

By CLYDE J. WRIGHT.

Competition to own the earth huris man against his brother and woman against her sister.

Competition to grasp with the grip of a demon, the things that were before man was and the things that will be when man is not kills all the propensities of man that would broaden him mentally or promote him socially.

It condemns men to die living and live dying while they live.

It is like salt that has lost its savor and spice that has lost its flavor.

The seething fermentation of social chaos to-day calls for something more and something better than a system that makes the human horde compete for the things that are bounteously at hand for all.

Schemes will also be schemes. But schemes for some and not for all is not government that makes for freedom, is not the code that builds for justice.

Schemes for some are matters personal, but schemes for government are social and must conform for one and all. "Everyone for himself and the devil for us all" is capitalistic, a twin birth of competition; and if the "devil" means hell, America, to-day, with its competition, poverty, and shame has in it hell enough for the populations of the earth.

LIBERTY.

By ERNEST JONES.

Thy birthplace—where, young Liberty?

In graves, 'mid heroes' ashes.
Thy dwelling—where, sweet Liberty?
In hearts, where free blood dashes.

Thy best hope—dear Liberty?

In fast unwinding time.
Thy first strength—where, proud Liberty?
In thine oppressor's crime.

Thy safety—where, stray Liberty?

In lands where discords cease.
Thy glory—where, bright Liberty?
In universal Peace.

PHILADELPHIA NOTES.

Street meetings are being attended by large audiences who seem to be very much interested.

The capitalist press of this city made the statement through its columns last week, that, owing to the negligence of the Socialist party of Pennsylvania in failing to file the names of the Presidential electors, the party would not have a Presidential ticket in this state. This, like all of the so-called news in regards to the Socialist party is not correct, as the names of the Socialist party Presidential electors were filed with the Secretary of State at Harrisburg, July 11th, by State Secretary R. B. Ringler.

Comrades who are practical draughtsmen and who will draw maps for the party are asked to communicate with the Organization Committee. The Organization Committee would like to receive from all Ward Organizers complete returns of all precinct work done.

Financial secretaries of branches are urged to have their reports in promptly at the end of each month.

PARTY DIRECTORY.

National Secretary—J. Mahlon Barnes, 150 Washington street, Chicago.

Secretary to International Bureau—Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York.

STATE SECRETARIES.

Alabama—Thos. Freeman, Fairhope.
Arizona—J. G. Kroon, Box 510, Globe.

Arkansas—W. R. Snow, Huntington.
California—H. C. Tuck, 523 17th street, Oakland.

Colorado—A. H. Floaten, 1026 Broadway, Denver.

Connecticut—Samuel Ely Beardsley, Shelton.

Florida—Henry L. Drake, Box 1033, St. Petersburg.

Idaho—T. J. Coonrod, Emmett.
Illinois—Jas. S. Smith, 180 Washington street, Chicago.

Indiana—May M. Strickland, 2332 Pearl street, Anderson, Ind.

Iowa—W. C. Hills, 743 W. 19th, Des Moines, Iowa.

Kansas—J. E. Snyder, Girard.
Kentucky—Frank H. Streine, 327 W. 10th street, Newport.

Louisiana—Geo. F. Weller, 1022 Orange street, New Orleans.

Maine—W. E. Peisey, 198 Lisbon street, Lewiston.

Maryland—H. C. Lewis, 418 Equitable Bldg., Baltimore.

Massachusetts—Jas. F. Carey, 699 Washington street, Boston.

Michigan—G. H. Lockwood, 1018 Eggleston avenue, Kalamazoo.

Minnesota—J. E. Nash, 46 So. 4th street, Minneapolis.

Missouri—Otto Pauls, 212 So. 4th street, St. Louis.

Montana—Jas. D. Graham, Box 908, Helena.

New Hampshire—W. H. Wilkins, Box 521, Claremont.

New Jersey—W. B. Killingbeck, 62 William street, Orange.

New York—U. Solomon (acting), 239 E. 84th street, New York.

North Dakota—Arthur Bassett, Fargo.

Ohio—John G. Willert, 3469 W. 54th street, Cleveland.

Oklahoma—Otto F. Branstetter, Norman.

Oregon—Thos. A. Sladden, 309 Davis street, Portland.

Pennsylvania—Robert B. Ringler, 628 Walnut street, Reading.

Rhode Island—Fred Hurst, 1923 Westminster street, Olneyville.

South Dakota—M. G. Opsahl, Sioux Falls.

Tennessee—H. G. Terlisner, 1085 Indiana street, Memphis.

Texas—W. J. Bell, 106 W. Erwin street, Tyler.

Utah—Jos. MacLachlan, First National Bank Bldg., Ogden.

Vermont—Alfred M. Henry, 4 Mt. Vernon Pl., Barre, Vt.

Washington—Richard Kruger, 2305 1/2 Pacific avenue, Tacoma.

West Virginia—Geo. B. Kline, McMechen.

Wisconsin—E. H. Thomas, 244 6th street, Milwaukee.

Wyoming—C. F. Hackenberg, Box 94, Kammerer.

ONE HEALTHY BRAND.

"Is pie bad for dyspepsia?"
"Yes, all but humble pie."

DEAR WORKINGMAN—
DON'T THANK ME FOR THESE
BESIDES THE PLEASURE IS ALL
AND IN VOTING FOR
ME YOU
HAVE FAIRLY
EARNED THEM

YOUR AFFECTIONATE FRIEND
BIG BILL

AFTER ELECTION

AT THE CAN I
FOR MAN
I CAN
AT PLANK
ALL FOR ONE
VOTE
WHAT MORE DO
YOU WANT

Arbeiter - Kranken - Sterbe - Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von America.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United State of America.

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 21,507 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 under 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.

SOCIALIST POST-CARDS.

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, 395 Omaha Building, Chicago.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES.

A jobbing carpenter with shop and cheap rent would like to meet a comrade who has some small or cheap article that could be put together in shop to fill up his time, or would buy outright some new device. Address X. L. C. Bureau of Exchange, The Socialist, 6 Park Place, N. Y. City.

AD-WRITING.

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FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Our Presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs, addressed rousing big meetings at Fort Smith, Ark., on July 7, at Pine Bluff on July 8, at St. Louis on July 11, and at Milwaukee on July 12. He is in good health and full of enthusiasm.

State Secretary Floaten, of Colorado, reports good meetings for National Organizer John Collins. Six new locals were organized in June.

The National Executive Committee directed that the mileage assessment account be permanently closed upon the books of the National Office at the close of this month. The National Committee motion which provides for this assessment makes the custodian of unsold stamps responsible for their cash value. Secretaries of locals are requested to co-operate with the State secretaries in settling this account.

In the referendum ballots as sent out, an error appears in the platform under the head of General Demands as follows: The first sentence of Demand No. 5 should be eliminated. The sentence is "That occupancy and use of land be the sole title to possession." The error is due to the fact that the stenographic report of the proceedings was not accessible at the time of the meeting of the Committee on Style.

National Committeeman Herman, of Washington, moves "that hereafter no one be placed on the list of National lecturers or organizers unless he or she has first received the endorsement of the State Committee of the Socialist party of the State in which he or she holds membership."

John Ogg, 69 Maple avenue, Barre, Vt., has been elected State Secretary, vice Alfred M. Henry, resigned.

May Wood Simons, 2819 Sherman avenue, Evanston, has been elected a member of the National Committee from Illinois. Seymour Stedman, B. Berlyn and John Collins were re-elected to the same committee.

Local Harrisville, W. Va., calls for a national party referendum upon the following proposition:

"Resolved that the Socialist party national platform be amended by adding the following plank:

"We are in favor of a compensation of \$40 per week for the services of every able-bodied person without regard to sex or occupation; a week's work to consist of not more than forty hours."

State Secretary Ringler, of Pennsylvania, reports the expulsion of T. Merkel by Local Philadelphia for voting for other than Socialist candidates at the last primary election.

Twenty-seven national organizers are now in the field in various parts of the country.

SPECIAL TRAIN FOR SOCIALISTS

The National Executive Committee has favorably considered the proposition to charter a special train for the speaking campaign of the party candidates to make a trans-continental tour covering the period from August 31 until Election Day. The National Committee is now considering the proposition. The approximate cost will be \$20,000. If the project is to be a success the funds must be gathered within a period of one month, and contributions from all party members and sympathizers are solicited for a fund to start the Socialist Special Train. If a sufficient amount is not secured the contributions made for this purpose will be returned to the donor. Send in your subscriptions at once to the National Office of the Socialist party, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

REALISTIC.

"Eth," said the mother of a little girl who was entertaining a couple of small playmates, "why don't you play something instead of sitting and looking miserable?"
Ruth—We're playing we're grown-up women making a call.—Chicago Daily News.

NEW SOCIALIST PAPER STARTED

CHICAGO, July 23.—Hardly a week passed without a new Socialist paper springing into existence. These new publications for the most part are weeklies, started in communities where Socialism has lately come into prominence. The latest publication to be announced, however, is a new international monthly, to be devoted to Socialism as applied to the school teachers' profession.

It is planned to issue the first number of the Progressive Journal of Education in October. It will be published in Chicago. Its editorship will be assumed by Peyton Boswell, now managing editor of the Daily Socialist. Men and women who stand high in the educational world will contribute to its columns.

It is planned to make the new journal a twenty-four page publication, the pages to be the ordinary magazine size. Being condensed in bulk, an effort will be made to fill it with the very brightest and most interesting of matter. The subscription price is to be 50 cents a year.

Purpose Is Two-Fold.

The purpose of the publication will be two-fold:

1. To convert school teachers to Socialism. To this end each issue will contain articles presenting salient points of the Socialist philosophy in such a way as to appeal to the academic mind.

2. To provide material which Socialist school teachers may use in the class room, to the end that the mind of the child may not be warped and prejudiced, as it is to-day, in favor of the institutions of capitalism. This is a field of tremendous possibilities and of vital importance. Socialist educators in American colleges and in the public schools will supply this material.

Those who have undertaken the publication of the Progressive Journal of Education have done so with a full realization of the importance of the task. In order to make it successful they must have the co-operation of a large number of Socialists.

Plans Merely Tentative.

The plans so far made are merely tentative. It remains to be seen whether the interest in such an undertaking is sufficient to carry it to success. In order to be assured that such an interest exists, those having the plans in charge are taking what may be called a census of the Socialist movement. It is requested that all who desire to see such a publication in the field communicate at once, either by letter or postal, with Peyton Boswell, 180 Washington street, Chicago.

HOW W. D. HAYWOOD BECAME A SOCIALIST.

William D. Haywood, the Western Miners' official, who was recently acquitted on a charge of murder trumped up against him by capitalist-conspirators in Idaho, tells how he became a Socialist:

"Some years ago I was working in the Trade Dollar mine in Idaho. My slope was 220 feet above the main level, reached by climbing a ladder straight up the shaft. One day two of the owners of the mine came in at the main level, and one said to the other:

"Jim, suppose you go up to where Haywood is working?"

"I wouldn't climb that ladder for ten thousand dollars," was Jim's reply.

"Yet I was climbing it every day for three dollars a day. I couldn't see where the difference came in. I couldn't understand why there should be between him and me the difference between 10,000 dollars and three dollars. He was of no finer clay than I. He was no more fond of his wife and children. Life was no sweeter to him. I was risking my life every day to make money for that man. So I was set thinking, and in time I became a Socialist."

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COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS.

By G. FLETCHER HALL.

Despite the fact that the agitation against the railways is on the increase, those in control—through the capitalist press and otherwise—are endeavoring to create the impression that "the day of radicalism has passed."

They know that so long as there is a prospect of anti-railway legislation the employees will be more disposed to support their unions and demand the maintenance of the present wage scale.

A Sham Battle.

On the surface it seems they are strenuously opposing the railway magnates, who claim that their "properties are being operated at a loss; that money cannot be borrowed to improve the roads or make needed extensions; that efficient service cannot be maintained and small dividends declared, unless earnings are augmented; and that either rates must be advanced or wages reduced, otherwise the roads will cease to pay."

Magnates' False Pretenses.

It is true we are not enjoying boom times. But the railways are in no danger of being bankrupted. Since the panic economy has been carried to extremes, and the operating forces

have been reduced, until railway service has become inefficient. Where not confronted with organized labor—wherever possible—one man has been compelled to do the work of two. Especially is this the situation so far as clerical forces are concerned.

To but little extent have surpluses been expended. In exceptional cases only have dividends been reduced or passed. No extraordinary expenses have been incurred. Hence should prosperity return the railways are in good condition, and will be as able as ever to do a paying business at the present wage scales and commodity rates.

That some roads have gone into the hands of receivers is no augury that as a whole they are poverty stricken. The most of such roads were deliberately "Morganized" for the purpose of freezing out small stockholders. This fact is well known in financial circles.

Wage-Cut the Object.

The wall of the magnates is but for one purpose—reduce wages and thereby weaken the unions without engendering antagonisms, and the manufacturers are giving them aid. None better than they know that the magnates dare not advance rates and incur the risk of additional anti-railway legislation.

THE POWER OF A KING

By ROBERT HUNTER.

The "anti-injunction" plank of the Democratic platform declares that "the courts of justice are the bulwarks of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their integrity."

The plank then declares FOR injunctions and trial by jury in case of indirect contempt.

Let us see about this bulwark of our liberties. Let us look into its history, and see whether this is indeed a bulwark of our liberties.

Judge Parker and a lot of other corporation judges have persuaded Mr. Gompers to believe as he has said that "injunctions are in themselves of a highly important and beneficent character."

Mr. Gompers has taken his advice from the wrong people. He might have acquired more accurate information about the subject had he consulted an encyclopaedia.

Here is a bit of interesting history. Injunctions were originally the exclusive privilege of the king. He was ABOVE LAW, and therefore could set aside LAW. In case anyone suffered an injury for which the law courts afforded no remedy he petitioned the king, the case was tried before the king, and if the king desired he exercised his SUPREME, DIVINE RIGHT of injunction.

Naturally such cases became numerous, and finally he appointed special judges to hear such cases. They were called chancellors, and EXTRAORDINARY power was granted them only because they were the PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE KING.

A chancellor could exercise this supreme power at any time. UNLIKE THE ORDINARY judges, he could command an act to be done or not to be done, as his commands were THE COMMANDS OF THE SOVEREIGN. He became a petty Czar, and in case anyone disobeyed his commands that one was guilty of contempt OF THE KING and his disobedience was punishable by imprisonment.

We inherited this judicial system from England. As we had no kings we SUBSTITUTED JUDGES in their stead.

We should have done away with the writ of injunction if we had really intended that kingly power should have no place in this democracy.

But we did away with ONE king, and put in his stead THOUSANDS of little judges exercising by the writ of injunction his unlimited power.

There is an old saying in boxing "to get a man in chancery." Look up in the dictionary and you will see that it means "to get the head of an antagonist under one's arm so that one can pummel it at will." That is the meaning of the power of the injunction.

The courts want it, the capitalists want the courts to have it, and so long as the courts have it the head of labor will be under their arm in a suitable position to be punched at will. Judge Parker has said that the writ of injunction is a beneficent thing. Mr. Gompers agrees with him.

Some loose thinking, sheep-like followers agree with Judge Parker and Mr. Gompers, but the working people as a whole do not agree. They demand the entire abolition of government by injunction, and they will be content with nothing less.

Who are these judges that they should be considered superior to the people, able at will to make or unmake laws? Who are these creatures that presume to be greater than their creator? What place have men of such Czar-like proportions in a country whose sovereign is the people?

We once showed our contempt for kings, and we SHALL show our contempt for a judge with kingly power. A man who can enjoin us to do or not to do what HE WILLS; a man who can arrest us for disobedience of HIS commands; and a man who can then try us, fine us, and imprison us for disobedience of HIS commands is an autocrat and Czar. He has no place in our Republic. Well-intentioned or ill-intentioned, he is a tyrant!

Far from being a bulwark of our liberties he is the destruction of our liberties.

Labor, has declared against government by injunction, and that battle will be carried on to the finish.

INSTEAD OF BUTTERICKS.

Owing to the fact that many patterns on the market are the product of non-union labor, the most notorious of which are the Butterick productions, the following list of patterns, all of which are the product of union labor, is published for the benefit of all women's auxiliaries and wives of union men who appreciate the importance of their position as buyers for the household, and who support the principles of unionism by the purchase of union-made goods in all lines on which the label may be obtained:

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THE STRUGGLE FOR BREAD.

By GEORGE D. HERRON.

Whatever terms the struggle may appear in, it is none the less true that the history of the world has pivoted itself upon the struggle for bread. Up to the present time economic conditions have been the compelling motives of great historic changes or of the lack of changes.

History has been the struggle on the part of those who made bread, but did not have it, against those who had bread, but did not make it, the word "bread" here symbolizing all the things that go to make up opportunity and privilege.

to have the power of life and death over another.

And this is the one and only blasphemy, the supreme and desecrating sacrilege, from which all blasphemies and sacrileges and human wrongs spring, that some people should control the lives of other people, their thoughts and deeds and aspirations, their judgments of right and wrong, the labor of their hands, the uplifting or the prostrating of their souls.

This is why history is the struggle of those who produce bread against those who possess it—the struggle of the breadmakers against the bread owners for increasing scraps of power which the ownership of bread puts into the hands of the world's masters.

IMPORTANT NEWS OF THE WEEK IN BRIEF.

POLITICAL.

Enters next into the lists the champion of temperance and foe of intoxicants. At Columbus, Ohio, July 16, the national convention of the Prohibition party ended its two days' sessions with the nomination of Eugene W. Chapin of Illinois for president, and Prof. A. S. Watkins of Ohio for vice-president, on a platform which takes many radical issues besides that of temperance. On the first two ballots Palmore of Missouri had led, but he lacked a majority and was dropped. Later he refused the offer of the nomination for vice-president. The platform includes the usual demand for a prohibitory amendment to the constitution and for immediate prohibition in federal territory; also favors direct election of senators, postal savings banks, an income tax, regulation of interstate corporations, uniform marriage and divorce laws, an intelligence suffrage regardless of sex, enforcement of laws against the social evil, court review of postal decisions, employers' liability law, prohibition of child labor, protection of our natural resources, and a permanent tariff commission.

Following the dispersal of the Denver convention candidates Bryan and Kern were kept busy receiving friendly congratulations and prevailed upon their national committee to pass a resolution for the rejection of all corporate gifts, the limiting of all gifts to \$10,000, and the promise to publish the list of donations in advance of election. Bryan in addressing the committee commented on the refusal of the Republican convention to adopt a publicity plank and added that the leaders of the Taft campaign had tried to cover the blunder by proposing to work under the New York publicity law, which requires the publication of contributions after election. He argued that the public ought to know before election what influences are at work to secure the success of a party. The refusal to publish contributions below \$100 was designed to protect employees who might be embarrassed by the disclosure of their preferences.

Gompers, the Federation of Labor leader, came out squarely in support of Bryan on the strength of the anti-injunction plank in the Democratic platform, but in several quarters there are signs that local labor leaders were not a unit in accepting that view of it. In Wisconsin the state Federation of Labor has come out in favor of the Socialist ticket.

In his address to the returning Lincoln delegates to the Denver convention Bryan expressed his satisfaction with the platform and the nomination of Kern as his running mate, and made much of the fact that the publicity idea had prevailed. He was convinced that this would appeal to the reform element in both parties, and continued: "Our convention marks a new era in American politics. Henceforth the idea that is going to grow is that elections are public affairs and that the people have a right to know what influences are at work, and I am delighted that our party has taken the initiative. When the Republican party, in its convention, by a vote overwhelming, turned down that proposition, the Democratic party, by a vote unanimous, indorsed it and made it one of the tenets of its faith. Now we are going to appeal to this awakened conscience and give to the country assurances that if our party is entrusted with the power we shall make this government again a people's government, in which the officials will respond promptly to the sentiment of the whole people; and our platform has given us a slogan that everyone of you can echo and that I believe a majority of the American people will echo: 'Let the people rule.'"

In addition to editorials in the various Hearst papers attacking the Democratic candidate and platform, a letter from Editor Hearst, now in Paris, to Samuel Gompers, has been published in which he tells the labor leader that the Nebraskan is fooling him. Hearst says that according to his standards "a purer patriotism consists in laboring to establish a new party which will be consistently devoted to the citizenship." He is opposed to in-lorsing an old and decadent party or

"chameleon candidates who change the color of their political opinion with varying hue of opportunism." He adds flatly that he has "lost confidence in the ability, in the sincerity and even in the integrity of the leaders of the Democracy."

In reply to a telegram from the Baltimore Sun, asking him if it was true that he had told Bishop Waters of the African Methodist Church, that he disapproved of the dismissal of the negro troops accused of the Brownsville riot, Candidate Bryan wired from Lincoln that the report was untrue. He added that he would discuss only those questions mentioned in the platform.

In the Federationist, the monthly organ of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers has a leading editorial calling upon union men to support Bryan and Kern. He takes pains to explain that he has not presumed to pledge the vote of organized labor and does not wish in any way "to interfere with each man's right to choose his own political affiliations," yet he will say quite frankly "that the worker who in this campaign supports the party or the candidate who has contemptuously and boastfully announced hostility to Labor's interests—well, he will have to reckon with his own conscience and with his fellow workmen." To some critics of Gompers this statement is said to contain a veiled threat. Many unionists have refused to follow the lead of Gompers.

Candidate Taft has now taken his stand with Candidate Bryan definitely against the acceptance of campaign contributions from corporations. At Hot Springs Taft made the statement in an interview and went Bryan one by basing his decision on the law passed by Congress last year providing fines and imprisonment for officials of corporations who consent to the contribution of money for the election of presidential electors or of members of Congress. While Taft said there was some doubt about the validity of the law the Republican management was prepared to obey its letter just as it would obey the New York law on publicity. The Republican and Democratic pledges are now at one, except that the latter limits the contributions to \$10,000, and will make the list public before election.

When shown Taft's statement on this subject, Bryan smiled and said: "We welcome him to this advanced ground and bid him take another step further and announce that all individual contributions above a reasonable minimum sum will be made known before election."

The widely published interview with the Socialist candidate, Debs, to the effect that he had predicted the election of Taft is denied by him in a letter to the Chicago Daily Socialist. He says: "I am not so foolish as to put myself on record as discrediting my own party and discounting the intelligence of my own class by assuming that they will elect a capitalist candidate for President."

COMMERCIAL.

The Southwestern Freight Association filed a schedule of increased rates but Eastern railroad heads in conference at New York disagreed as to the present expediency of a general advance. Commercial bodies are up in arms against any such increase as the 10 per cent. proposed. Harriman and Brown were on the side of an increase, while Baer and the Pennsylvania interests were disposed to wait a while and then try a cut in wages rather than make an increase in charges.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has published the final figures of the income of the railroads for the last fiscal year. The total net earnings amounted to \$840,589,944, which is an increase of \$54,690,999. The total number of employees on the payroll on June 30 was 1,672,074, against 1,521,355 a year ago.

The Union Tank Line Co., one of the original branches of the Oil Trust, has filed papers at Trenton, N. J., for an increase of its capital from \$3,500,000 to \$12,000,000. The main importance of this is that it is presumed to foreshadow a similar fourfold increase in the capital of all the trust subsidiaries preliminary to an expansion of the stock of the parent company from \$100,000,000 to \$600,000,-

000, on which latter figure the dividends would amount to no more than six or seven per cent.

President Hubbell of the Consolidated Telephone Company, at Buffalo, has confirmed the report that arrangements are complete for the combination of all the independent telephone companies in one \$100,000,000 concern. It is rumored that the Bell Company is the interest behind the merger.

FOREIGN.

The presidential election in Panama on the 12th went off smoothly, the result being the choice of Senor Obaldia, candidate of the opposition to the Government, unanimously. The supporters of the Government remained away from the polls. The electors are to meet August 1 and their decision will be certified August 18, in advance of the meeting of the National Assembly on September 1.

The government of Honduras has begun suit before the new Central American Court of Justice against the governments of Salvador and Guatemala charging violation of treaties signed by the countries of Central America at Washington last winter. Nicaragua also has complained to the court that Guatemala and Salvador have assisted the revolutionists of Honduras and the Nicaraguan refugees. The recent second outbreak of the revolution in Honduras is the basis of these suits. Meantime several small battles have occurred between the Honduran government forces and the revolutionists. The latter captured the town of Gracias but this was retaken by the government.

The Mexican government now claims to have caught the two chief instigators of the recent revolt in the northern section of the country. These men, known as Trevino and Pena, traveled through the disaffected region disguised as Baptist clergymen. They are said to have admitted under extreme pressure their connection with certain revolutionary juntas in San Antonio, Tex., and St. Louis, Mo.

London papers have again taken up the hue and cry against apathy in the ranks of the old parties concerning the danger of Socialism by publishing the statistics of twelve recent by-elections in North England and Scotland. The totals were: Unionist, 45,771; Liberal, 52,397; and Socialist-Laborite, 33,596. In four other elections there were no Liberal candidates, and the combined Socialist vote was 21,562 to 20,983 for the Unionist candidates.

In a long letter to the London Daily Chronicle Count Tolstoy makes a passionate protest against the wholesale hangings of the Russian peasants which have been in progress for months past and which continue. Besides the direct suffering of the victims and of their families the effect is pointed out to be the spread of depravity "as fire spreads amid dry straw." Tolstoy says he can no longer endure the thought that all this crime in the name of the general welfare includes himself and so he will make his protest and circulate it broadcast at the risk of having the cord of the hangman tighten about his own neck. He asks that one of two things may happen—"either that these inhuman deeds may be stopped or that my connection with them may be snapped and I put in prison, where I may be clearly conscious that these horrors are not committed on my behalf; or, better still (so good that I dare not even dream of such happiness), they may put on me, as on those twenty or twelve peasants, a shroud and a cap and push me also off a bench, so that by my own weight I may tighten the well-soaped noose around my own throat."

The German government has taken another step ahead of its rivals by securing rights to the aerial torpedo invented by Col. Uge, of the Swedish army. The purchase is made nominally by the Krupp gun works. It is said that this torpedo can be fired with great accuracy and without noise so as to be dropped inside a fort or on the deck of a ship with explosive power enough to destroy either.

The important city of Tabriz, and a large part of northern Persia, have now fallen completely into the hands of the revolutionists, or nationalists, as they call themselves. The soldiers sent under General Rachin Khan

were seized with panic in the presence of a vast throng of angry but unarmed rebels and fled the city, leaving their camp with all its arms and artillery. The clergy fled with the soldiers. The Shah's palace there was turned into the revolutionary headquarters. These successes have caused new unrest in and about Teheran, the capital, and the government is concentrating troops there.

The British House of Lords has passed the Old-age Pension bill on second reading, thus assuring the final enactment of this radical measure. The principle of the bill is the assurance that all persons reaching a certain age will receive from the government a small income, but sufficient to support life. The provisional estimates of the expenses the first year are about \$40,000,000.

LEGAL.

In the Circuit Court at Chicago, Judge Kohlsaat enjoined the issuance of transportation by the Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville Railway to the publishers of Munsey's Magazine in exchange for advertising. He held that the contract under which this transportation was issued is in violation of the Hepburn rate law. The railroad company gave notice of an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Federal authorities at New York have caused the arrest of Henry E. G. Cooke, head of the Oregon Ranching & Timber Company of that city, on the charge of acquiring thousands of acres of valuable timber lands in Burns county, Oregon, by means of dummy entrants. From the New York office agents had been busy hiring men all over the East to go to Oregon to make the necessary entries, and one squad of these had already been taken out. To each Cooke guaranteed that the land taken up would be worth \$2,000 at the end of three months, for which the dupes were to raise \$100 and their expenses to Baker City. Cooke has been indicted for conspiracy and subornation of perjury.

In the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Monday, a petition on behalf of the Bucks Stove and Range Co., of St. Louis, was filed, asking that Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and John Mitchell be required to show why they should not be adjudged in contempt of the decree of the court issued last March, enjoining them and the American Federation of Labor from boycotting the business of said company. The petitioners charge that the federation officials in defiance of the court have continued to "have frequently, regularly and systematically, wilfully and with premeditation violated the order and final decree alike and totally disregarded same." September 8 is set as the day when the defendants may show cause. The petition is signed by President Van Cleave of the stove company.

After the popular disapproval of the arrest and imprisonment of Socialist speakers on the streets of Los Angeles, Cal., had reached the form of a public gathering of several thousand men and women who thronged the City Hall and Council Chamber Monday, the Council ordered the release of the Rev. E. A. Cantrell, of the Pasadena First Unitarian Church; Cloudsley Johns, Mrs. Dorothy Johns and thirty-five other men and women imprisoned for street speaking, and repealed the ordinance under which they had been arrested and sentenced. Several of the prisoners were socially prominent and able to provide bail, but who had refused this method of escaping the penalty which they felt to be an unconstitutional invasion of their rights. They had accepted the martyrdom of imprisonment in the common jail, the women sharing dirty cells with low characters. Some of the local papers not connected with the Socialist party had rebuked the city administration for its course in this matter, and the wave of popular indignation had risen to a dangerous pitch when the crowd swelled around the City Hall, shouting: "We demand the right of free speech." The local ordinance required that all persons desiring to speak on the streets should get the permission of the police authorities. The latter had denied the request of the Socialist speakers for a permit. Among those arrested was a former city councilman who had voted against the ordinance. When the prisoners were released the crowd greeted them with wild cheers and carried them in triumph to their homes.

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NEW YORK, JULY 25, 1908.

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT.

In accordance with the wish expressed by an overwhelming vote in the New York state convention of the Socialist party, the subscription price of The Socialist has been restored to the old figure of fifty cents a year, with a corresponding restoration of the old prices for weekly bundles.

It is not expected that a large circulation can be built up for the weekly in the local field covered by The Evening Call, except in so far as it is used by the party for propaganda purposes. It is for the latter purpose, and especially for circulation outside of this local field, that the very low bundle rates are offered. Experience has shown that it is always possible to sell at least a few copies of the paper at every public meeting. Every local or branch that holds street meetings during the summer and hall meetings in the winter—and nearly all locals and branches do—should at once subscribe for a weekly bundle and elect one or two active and faithful comrades whose special duty it shall be to sell the papers at meetings. Many locals which have followed this plan in the past have found it quite practicable to sell fifty or even a hundred copies a week, quickly reimbursing themselves for the initial outlay and after that realizing an appreciable surplus to be used by the organization for other purposes.

THE TORTURED MILLIONS.

By FLORENCE WILKINSON.

The cry of the tortured millions rises to me
Like the cry of a glacial river in its gorge
And the smoke of their suffering surges upward to me
Like the mighty clouds of the twilight valley lands.
I shut my lids in the dark and I see them toiling,
The burdened backs and the glazing eyes and the fettered hands.

They are dying that I may live, the tortured millions,
By the Ohio river, the Euphrates, the Rhone.
They wring from the rocks my gold, the tortured millions;
Sleepless all night they mix my daily bread;
With heavy feet they are trampling out my vintage;
They go to a hungry grave that I may be fed.

They do not know my face from a million faces,
Nor have I ever beheld those poor oppressed.
I only hear the sound of their groans in the valley,
The hiss and the grind and the heat of their torture-wheels,
Engine and oven and murderous flying loom,
Poison of dust and faces sheet-white in the gloom.

I do not demand their service, no, not I.
They are my slaves whom I wish to be free and happy
But I may not free them or thank them or mercy cry.
Hunger and thirst and cold and aching bodies,
This is the priceless price that buys my health.
Emptiness, hopelessness, pitiful wickedness, this,
This is the stuff I sew for the purse of my wealth.

What shall I do for my slaves who work without hire,
What shall I do, I who have asked them not?
Shall I fold my hands on my mountain-peak in silence?
This is the natural order, this the common lot.
I will call to them, I who am one but they are many,
To cease their toil; but no, they me not.

I warm my hands at the fires of ruining houses;
On a dying mother's breast I sink my head;
Last night my feet were faint from idleness,
I bathed my feet in blood her children shed,
Oh thou eternal Law, I wish this not to be,
Nay, raise them from the dust and punish me.

—In McClure's Magazine.

WE ARE AGAINST "DIVIDING UP."

In a school room a wise teacher placed a beautiful rose to brighten the day for her children. Soon the boys and girls began to clamor for the rose, each begging the teacher for the sole possession of it. "To give it to any one boy or girl would be unjust to all the others," said the teacher. "Besides, it would be unwise, for whoever obtained it could not get more of its beauty than now. I cannot divide it, for if I do the rose will be destroyed and each child will have a worthless petal only; there will be no rose. Together, we can enjoy it; in a real sense each of us owns the rose." Social property is like that. It cannot be owned by any individual without robbing all other individuals; it cannot be divided without ruin. Yet each individual can own the whole of its real utility and enjoy its full benefits.
—John Spargo, Modern Socialism.



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