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THE SURE GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

They went right on with their work, and four years later they polled 81,000.

The increase was enough to bring them to public attention and make them a butt for the jokes of the politicians. They went right on with their work. They went up against the Populist movement and then against the Bryanite Democracy in 1896, with its extravagant promises of immediate relief from the evils of the hard times then prevailing, and with its ample funds for carrying on its campaign. In spite of this formidable obstacle, the Socialists increased their vote to 36,000. They went right on with their work.

They suffered under the handicap of bad leadership and went through a period of internal strife and a party split to get rid of it. The present Socialist party was the result. Notwithstanding all its internal difficulties, and again facing Bryan with a big campaign fund, they raised their vote in the year 1900 to 97,000. Elated, but not rendered careless by their success, they went right on with their work.

They were no longer ignored. Nor were they any longer regarded as a mere joke. Their growth began to inspire alarm among the capitalists, and ridicule gave way to active misrepresentation in the press and pulpit, active attempts by the politicians to foment discord within the movement, and active persecution of Socialists by employers and by the police. But they went right on with their work. And four years ago they polled 408,000 votes—or, to speak more correctly, they got 408,000 of their votes counted, and cast perhaps 200,000 more that were never reported. They went right on with their work.

The misrepresentation, the attempts to stir up discord, the persecution, all continued and increased. The Hearst "Independence League" was brought into the field to take the wind out of the Socialists' sails. It deceived some thousands in New York City in 1905 and in the state in 1906; but its net result was to help set men to thinking and bring more adherents to the Socialist party. Mallock was imported to confute the Socialists with sophistry. Parry and Post and Van Cleave did their best—or worst. Hadley and Eliot and Day thundered against Socialism from their professorial chairs. Roosevelt waved the Big Stick against it. Creelman was hired to rave against it and Dixon to write slanderous novels and articles to discredit its adherents. Gompers and Mitchell were dragged into the field to combat it before the labor unions. The mine owners of the Rocky Mountain States conspired and bought governors and prosecuting attorneys and Pinkerton spies and murderers to send its spokesmen in that region to the gallows, and the old-party press of the whole country (and even the conscienceless President of the United States) joined in the attempt to commit judicial murder in the hope of checking the class-conscious political movement of the thinking workingmen. All in vain. The Socialists kept right on with their work. Mallock and Hadley and Eliot and Day were made ridiculous. Parry and Post and Van Cleave and Creelman and Dixon were made odious. Gompers and Mitchell were put on the defensive. The conspiracy against the Western Federation of Miners was gloriously defeated, and the names of Peabody, Sherman Bell, McClelland, Bulkley Wells, Gooding, McDonald, Borah, McPartland, and Orchard put in the rogues' gallery of history. At the same time, the Socialist party did not fail to give generous aid to its brothers struggling against oppression in Russia, in Mexico, and in other foreign lands.

The Socialists entered the national political field just twenty years ago. They polled 2,000 votes, and the great majority of the people did not even know of their existence, either during the campaign or after the votes were counted. They were not discouraged.

And the outcome was that the Socialist party organization has doubled its dues-paying and steadily working membership in these last four years and that even our opponents are freely predicting that at least a million votes will be cast for Debs and Hanford next November.

And after that, the Socialists will go right on with their work. No other party in American history ever made such a record as this. No other party in any other country ever made such a record. Everywhere the Socialist party begins on the smallest scale. Everywhere it grows slowly, but steadily, steadily, steadily—moving onward like fate toward the accomplishment of its historic mission.

THE STRONG POINT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The so-called "practical" reform and radical parties come and go, but the Socialist party moves steadily on toward its final victory. Through twenty years, it has gone on increasing its vote at every Presidential election, generally doubling or trebling or quadrupling it. During that time, the Populist movement rose and fell. Bryanism rose and fell—for everyone must see that what Bryan stands for to-day is not the Bryanism of 1896 and 1900. The Union Labor party started with such eclat in California in 1902, rose and fell—in disgrace. The Hearst movement was set afoot in 1904, made a great splurge in New York City in 1905, betrayed its weakness by an alliance with the Republican machine and then with the Tammany machine, and is now preparing to make its exit in a roaring farce. Every one of these movements has given hope to the capitalists that it might draw away Socialist voters and undo the work of years of Socialist propaganda. The red flag has waved over their graves, one after the other. Each one of them, instead of checking the progress of Socialism, has torn men away from their old party affiliations, accustomed them to the idea of voting a new ticket, roused in their breasts hopes which it could not fulfil, and started them thinking for themselves, with the result that they ultimately came as recruits to the Socialist party.

We would rather that men should come to Socialism by a more direct and shorter road. But if they can wait, we can. We know they are bound to join us in the end.

But why is it that the Socialist party has so much more vitality than all these reform and radical parties? They have the advantage of seeming "practical," while the Socialist party is regarded as "visionary." They have the advantage of noted personalities to head their tickets and big newspapers to publish their arguments and rich men to contribute to their campaign funds. The Socialist party is poor; until the last two years it has had only weekly papers in the English language, and even now it has but two struggling dailies; and it has never gone much on the plan of exploiting famous personalities. Why is it that, with all these odds against it, the Socialist party grows like the oak tree, while all these radical and reform parties spring up like mushrooms and wither as quickly?

There are several reasons. Perhaps the fundamental reason is the fact that the Socialist party is fundamentally right, that it strikes at the root of social evils, while all these mushroom parties, in their eagerness for immediate success, only strike at some of the evil FRUITS and leave the cause untouched. But there is one reason in the form of organization of our party which counts for a great deal.

The Socialist party has a definite and permanent organization, much like that of a labor union. When we speak of a party member, we do not mean simply one who votes the ticket that is put up for him to vote, nor even one who takes the trouble to go to the primaries once a year to take part in the formality of nominating the ticket.

The Socialist party is organized in "locals" in every city and every important town or village of the country. Each local meet

at once a month, most of them twice a month. The members are thus kept in close touch with each other. The locals are grouped under state committees, and all these under a National Committee, with a National Secretary and an Executive Committee to conduct the details of the party's work.

The various officers of the party are all elected by the membership or by their immediate representatives; and under the constitution of the party they are removable, if they do not perform their duties satisfactorily, by the same vote which elects them.

that is to say, they can be brought before the whole membership for

All important actions of the party are subject to referendum—approval or rejection. And the members of the party have the right to initiate referendums—on the demand of a small percentage of the members any question can be brought before the whole membership for decision.

And all this democratic self-government of the Socialist party HAS A SOUND MATERIAL BASIS.

It takes money to conduct the work of a party, to pay its officers, to hire halls, to print literature, to cover the speakers' expenses, to defray the cost of a campaign. The Socialist party carries on a campaign all the year round, and has a system for meeting the expenses.

"Who pays the piper may call the tune." Whoever puts up the money for a political party actually controls that party. He may stand behind the curtain and pull the wires and let the people think that the puppets move of their own free will. But the campaign fund is the real power that rules every party. It is so in ours just as well as in any other.

Every member of the Socialist party pays monthly dues of 20 or 25 cents, of which five cents goes to the national office, five cents to the state office, and the rest to the local organization. This forms the nucleus of the party's funds. It is supplemented by campaign funds and other special funds, to which some donate five or ten dollars at a time, some a dollar, some a quarter or a dime or a nickel, and labor organizations often give fifty or a hundred dollars. And all these donations are acknowledged in the party papers. The Socialist party was voluntarily practising publicity for many years before the Republican and Democratic leaders were forced to pretend to do so. But, along with all these funds, the main reliance of the Socialist party is upon the dues of its members.

"Who pays the piper may call the tune." Because the rich—especially the industrial and financial magnates and the lawbreakers of all sorts and the people who want special favors at the hands of the party in power—supply the campaign funds of the old parties, therefore these elements dictate the platforms and practically name the candidates and control the men elected to office. Why shouldn't they? The rank and file of the old parties can get free drinks and cigars and displays of fireworks and spread-eagle oratory before election. The men who pay for the oratory and fireworks and beer and cigars may reasonably expect something substantial after election—fat contracts, public franchises, tariff laws, banking laws, immunity from prosecution for profitable crime, and the use of the judges and the police and the military to break strikes. And they get just these things that they pay for.

In order to safeguard its own purity, to make sure that it shall always be governed by its rank and file, not by some great leaders and perhaps misled by their interest or their ambition, the Socialist party has adopted the plan of a dues-paying membership. "Who pays the piper may call the tune." Because the organized party members furnish the funds, it is assured that the party shall be the true expression of their will. In a word, in our party to-day we come as near as possible to the political and economic democracy which we strive to establish in the life of the nation.

Compare this party, in which all the members both pay and vote, each doing his share toward supporting the party and directing its work, with the Independence party, falsely so called, which is directed by an erratic millionaire just because he foots the bills, because he chooses to spend his money in promoting his political aspirations instead of spending it on automobiles and chorus girls—compare these two parties, and you will readily see why it is that the Socialist party can go on through failure and through success, always true to its principles, while the Hearst Dependence party and all other parties like it go up like the rocket and come down like the stick. You will see why the Socialist party OUGHT to command the confidence and respect of all thinking workmen and all sincere lovers of liberty and progress, and why it DOES command the confidence and the enthusiastic support of an increasing number of them every year.

So Congressman Longworth and his wife, the President's daughter, joined heartily with the Democratic junketers at Yellowstone in singing "Tammany." Well, there's really nothing remarkable in that. They were just a little franker than most prominent Republicans, who know as well as they or we that there is no es-

sential difference between the party of the Elephant and the party of the Jackass.

THE EAST'S AWAKE AND THE WEST MAY REJOICE.

It is long since the cable has brought us news so full of hope for the world as that which came from Constantinople last Saturday. If Russia is the greatest stronghold of reaction in Europe, the political backwardness of Turkey has been scarcely less of an obstacle to the world's progress.

The constitution which the Sultan has "given" to his subjects is, it seems, even less liberal than that which the Czar conceded in October, 1905; and it is quite within the probabilities that Abdul Hamid will try to follow the example set by Nicholas II. and nullify his concessions by force and fraud if any opportunity presents itself. It must be taken into account, too, that the Turkish people—or, to speak correctly, the various peoples of Turkey—are even more lacking in political experience than those of the Russian Empire, and that they may not be able to make the best use of the rights and powers which they have wrested from their monarch. It would be a grave mistake to overestimate the importance of the irade of July 24, or to expect that, because Turkey has at last a constitution, she will at once take her place among the really parliamentary nations in the full sense of the word.

But, after discounting the importance of the event to the utmost reasonable degree, it remains an event of prime importance in world history. Had the constitution been freely given, it would mean little. But then, for that matter, constitutions have never been freely given; even Bismarck, in 1870, acted under the compulsion of the revolutionary movement, indirect though it was. And in the present case, just as in that of Russia three years ago, the compulsion has been very direct. What is significant, then, is not the mere fact that a constitution has been GRANTED, but the fact that it has been WRESTED from the despotic government by a popular uprising which the government could not resist.

We are accustomed to read of mutinies in the Turkish army and of palace plots at Constantinople. We are used also to the stories of the discontent of the subject nationalities—the Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian and numerous other non-Turkish elements of the population—and to their feuds among themselves, which have weakened their attempts to throw off the Ottoman rule. These chronic disorders have too much obscured, in the view of the Western world, the fact that for several years past a movement for political liberty and social progress has been gaining ground in Turkey quite similar to that which is playing so large a part in all the more advanced nations. In fact, we have fallen into the habit of thinking of Turkey as altogether unprogressive, as living permanently in a state of Medieval and Oriental sloth which, if it could be broken at all, could be broken only by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the portioning of its territory into petty states under the domination of the various Western powers.

Such has been the popular view—fostered, perhaps, by the English and other capitalist interests, which dreaded any real awakening among the Sultan's subjects. Well informed observers have frequently assured us that it was a mistaken view—that among the Turks themselves, just as well as among the subject nationalities, there existed a great latent force which, in these recent years, was preparing to assert itself. The party of the Young Turks has not only produced brave and able men, but it has shown genuinely progressive tendencies; and since the outbreak of the Russian revolution there has developed within it a genuine Socialist element, small indeed, but quite in current with that of Russia and Western Europe, and exhibiting the power which is inherent in Socialism, to overcome racial and religious prejudices and unite the oppressed in a constructive revolt.

That what came to a head last week is not merely the result of palace intrigues or army mutinies is made very clear by the press dispatches. Practically the whole of European Turkey, it appears, has risen in a real revolutionary spirit, and the populace have joined the soldiers in greeting the news of the constitution by singing the "Marseillaise."

Russia may be said to have just passed through her 1848. If Turkey has but reached her 1789, it means much, not only for the people of Turkey, but for all her neighbors—for her neighbors on the north, now suffering under a triumphant reaction and preparing for new struggles against the Autocracy; for her Persian neighbors, whom Sultan and Czar and English capital would unite in driving back under the antiquated rule of the Shah; through Persia, for all the Asiatic peoples, whose subjection to European and American capitalist influences makes them a danger to the progress of the working class in America and in Europe; and to all the Mohammedan

nations of North Africa, now the prey of English, French and Italian colonial exploitation and the feeders of the financial-militarist-clerical gangs that hamper progress in the colonizing countries.

It may well be hoped that the winning of a constitution in Turkey, and the demonstration of popular vitality which has won it, may mean the end of the "Sick Man" theory in European politics, the rise of a vigorous power in Southeastern Europe, capable of developing the resources of the earth and of the people and, above all, a great help and inspiration to the masses who are carrying on the titanic struggle against the infernal rule of the Romanoffs.

"Freedom's battle once begun,
"Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
"Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Just when the revolutionary tide is at its ebb in St. Petersburg and Moscow and the Lords of the Earth are rejoicing, the storm of liberty's struggle breaks out at Tabriz and Constantinople, and its lightnings give warning to the Baltic shores that the dead calm there prevailing is but a lull, not the end of the revolution.

"Taft will demand rest for the country," we are authoritatively informed by his supporters. What does it mean? Rest for the workers? They have been getting too much "rest"—without pay—for many months past. Will Taft demand work for them? "God knows"—Taft doesn't. No, it is for the capitalist exploiters that Taft will demand rest—rest from the hue and cry which the masses of the people—incited, of course, by Socialist agitators—have raised against him. But not even Taft can secure them such rest and immunity. For the workers are waking, and they will not sleep again.

WHY THE MASTERS WANT A BIG NAVY.

The President has reached the limit of demogogy in his declaration, made before the conference of naval officers last week, that this country needs a "resistless" navy for the purpose of keeping out immigrant laborers. No one can seriously suppose that, in the improbable event of the United States deciding to exclude workingmen coming from any other country, that country is going to try to bring them in under the guns of warships. In the first place, no government has any material interest in sending its working people over here. In the second place, even if it had such an interest, it would be obviously impracticable to force their admission and their toleration after they got here by sending a fleet to attack our coasts. The idea is worthy only of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera or an Oppenheim novel.

Nations have often resorted to arms to force the admission of the agents of their capitalists to exploit the native labor of another country; but no nation has ever gone to war to compel the admission of its working people to toil for the profit of the capitalists of another country. If the United States ever decides to restrict the immigration of foreign laborers, it will not be any foreign government, but the employing class of the United States, who will be ready to use any means to resist the enforcement of the law.

Mr. Roosevelt's speech is, in fact, a thinly and clumsily veiled attempt to stir up hostile feeling against Japan. And the object in view is not difficult to guess. For many years American capitalists have looked upon the Chinese market as their special heritage, to be appropriated and exploited at their leisure. As a result of the war with Russia, however, Japan has become the dominant power in the Far East and Japanese capitalists have the inside track for the exploitation of China, Korea, and Manchuria. This fact explains much. It explains the insidious development within the last two years of tendencies in this country favorable to the Russian autocracy, as well as the cultivation of hostility toward Japan.

If war with Japan comes, it will not be provoked by the Japanese government in a silly attempt to force the admission of Japanese workingmen into this country; it will be fomented by the capitalists of the United States, in combination with those of England and with the Czar's government, for the purpose of ousting Japan from its headship of Eastern Asia and of dividing that vast field among the capitalists of the West.

The working people have no interest in war nor in the creation of a large army or a powerful navy. They have every interest in the maintenance of peace and the devotion of all the financial and other powers of the government of this country to the task of developing our own resources and putting them at the disposal of the masses who live and work in this country and produce its wealth—regardless of their race or nativity.

A correspondent of the Sun pathetically asks why it is that "capitalists, especially of the Wall Street variety, refuse to invest in real estate." If it were true, we might suggest that they don't wish to encroach on the privileges of their spiritual patron, Trinity Church.

As it happens, however, the great financiers are also, through their various corporations, great landlords, owning city land by blocks instead of lots and country land by square miles instead of acres.

"Mills and Furnaces Busy, Prices Fair, Contracts Fair, Labor Disputes Settled, More Men Working." That is the cheerful way the Sun sizes up the industrial situation in the iron and steel centres, calmly ignoring the fact—unimportant in its eyes—that the labor disputes have been "settled" by the workingmen being compelled, after months of unwilling idleness, to submit to a heavy cut in wages.

FARLEY, HEARST AND THE "LITTLE MOTHERS."

The Evening Journal bursts out into an editorial paean of praise and joy over Archbishop Farley's suggestion to the teachers in the parochial schools of New York that they "give lessons to children on the care of babies in summer." In so doing, says our chameleon contemporary, "the Archbishop recognizes practically and usefully the work that is done in caring for babies by the tens of thousands of 'little mothers'—the babies' older sisters, themselves often barely out of their babyhood—on whom the care of the babies devolves."

Not a word has the Archbishop said, and not a word does the Evening Journal say, to indicate that either of them recognizes that it is a burning disgrace to our civilization that, in this one city alone, tens of thousands of little girls, "barely out of their babyhood," should be compelled to forego the joyous and care-free life befitting their tender years, and take up the toil and responsibility of motherhood before they have had a chance to taste the delights of the playground and the doll-house.

"The boy or girl who takes care of a baby brother or sister is an honor to the city," says the Journal.

That any boy or girl should have to take care of a baby brother or sister is a shame to the city, say we.

"It is hard work caring for a baby, while other children are playing," says Mr. Hearst's paper; "but that is the kind of work that develops good men and women, successful fathers and mothers."

Mr. Hearst and his editors know better than that—or, if they do not, they could learn better by consulting any physician, any nurse, or any teacher with experience in the poorer quarters of the city.

Instead of "developing good men and women, successful fathers and mothers," such work stunts the development of the "little mothers," and causes them to grow up weak, spindling, anaemic, lopsided, care-worn and nervous—unable to enjoy life, unable to work well and gladly, unfit to bear and rear children of their own.

It is very easy to sentimentalize over the "little mothers," to tell them that it is "brave and womanly" to care for the baby while other children are playing. But such sentimental gush does not do those poor little girls any good. Be sure, Mr. Hearst—and you, too, Archbishop Farley—that those pale-faced, wistful-eyed children would gladly exchange all your fulsome flattery for a chance just to go and romp or rest at their own sweet will, as they have a right to do.

It is much easier to flatter the victims of a vicious system than to attack the system and set the victims free. The slave-holders in the old days were always ready to say sweet things about their "faithful" slaves. It seemed to free their own consciences from the guilt of holding them in bondage. Just so to-day, by heaping false and senseless compliments upon the "little mothers" and other children defrauded of their childhood, THE POSSESSING CLASSES COMFORTABLY EASE THEMSELVES OF ANY FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SYSTEM WHICH ENRICHES THEM AT THE COST OF CHILDREN'S LIVES.

Shame on you, Archbishop! Shame on you, Mr. Hearst! If you cannot, or will not, join in the effort to give the fathers a chance to work and give the mothers a chance to care for the home and the family and give the children a chance to learn and to play—if you cannot or will not help in this, you might at least have the grace to be silent in the presence of outraged childhood.

When you buy a cigar, see that it comes out of a box bearing the blue label of the Cigar Makers' Union.

The World declares that \$7,500 a year is "a contemptibly low salary" for the head of the Police Department of New York City, and is in favor of doubling the amount. Well, there are something like a million men in the city doing work more useful than Bingham's for one-tenth of the pay. When the million begin to get something like what they earn, we shall be willing to consider the question of an increase for the Police Commissioner—though the need for policemen will be much reduced then.

"Who Is Going to Answer this Man?"

(The following article is reprinted from the editorial page of the New York Evening Call of July 25.)

Mr. Hearst has discovered that there is a problem of unemployment in this country.

Mr. Hearst has made up his mind that he is going to try to put a Presidential ticket of his own into the field. That is the explanation of his sudden solicitude about the army of the unemployed.

In the Evening Journal for July 21 appeared the following editorial:

Mr. Taft came to New York, spoke at Cooper Union, and offered to answer all questions. He answered many, and, as we said at the time, he answered with readiness and apparent sincerity.

One man wrote and sent this question to Mr. Taft:

"If a man is out of work and has a family starving, what is he to do?"

Mr. Taft read the question, hesitated a moment, threw his hands in the air and exclaimed:

"God knows; I don't."

That was an honest reply, but it wasn't an adequate reply.

The question asked of Mr. Taft some months ago will be asked, unfortunately, by thousands and tens of thousands of men to-day.

The number of those that worry about work with savings dwindling, cost of living increasing and very feeble signs of returning prosperity, is great and increasing.

The bread line is long, and the unemployed line is longer.

If you should put an advertisement in the paper offering two dollars a day or a dollar and a half a day for skilled mechanics accustomed to receive four or five dollars, you would be overwhelmed with eager applications.

Who's going to answer the question that man put to Taft?

What have the gentlemen to say who want to be President of the United States, or Governors or Senators? What have the national platforms—

Mr. Hearst observes that Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan do not try to answer this Man-Out-of-a-Job. He leaves it to be understood that he, Mr. Hearst, is going to answer, when he gets good and ready.

Mr. Hearst calmly ignores the fact that the Socialist party has already answered, without any hesitation or equivocation. It does not suit Mr. Hearst's political purposes to discuss the answer offered by the Socialist party, nor even to tell his readers that such a party is in the field with an answer to the Man-Out-of-a-Job.

Therefore, readers and friends of The Socialist, it devolves upon YOU to see that the Socialist party's answer is brought to the attention of all workingmen, to break the Taft-Bryan-Hearst conspiracy of silence.

The Socialist party's answer cannot very well be given in a few words. For the cure which it offers is NOT a fake patent medicine, for you to take on faith. It is a SCIENTIFIC COURSE OF TREATMENT, going to the root of the trouble. We want our readers to UNDERSTAND, not simply to BELIEVE.

Our answer may best be given in three parts:

First, What is the real CAUSE of unemployment?

Second, How does the Socialist party propose that the problem of unemployment is to be PERMANENTLY solved?

Third, In the meantime, while we are waiting for the final and complete solution of the problem, what would the Socialist party do to give IMMEDIATE RELIEF to the victims of unemployment?

THE CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

First, then, What is the cause?

It is not only a few stock gamblers and franchise manipulators who are responsible. It is the SYSTEM that is at fault. And when we say "the system," we mean the system of CAPITALISM—the system of private ownership of means of production which the workers must have access to in order to work and live.

Stock gamblers and franchise manipulators are only a few among the many capitalist exploiters. So far as the working people are concerned, they are no worse than other capitalists. It is the whole system that oppresses the working class and keeps it in poverty.

Unemployment is not an exceptional thing under capitalism. Twenty years ago Carroll D. Wright, then State Labor Commissioner of Massachusetts, estimated that then, in a period of prosperity, there were at least eight hundred thousand men unwillingly idle in the United States. It is safe to say that the Army of the Unemployed has never since fallen below that number. During the hard times of 1893 to 1896 it rose to three or four millions. In the next period of prosperity it fell back to the normal figure of a million or a little less. Last September another period of hard times came upon us. The Socialists had predicted it, and so had John D. Rockefeller, but the

orthodox economists and politicians had laughed at the prediction. The Army of the Unemployed began to grow by leaps and bounds. A month or two ago a careful investigation made it clear that at least five or six million wage-workers were seeking in vain for employment.

Under Capitalism, unemployment is a normal thing, existing in good times as well as bad; and under Capitalism, periods of prosperity are followed by periods of depression, just as regularly as day is followed by night. It is Capitalism itself that produces these evils.

Human Labor (using the land which Labor has improved and made usable and the machinery which Labor has created) produces all the wealth of the world—the food, clothing, houses, fuel and other things by which the world lives.

Working together and using modern tools, machinery, power, and so forth, the workingmen are capable of producing a comfortable living for all. But **THE WORKINGMAN WITH NOTHING BUT HIS BARE HANDS, no matter how strong and skilful he may be, IS MORE HELPLESS IN CIVILIZED SOCIETY THAN HIS SAVAGE ANCESTOR IN THE PRIMEVAL FOREST.** In order to use their strength and skill and knowledge in the production of wealth, the workingmen must have access to the land, and not only to the land, but also to the mines and railways and mills and factories—to all the means of production which **THEIR LABOR HAS PRODUCED** and which **THEIR LABOR OPERATES.**

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AT FAULT.

But all these things—or practically all of them—are held as private property by a part of the people. A great factory or mine or railway is built and equipped by the JOINT labor of thousands of workers. It cannot be operated without the JOINT labor of thousands of workers. Its operation is NECESSARY to the existence of ALL the people. And yet, under our existing system, IT MAY BE OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY ONE PERSON, WHO HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH BUILDING IT, WHO NEVER DOES A STROKE OF WORK IN OPERATING IT, BUT WHO GETS A GOOD LIVING BY JUST PERMITTING OTHER PEOPLE TO WORK IN IT.

These persons who own the means of production we call Capitalists. They control industry. When it suits them to let other men work, industry is carried on and goods are produced. When it suits them better to stop production, the workers stand idle. The miners may not dig coal, the millers may not grind flour, the spinners and weavers may not make cloth, though they are eager to do so, and though the people need these things, unless it pleases the capitalists to give permission.

All the food and clothing and fuel and other goods that the workers create belong to the capitalists, because they own the mills and mines and so forth. Out of the value of those things which the workers create, the capitalists pay them wages for their labor. The surplus remains to the capitalists, not for anything they DO, but just BECAUSE THEY OWN the means of production and CONTROL other people's jobs.

The capitalist class needs an Army of the Unemployed all the time, to keep up competition in the labor market and prevent wages from going too high. But in times of so-called prosperity MOST of the workers are employed and even overworked; most of them get wages just enough to live on; a few get enough to be able to save a little, if they are very carefully and very lucky. In such times the capitalists make huge profits and industry keeps on expanding.

WHY HARD TIMES COME.

But after a few years of prosperity, the capitalists find that goods are produced faster than they can be sold—that is, faster than they can be sold at a big profit. The reason is plain, if you will consider the facts. The workers get back in wages only a small part of the value of the things they make. Evidently, they can buy only a small part of those things in the market. The capitalists, on the other hand, though they COULD buy all the rest if they wanted to, do not want to; there is a limit to the amount of food and clothing and fuel a man wants to use, no matter how rich he is. The consequence is that, as industry expands in times of prosperity, gradually the supply outruns the demand, the market is "glutted" with goods, and prices fall or threaten to fall. Then the capitalists begin to lay off men, to run their works on short time, to shut them down altogether—anything to curtail production, no matter how much misery it causes to the workers. Then come what we call hard times.

In hard times the capitalists make smaller profits, some of them—the little ones—make no profits and are driven out of the field; the bigger ones get a tighter hold on the market, in preparation for the next period of prosperity. And during these hard times millions of workingmen stand idle. Those who had saved something see their savings wiped out. The others work for lower wages, but get very little chance to work, even so. Some beg. Some, prouder and bolder, steal. Some kill themselves. Many die of slow or quick starvation. All suffer terrible hardship for months, for two or three years, perhaps, until "business adjusts itself"—that is, until all the savings of the working class and a large part of the capital of the small capitalists have been swept into the coffers of the great capitalists, and the surplus of goods on the market has been got rid of; then another "era of prosperity" begins.

So here is the answer to our first question:

THE CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT—of the chronic unemployment of hundreds of thousands in "good" times and the acute unemployment of millions in times of depression like this—**IS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.** Because a part of the people own and con-

trol the means of production which the rest of the people jointly create and operate, and which all of the people need; because the working people are not, individually or collectively, the masters of their own jobs, but can work only when the capitalists permit; because it is THE PROFIT INTEREST OF THE CAPITALISTS, and not the will of the workers nor the needs of the whole people, that GOVERNS INDUSTRY AND DICTATES WHEN THE WORKERS SHALL PRODUCE WEALTH—therefore it is that the working people are always poor and that we have periodic hard times.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP THE CURE.

Next, How is the problem of unemployment to be permanently solved?

THE WAY TO REMEDY AN EVIL IS TO REMOVE ITS CAUSE. Private ownership of the socially created, socially operated and socially necessary means of production is the cause of unemployment and poverty for the workers.

The cure, then, is public or social ownership of these things, and **THE OPERATION OF INDUSTRY BY THE LABOR OF ALL THE PEOPLE, UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL BY ALL THE PEOPLE, FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE,** that will be Socialism.

We have hard times because the capitalists found that they were permitting the workers to produce more than could be sold at a good profit to the capitalists. Because the workers have worked too hard and piled up too much food and clothing and other goods, now the workers must stand idle and go hungry and ragged. That is absurd. But it is a fact.

But suppose the mines and mills and factories and railways and other socially necessary means of production were owned by the people collectively. Suppose the people found that they were producing more goods than they needed. Do you imagine that they would shut down half the works and throw half of their own number into idleness and put themselves on short rations and stand around hungry and ragged until the surplus had been used up, and then again overwork themselves and live on the verge of poverty and pile up another surplus, and then go through the ridiculous performance again?

Of course not. If they found that they were producing too much, they would simply reduce the hours of labor all around, all would have more leisure, and all would have enough of the good things of life that all collectively produced—**ALL WOULD HAVE ENOUGH, BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT HAVE TO GIVE UP ANY OF IT TO NON-PRODUCING MASTERS.**

Now, Socialism cannot be completely established in a day, even if you should give an overwhelming majority for it at the polls next November. It will be a great task to reorganize the industry of the nation on the Socialist basis. But the working people are capable of performing that task, when they make up their minds to it. And the sooner they begin, the easier will the task be, and the sooner will it be finished and the horrors of unemployment and poverty banished forever.

IMMEDIATE RELIEF.

Finally, What does the Socialist party offer as measures of immediate relief? Since we do not expect that Socialism could be established at a stroke, even if the Socialist party were in full control of the government, and since we do not expect that the Socialist party will suddenly be put in full control of the government, but rather that it will gain power gradually, electing here a few Congressmen and there a few legislators and somewhere else a few Mayors and Aldermen—what will such Socialists elected to office seek to accomplish NOW, to reduce the sufferings of the working class under capitalism?

That is a question you have a right to ask. It is a question we are ready to answer. It is already answered in the immediate demands in our party platform.

Here are some of the things that Socialists in public office will insist upon:

The enactment and enforcement of legislation **SHORTENING THE HOURS OF LABOR.** This will give more leisure to those who are employed and give employment to part of those who are out of work.

The enactment and enforcement of legislation **FORBIDDING THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.** This will give the little ones a chance for health and education and enjoyment, and will give employment to still more of the men who are now out of work.

The **ENFORCEMENT OF THE TENEMENT HOUSE LAWS** in our great cities. This will remove a great cause of consumption and other disease among the working people; it will also compel the landlords to employ men to remodel the old buildings or tear down and erect new ones.

The undertaking of **USEFUL PUBLIC WORKS**—not warships and forts, but roads, canals, aqueducts, irrigation plants, reforestation of waste lands, and the like—to be done by direct public employment, without the intervention of contractors, and with union conditions as to wages and hours of labor. This will not only give work to great numbers of the unemployed, but it will also increase the collective wealth of the nation. As to how these things are to be paid for, it will be done just as armies and navies are paid for when the capitalists want them—by taxation on the property which the capitalists have accumulated out of the working people's labor.

The **NATIONALIZATION** or **MUNICIPALIZATION**, as fast as possible, of railways, telegraphs, mines, water-power, trolley systems, telephones, gas and electric plants, and other so-called "public utilities," and the establishment of public ice plants, fuel yards and other agencies for supplying at cost the necessities of life now monopolized by capitalists. No profit being paid out of these enterprises, it will be possible to pay higher wages and establish a shorter work-

day (thus employing more men) than now prevail, and yet to give the service to the public at a lower cost.

These are some of the **IMMEDIATELY PRACTICABLE MEASURES OF RELIEF** which the Socialist party advocates, and which Socialists in office will fight for. The more Socialists you elect to Congress and the State Legislatures this fall, and the bigger vote you pile up for the Socialist candidates for the Presidency and all other offices (thus impressing the old parties with respect for your political intelligence), the more likely you are to get these and like measures of relief right away and the sooner will you get complete emancipation.

A GOLD-BRICK HEALTH REGULATION.

By H. W. C.

Looking over the Monthly Bulletin of the New York State Department of Health for May, I was struck with the publication of the new law governing the reporting of cases of tuberculosis. "Here," I thought, "is a law clearly in the interests of workmen. Hurrah for New York, which takes so firm a stand, which so vigorously wages the campaign to wipe out the white plague!" You see, I had in mind Hunter's "Poverty," where he shows how great a factor in creating and maintaining a class of poverty-ridden people this dread disease is. Hunter is convincing in his arguments and his array of facts and figures, and I have accepted tuberculosis as another of the ills forced upon an unresisting people by capitalists greedy for rents and profits. So when I glanced through the new law (Chapters 351 and 396, laws of 1908), I was thrilled with joy that by some miracle the plutocrats had been made to concede this measure of reform.

Looks Like a Good Law.

For the law provides that tuberculosis be treated as an infectious and contagious disease and so reported by physicians to the Health Boards. Tuberculosis being classed as infectious and communicable, the new law provides that sputum shall be examined and the results reported to physicians who submit specimens to the Health Boards; that records of tuberculosis persons be kept, with residences, etc., that premises occupied by persons afflicted with this disease shall, when vacated by either death or removal, be sealed by health officers and not again opened for use as a habitation until thoroughly disinfected by the Health Board. No articles of any kind may be removed from the premises until after such disinfection. Then, too, the health officials may order a complete renovation and cleaning of the premises if they think disinfection not sufficient to insure new tenants from danger, and occupancy of the room or premises is forbidden until authorized by the health officers. Then, passing to another phase of the campaign against the plague, the law provides a fine for any tubercular person who disposes of any sputum, saliva or other bodily excretion so as to cause danger or offense to any other occupant of the room, apartment, premises or house. Physicians are made responsible for proper sanitary measures and precautions being observed by tubercular patients and subject to a fine of \$100 for failure to report such cases to the Health Board.

Science and Law vs. Disease.

When I had read that far I was most enthusiastic. Active, strong and yet simple measures were at last being taken to clean up "lung blocks,"

to prevent the spread of this killer of thousands. "The state is on the move, with science and law back of it, and tuberculosis must soon be driven out of our community," I thought. All that the law meant to thousands of tenement dwellers; the filthy, ill and non-ventilated black holes it would wipe out; the young lives in shop and factory it would soon be saving by the one regulation of the disposal of sputum of tubercular men and women; all this came over me. Not much longer will the dust stirred by every gentle breeze rise laden with death, or worse. The white plague is to be fought hard and unceasingly in New York and such battles are never in doubt! How glad I was!

The Disappointment.

And then I resumed reading the law until I came to the final paragraph, Section 13, which contains the proviso: "Except that no portion of this act shall apply to the City of New York." I read it again, and again. True, the words were there! In the green fields of Onondaga, on the hills of Essex, the lakes of Seneca, the law should work, but not in Lung Blocks of Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Gold bricked again! Another stone instead of a loaf. Relief given everywhere except where most needed. Conditions improved everywhere except where they are worst. Tuberculosis stamped out all over the state except where there is most of it, where conditions of life make it communicable, where, indeed, to avoid infection is impossible for thousands of people! The white plague to be fought in all parts of the state save in the one great district, most afflicted, most infected, most helpless, New York's tenements!

The revulsion of feeling made me sick and sore. How well must the pleas of the capitalist have been heard: "To compel New York City to come under this law would be to take the sole income from widows and children whose only means of support comes from tenements which the act would eventually require to be remodelled or rebuilt." In the face of such a cry, of course no legislature, the creature of capital, could be expected to listen to those who could only recite a toll of seven, ten, thirteen, lives taken by one room of one building, the walls and floors of which are fairly filled with the germs of tuberculosis, and from the use of which no person ever survives.

And so the little proviso excepting New York gets into the act, and the white plague has naught to fear in its rule over the lives and happiness of the tenement dwellers. How every germ must love the capitalists who save it, and foster it, and feed it bright red blood from the hearts of the poor!



HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS.

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

PART III.

The Great Fortunes from Railroads.

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CHAPTER I.

A PRELIMINARY REVIEW.

I.

Before setting out to relate in detail the narrative of the amassing of the great individual fortunes from railroads, it is advisable to present a preliminary survey of the concatenating circumstances leading up to the time when these vast fortunes were rolled together. Without this explanation, this work would be deficient in clarity, and would leave unelucidated many important points, the absence of which might puzzle or vex the reader.

Although industrial establishments, as exemplified by mills, factories and shops, much preceded the construction of railroads, yet the next great group of fortunes to develop after, and along with those from, land were the fortunes plucked from the control and manipulation of railroad systems.

The Lagging Factory Fortunes.

Under the old chaotic competitive system, in which factory warred against factory, and an intense struggle for survival and ascendancy enveloped the whole tense sphere of manufacturing, no striking industrial fortunes were made. Fortunate was that factory owner regarded who could claim \$250,000 clear. All of those modern and complex factors which have offered such unbounded opportunities for gathering in spoils mounting into the hundreds of millions of dollars, were either unknown or in an inchoate or rudimentary state. Invention, if we may put it so, was just blossoming forth; hand labor was largely prevalent; huge combinations undreamed of; paper capitalization as embodied in the fictitious issues of immense quantities of bonds and stocks was not yet a part of the devices of the factory owner, although it was a fixed plan of the bankers and insurance companies. The factory owner was the supreme type of that sheer individualism which had burst forth from the restraints of feudalism. He stood alone fighting his commercial contests with persistent personal doggedness. Beneath his occasional benevolence and his religious professions was a wild ardor in the checkmating or bankruptcy of his competitors. These were his enemies; he fought them with every mercantile weapon, and they him; and none gave quarter.

Apart from the destructive character of this incessant warfare, dooming many of the combatants, other intervening factors had the tendency of holding back the factory owners' quick progress—obstacles and drawbacks which will be copiously described in a later and more appropriate part of this work.

Might of Railroad Owners.

In juxtaposition to the slow, almost creeping pace of the factory owners in the race for wealth, the railroad owners sprang at once into the lists of mighty wealth-poseurs, armed with the most comprehensive and puissant powers and privileges, and vested with a sweep of properties beside which those of the petty industrial bosses were puny. Railroad owners, we say; the distinction is necessary between the builders of the railroads and the owners; the one might construct, but it often happened by means of cunning, fraud and corruption, the builders were superseded by another set of men who vaulted into possession.

Looking back and summing up the course of events for a series of years, it may be said that there was created over night a number of entities empowered with extraordinary and far-reaching rights and powers of ownership.

These entities were called corporations, and called into being by law. Beginning as creatures of law, the very rights, privileges and properties obtained by means of law, soon enabled them to become the dictators and masters of law. The title was in the corporation, not in the individual; hence the men who controlled the corporation swayed the substance of

power and ownership. The factory was usually a personal affair, owned by one man or in co-partnership; to get control of this property it was necessary to get the owner in a financial corner and force him to sell out, for, as a rule, he had no bond or stock issues. But the railroad corporation was a stock corporation; whoever secured control of a majority of the stock became the legal administrator of its policies and property. By adroit manipulation, intimidation, superior knavery, and the corrupt domination of law, it was always easy for those who understood the science of rigging the stock market and that of strategic undermining to wrest the control away from weak or (treating the word in a commercial sense) incompetent holders.

Legalizing of Cunning.

Thus this situation, so singularly conflicting with the theoretical majesty of the law, was frequently presented: A band of men styling themselves a corporation received a perpetual charter with the most sweeping rights and properties. In turn, the law interposed no effective hindrance to the seizing of their possessions by any other plundering group which proved its power to grasp them. All of this was done under nominal forms of law, but differed little in reality from the methods in vogue during mediæval times when any baron could take another baron's castle and land by armed force, and it remained his until a stronger man came along and proved his title likewise.

But we anticipate the facts somewhat. Long before the railroad had been accepted commercially as a feasible undertaking, the trading and land-owning classes, as has been repeatedly pointed out, had demonstrated very successfully how the forms of government could be perverted to enrich themselves at the expense of the working population.

Taxation laws, as we have seen, were so devised that the burden in a direct way fell lightly on the shipping, manufacturing, trading, banking and land-owning classes, while indirectly it was shoved almost wholly on the workers, whether in shop, factory or on farm. Furthermore, the constant response of Government, municipal, State and national, to property interests which the officials represented and curried to, has been touched upon; how Government loaned vast sums of public money, free of interest, to the traders, while at the same time refusing to assist the impoverished and destitute; how it granted immunity from punishment to the rich and powerful, and inflicted the most drastic penalties upon poor debtors and penniless violators of the law; how it allowed the possessing classes to cheat on a large scale in taxation, and executed summarily cruel laws permitting landlords to evict tenants for non-payment of rent. These and many other partial and grossly discriminative laws have been referred to, not to mention the refusal of Government to interfere in the slightest with the commercial frauds and impositions constantly practiced, with all their resulting great extortions upon the defenceless working class.

The Swaying of Government.

The trading, banking and landed class had learned well the all-important policy of having a Government fully susceptible to their interests, whether the governing officials were put in office by them and were saturated with their interests, views and ideals, or whether corruption had to be resorted to in order to attain their objects. At all events, the propertied classes, in the main, got what they wanted. And, as fast as their interests changed, so did the acts and dicta of Government change. While the political economists were busy promulgating the doctrine that it was not the province of Government to embark in any enterprise other than that of purely governing—a doctrine which precisely suited the traders and was borrowed from their demands—the

commercial classes, early in the nineteenth century, suddenly discovered that there was an exception. They wanted canals boats built; and as they had not sufficient funds for the purpose and did not see any immediate profit for themselves, they clamored for the building of them by the States. In fine, they found that it was to their interest to have the States put through canal projects on the ground that these would "stimulate trade." The canals were built, but the commercial classes in many instances made the blunder of allowing the ownership to rest in the people.

Never again was this mistake repeated. If it proved so easy to get legislatures and Congress to appropriate millions of the public funds for undertakings profitable to commerce, why would it not be equally simple to secure the appropriations plus the perpetual title? Why be satisfied with one portion, when the whole was within reach?

An Effective Means.

True, the popular vote was to be reckoned with; it was a time when people scanned the tax levy with far greater scrutiny than now; any they were not disposed to put up the public funds only that private individuals might reap the exclusive benefit. But there was a way of tricking and circumventing the electorate. The trading and land-owning classes knew its effectiveness. It was they who had begun it; they it was who from 1799 on had bribed legislatures and Congress to give them bank and other charters. Bribery had proved a signal success. The performance on a much wider scale, with far greater results, and with a grasping adroitness which revealed that the capitalist class had learned much by experience, not only in reaching out for powers that the previous generation would not have dared to grant, but in being able to make plastic to its own purposes the electorate which believed itself to be the mainspring of political power.

(To be continued.)

WE ALL KNOW THEM.

By F. H. M.

"Oh, yes, the best will always rise, and the lazy and unworthy will always be poor. I tell Harold there is no good in Socialism, for there will always be classes." And Irene revels in the boundless munificence of Harold's \$50 per

Irene's father died a few years ago in an almshouse. She must have forgotten it. But she must know that her aged mother is now maintained by the doles of her daughters and sons-in-law, and that her only brother's wife and children are supported by his father-in-law. But what's the use? Of such is the Kingdom of Capital.

"No, I know the study of Socialism would be of no use to me. I am too intense an individualist to waste any time on such a theory."

Yes, Sam Wellman was always an individualist—in fact, his world has never had room for any other individual than Sam himself. His acquaintances have the politeness never to mention to him his wife or his four children, whom he deserted in their infancy, years ago, finding it inconvenient or laborious to support them, and who were reared and maintained by their relatives and friends. His individualism is about the only thing Sam has left—but his individuality is in a wretched state.

"You Socialists, who advocate an equal distribution of wealth, would give the poor worker the same as the good worker. That would destroy all incentive. No, none of it for me; I work for what I get, and get what I work for."

Now, if Larry's threatened labor produced any wealth, everybody would be glad if he should receive all of it; but for years he has been only a worker of the workers, though not conscious that his profession is in itself an epitome of capitalism, enabling him and his kind to live in luxury on what the workers produce. Larry's last job netted him a comfortable \$1,500 a year, paid monthly by check, and about all he had to do was to be "Johnny on the Spot" to his district leader, and once a month cash his check. He is working hard to copper a better job at the next election. Of course, no one will pretend that Socialism will offer this incentive.

FRIGHTFUL CONDITION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS

The working class of Russia is at present passing through a severe economic crisis. From all parts of the empire come reports of unemployment and want in the cities and the rural districts. The reaction which made itself felt after a short and insignificant revival in the principal branches of industry has struck the working people first of all. The newspaper *Sovremennoe Slovo* gives the following reports on the subject:

"In South Russia a terrible condition of unemployment prevails among the workmen in the sugar factories. The demand for agricultural products is very small.

"In the principal cities of the provinces of Kherson, Klet, and Podolia thousands of the working people are suffering from hunger.

"In the Donetz region, the centre of the house industry of South Russia, work is much curtailed. In Blatostok nearly all the factories are closed, and unemployment has spread from here over the whole government of Grodno.

"Great numbers of the agricultural workers of the Baltic provinces are emigrating to America.

"The condition in the Volga regions is frightful. The river traffic, which heretofore employed 10,000 workmen, is at a low ebb. All the cities along the Volga are overcrowded with the unemployed, and every day new troops of hungry peasants pour in from the surrounding villages. Cholera and other epidemic diseases have made their appearance.

"The naphtha production in the Baku region, to which thousands of the unemployed have come from the inland governments, is heavily curtailed this year. The army of workless men grows from day to day.

"Reports come daily from Siberia of bloody conflicts between the inhabitants of the towns and the great numbers of peasants driven to Siberia by the authorities, who find themselves hungry and helpless and offer to work for the lowest wages.

"Finally, the crisis is compelling large numbers of factory workers from Russian Poland to go to Prussia in search of work as farm laborers. Their need is so dire that they do not hesitate even to put themselves under the iron rod of the Prussian proprietors."

HOW DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS PRACTISE DEMOCRACY.

National Organizer Geo. H. Goebel and Comrade Waldhorst, candidate for Mayor of Birmingham, Ala., were arrested for street speaking and each fined \$50. This was at the instigation of Mayor Ward. Later the Mayor remitted the fine for Comrade Goebel to enable him to proceed on his route. The case of Comrade Waldhorst will be taken to a jury. The prevailing public sentiment indicates an acquittal.

About 12,000 coal miners are on a strike in the vicinity of Birmingham. This same Mayor Ward on July 20, signed a contract with the Sloss Mining Company under which the city is to receive \$10 per month for its able-bodied male and female prisoners. The contract reads in part as follows: "That the coal company shall be entitled to the services of all able-bodied persons who have been convicted by the city, the company reserving the right to reject any who are not physically able to do the work. The company is required to keep the prisoners confined until their death or the end of their term."

Birmingham is under complete Democratic control. Other Democrats of the South evidently do not believe in free speech and answer Socialist arguments with eggs, as was the case with J. L. Fitts on Saturday last in Greenville, Tenn.

HOBOKEN FESTIVAL

The arrangements committee for the grand labor festival of Local Hudson County and kindred organizations, which will be held at Union Hill Schuetzen Park, on September 6, will meet at Liberty Hall, Spring and Shippen streets, West Hoboken, on Tuesday evening, July 28. All delegates are requested to attend. Prize lists will be ready for distribution.

SOCIALISM AND SUFFRAGE.

By **HEBE.**

We all are familiar with the frequently quoted saying that "the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself," and no Socialist would deny the truth of that statement. But it is equally true, though many of us fail to admit this truth, that the emancipation of womankind can only be accomplished by the women themselves. It seems to me that many of our comrades in their laudable ardor to serve the cause of Socialism, become blind to the fact that there are really two great struggles going on in our present day world, the class struggle and the sex struggle, and that Socialism would not be serving the cause of the oppressed if it failed to recognize the sex struggle, because half the members of the working class are women. The working women, the very women whom we are most eager to reach and to instruct in the principles of Socialism, are at the same time members of the exploited class and members of the oppressed sex, and are, therefore, concerned in both struggles. Can we speak to these women of Socialism, with its promises of equal rights and opportunities, without telling them that first and foremost they are entitled to the rights of equal citizenship? Do we imagine that any intelligent woman can become interested in a political movement without desiring the ballot? Therefore we, the Socialist women, cannot logically and conscientiously work for the liberation of our class, without working at the same time for the liberation of our sex. It is our battle and we must fight it, on one else will fight it for us. Political equality will no more be handed down to us by the male members of the community than economic freedom will be handed down to the toilers by the capitalists. The oppressed and exploited everywhere and at all times had to fight for their rights and only by fighting obtained them, and so we, the Socialist women who have recognized the needs of our sex, mean to fight for our political emancipation, without for one moment neglecting our duty toward the cause of our class.

Let it be remembered that the Socialist movement embodies two different sets of aims. On the one hand, we work for our ultimate goal, the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth founded upon the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. But on the other hand, we work for all social reforms and social legislation designed to improve the condition of the working class and to combat present day evils. A truly progressive, militant movement must never lose sight of the final aim, but must at the same time take into consideration all the living questions of the day, and one of the most vital living questions of our day is this woman's question. Now some of our conservative comrades say: granted, that the question of woman's right to the ballot is an important one; but surely, it is not more important than the question of child labor or the question of an eight-hour working day. So why should we pay more attention to the woman's question than to any other question of social reform?

To this query we reply: to you, the men who are vested with all political rights, the woman's question may not be more important than any other question of social reform, but it is more important to us, the voteless women. It is more important to us because the child labor question and the question of an eight-hour working day and every other question must remain a theoretical one to us, as long as we have no votes. It is more important to us, because we cannot shorten our working hours, we cannot take our children out of the factories, we cannot help to bring about any social improvement as long as we have no votes. It is more important to us even from the Socialist point of view, because no matter what good Socialists we are, no matter how eager we are to serve the cause, we must continue to play the part of mere onlookers and can never participate in the actual fray as long as we have no votes.

In Russia they fight their evils by conspiracy and bombs and assassination, because they have no other way. But in every country governed by fairly democratic principles, be it monarchy or

republic, the right way, the only way, to fight the evils of society is by political action. While the women of this republic are deprived of the only legitimate weapon, political action, they are helpless, as oppressed politically, as the unfortunate subjects of the Russian Czar. Men everywhere have recognized the incalculable value of political action, and wherever a property or other class qualification existed whereby a large number of working men were excluded from the right to vote, there disfranchised men have naturally, without pausing to weigh any theoretical considerations, made the fight for suffrage their first and foremost cause. Such was the case in England, Germany and Austria, and such is the case in Russia to-day. Men had to fight for a political democracy before they could think of establishing an industrial democracy, and that is exactly what the women are doing now.

Our controversy on the question as to whether woman's suffrage would help or hinder Socialism, reminds me of a scholastic controversy of the Middle Ages as to which was heavier, a dead fish or a live one. The worthy scholastic gentlemen debated that question at length and breadth, but not one of them thought of consulting the scales. In the same manner we are debating this question of Socialism and suffrage without being able to prove our arguments on either side. We do not know how woman's suffrage will affect Socialism until woman's suffrage has been tried. But we do know that woman's present political ignorance and disability hampers and hinders the growth of Socialism. We do know that woman's conservatism and narrow-mindedness, which is only a result of her age-long oppression, retards the progress of both sexes. We do know that the wife and mother of the working class who is not interested in politics and does not care for anything outside of her home, exercises a depressing influence upon the men of her family instead of encouraging and inspiring them to work for humanity's cause. We know, furthermore, that in those countries where women have already accomplished their political emancipation, as in Australia, New Zealand and Finland, Socialism and the labor movement have not been retarded but advanced by the votes of women.

Therefore, my sister comrades, do not let us waste our precious time by futile arguments, but let us continue to work faithfully and diligently for both the emancipation of our sex and the liberation of our class, for one form of progress has never been benefited by retarding another form of progress. Socialism and woman's suffrage both will come, and we cannot create or prevent either, but can only hasten or hinder their coming. According to all probabilities woman's suffrage will come first; not because we so desire it, but because conditions are ripe in many places for woman's suffrage where they are not yet ripe for Socialism. Therefore, we dare not shun the suffrage question, but must face it as the great, live, important issue that it actually is, and instead of rolling stones in the way of progress, we must prepare wisely and well for its coming. In order that woman's suffrage may not retard Socialism, we must strive with might and main to so educate the women of the working class that they will be able to use the ballot intelligently when woman's suffrage has been realized.

SOCIALISM IN CHINA.

A Socialist revolutionary movement seems to be gaining ground in China. It first came publicly forward with a definite program a little over a twelve-month ago, and is the direct result of the modernizing of popular education. Its three great principles, according to its leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, are these: The principle of race struggle in China, the principle of the people as sovereign, and the principle of Socialism. It is held by these new agitators that the opening up of China to modern ideas and methods will result in the appearance of the same social problems as exist in Europe, the conflict of capital and labor, the questions of land value, and a system of local administration immensely complicated in an empire of 400 millions. Anticipate these problems, they cry, by seizing the opportunity and creating a Socialist state.

GIVE US MEN.

God give us men! A time like this demands Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands. Men who... the lust of office does not kill; Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; Men who possess opinions and a will; Men who have honor, men who will not lie; For while these rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds, Their large professions and their little deeds, Wrangle in selfish strife—lo! Freedom weeps. Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps. —JOHN GILBERT HOLLAND.

A CONVENTION SPEECH.

"Louder! Louder!" shrieked the delegates. "Gentlemen," protested the presiding officer, "I can assure you that the disappointment of those who can't hear isn't a marker to the disappointment of those who can." —Philadelphia Ledger.

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TO THE SOCIALIST WOMAN.

By Dr. ANNA MERCY.

In our attempt to get equal rights we are discouraged by most of the Socialists women. Their argument is that we need to use all our energies toward bringing about Socialism, and then—why then, there will be no talk of equal rights, for we all will be treated as comrades and human beings with brains. That argument sounds so logical and convincing that one can hardly answer it.

Let us suppose, however, that men were disfranchised—what a howl Socialist men would raise! They would marshal all their forces to attain the right to vote for their beloved Socialism, nor would they care how many millions of Democratic or Republican votes could thus be secured. They would demand the vote for themselves irrespective of everything else. And yet, when we women say that we want to vote, the men, and the women, too, tell us to look at all the thousands of Republican and Democratic votes that would come into the field. That is of no import to us; we Socialist women want the privilege and demand the right to vote for our beloved Socialism—and why not?

What good will it do? Is another question asked us. It will do a tremendous amount of good. Women have been hypnotized into the belief that they are flighty creatures, who need not trouble themselves with serious affairs. I need not explain to Socialists the pernicious effects on society caused by the indifference of women. The right to vote will awaken the women to a realization of their part in the scheme of sex and will tend to replace our present state of apathy with a more lively interest; and thus give us the courage of our convictions. If the vote does nothing else but start women thinking more seriously of life, it will have served a great purpose.

Several years ago I was approached by some comrades and asked to join the party. I answered, "Gladly would I do it, but what is the use, I cannot vote." It took several years of study and mingling with comrades to induce me to join the party. And that is the way with a great many women. They do not see what good they can do, when the only avenue of expressing their wish for Socialism is denied.

Consequently, the vote would attract a great many women to our party.

When Socialists say that women's leagues tend toward sex-consciousness, I simply laugh, because even Socialists make dreadful blunders. You talk about awakening sex-consciousness when we are in a chronic condition to-day—when men and women, and especially the men, think of nothing else but sex. You speak of arousing sex-consciousness when women crawl at the feet of masters, and men condescend to talk to women? Oh, we are only too well aware of the difference of sex to-day. As Socialists we believe in awakening the workingman to a class-consciousness, and to be consistent we must awaken the women to the important part they play in the progress and evolution of the world.

Besides, disregarding all utilitarian desires, it is a barbarism to make distinctions based on sex alone, and it is high time that we women resent being classed with idiots and criminals. On the mere ground of pride and justice we should shame the world by exposing these stupid distinctions.

But the greatest concern of all is that woman to-day is a slave. In some States and countries she is still openly regarded as a chattel slave. To free her we must put her on an equal plane—and then we can go on. Most men still look upon women as their property. Almost every man that I have questioned regarding his attitude toward women has intimated that woman was born to please and that he personally had no other use for her. Ah, it makes one's blood boil to think that we women should be so universally insulted.

If Socialism wins at the polls it will get there by the expressed will of one-half of the community. You will get Socialism without the consent of the women! Can you afford such a victory? Will you ignore the desires of the women and claim your victory on the votes of men alone? Do you see how absurd the situation is? As Socialists it is our first and solemn duty to awaken and liberate the women (as they may justly be called), the mothers of the race. My appeal to the Socialist women, therefore, is to ask them to devote at least part of their energies toward securing representation and the education of the women of our communities.

Socialism without the consent of the women will never be the Socialism we dream of; in fact, it won't be Socialism at all!

IN PRISON.

By P. POLIVANOV.

(Polivanov was a Russian revolutionist who tried to rescue some of his friends from prison. He was caught and imprisoned for 20 years

in the fortress of Schusselburg. At the end of his term he was released, with shattered nerves, and soon after committed suicide.)

I long for liberty, I long for light; I want to draw a full breath, deep and clear; I want—well, brother, now the songs sung. For years, for ages, you are buried here.

By the damp cell's cold wall, the iron bar Across the heavy doors that will not move, You are out off from all the living world Forever, from life's joys, from those you love.

Take leave, forevermore, then, of your dreams, Your native steppes, and meadows, and forests free, And of the hope with which you used to live, And the ideal you served so faithfully.

Take leave of all, then, and submit yourself; Bow to your helplessness and depressing fate, What use to dream of freedom, pine for it, For life, work, strife, outside the prison gate?

Let fear, nor hope, nor joy, nor sorrow come Unto your broken heart a throb to lend, Life's ocean you will never see again; Your own life's journey, too, will shortly end.

In death's embrace your respite you will find From grief and suffering; in oblivion's sea You will receive your guardian—the repose You have desired so long and ardently.

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A HYMN OF ACTION.

By JOHN HAY.

Not in dumb resignation we lift our hands on high, Not like the nerveless fatalist, content to do or die, Our faith springs like the eagle's, who soars to meet the sun, And cries exalting unto Thee, "O Lord, Thy will be done!"

When tyrant feet are trampling upon common weal, Thou dost not bid us bend and writhe beneath the iron heel, In Thy name we assert our right by sword or tongue or pen, And even the headsman's ax may flash Thy message unto men.

Thy will! It bids the weak be strong; It bids the strong be just; No lips to fawn, no hands to beg, no brow to seek the dust, Wherever man oppresses man beneath the liberal sun, O Lord, be there; Thine arm made bare; Thy righteous will be done!

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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 233 local branches with 31,397 male and 8,408 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 \$1.00 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 invited to do so. Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third avenue, Room 2, New York City.

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THE REWARD OF ABILITY.

That philosophic champion of boodle, W. H. Mallock, has written another book to prove that the capitalists are entitled to all they get; it is the merit of their "ability," he says.

In plain language, they have the right to rob us because they have the ability to rob us!

We are unphilosophical enough ourselves to deny that the long head gives any more right to rob than the long arm.

Bill Sykes has the ability to burgle

Mr. Mallock's spoons; but should he do so, instead of recognizing that the swag was the legitimate fruit of superior merit, our philosopher would assuredly ring up the police, and do his illogical darndest to land the enterprising William in the "jug."

Society has banded together to thwart and punish the "ability" of Burglar Sykes. Similarly it will have to combine in action against Burglar Booodle.

So that, after all, Mr. M., we needn't quarrel much with your philosophy, for if rent, interest and profit are the rightful reward of Booodle's ability to rob the people, Socialism is justified as the ability of the people to protect themselves.—Brisbane Worker.

MR. HEARST'S INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

By ROBERT HUNTER.

Was it a Tammany politician or Shakespeare who asked "What's in a name?" It doesn't matter; it is a significant question.

Think of a party with Democratic in its name ruling in the South.

Think of a party with Republican in its name engineered from Wall street.

Think of a party with Independence in its name stowed away in the pocket of William R. Hearst.

Independent! Independent of what? Independent of whom?

Unconsciously men say the qualifying word: "Hearst's" Independence party.

The New York Evening Post says: "In the history of American politics there has been no more remarkable example of a party paid for and pocketed by a single man."

Mr. Bryan is the boss of the Democratic party, but Democrats can differ with the views of Mr. Bryan, and when they want can throw Mr. Bryan out and still run their party.

The Republican party has many bosses, but it can probably throw out any one or all of them and still manage to run that party.

But can the men of the Independence party THROW OUT Mr. Hearst and still run that party?

Mr. Hearst owns the press of the party. Not a line will appear in that press unless approved of by Mr. Hearst. The managers, organizers and officials of the Independence party are employees of Mr. Hearst. If they oppose Mr. Hearst's will they not only must leave the party but they must resign their salaries.

Mr. Hearst pays the convention costs, the traveling expenses and the cab fares, of all the delegates and of all the candidates for office.

How independent do you suppose delegates and candidates are who work upon that basis? The leading men in the party, the brains of the party, are employees of Mr. Hearst. Arthur Brisbane, John Temple Graves, Joseph Buchanan, Clarence Shearn, Andy Lawrence are to Mr. Hearst what salaried men are to any other employer.

The rank and file as well as these leaders dare not work in opposition to Mr. Hearst. It means not only breaking away from the party, being boycotted in the press of the party, but it means also the loss of their livelihood.

I do not mean to criticize any one of these men, nor do I mean to criticize Mr. Hearst. He has as much right to own a political party as he has to own an automobile. He has as much right to advance his own political fortune in this manner as to advance his personal fortune in the ordinary business way.

But Mr. Hearst and his followers misinterpret the purport of this party when they call it an Independence party. They show lack of discernment when they attack the ordinary political boss whose power IS LIMITED, while remaining in the hands of a boss whose power IS ALMOST UNLIMITED.

Mr. Murphy, Mr. Guffey, Roger Sullivan and Tom Taggart do not control altogether the livelihood of the chief men in their organization, nor altogether the press which reaches the rank and file of their organization. A man can often break with these bosses at the expense of political standing. They rarely have to sacrifice their livelihood as well.

Mr. Hearst may be a benevolent boss; he may stand for some radical ideas; he may be a useful force in education—but he typifies more than any one man in political life the absolute boss.

When I read the brilliant editorials in his papers condemning boss rule I think of Mr. Hearst. When I read the brilliant editorials in his papers condemning wage slavery, I think of the men who are dependent upon him for their salaries. When I read the brilliant editorials in his papers advocating the people's rule, I ask, can the people rule in his party? When I read the brilliant editorials in his papers showing the growing control of the few over our press, I think of Mr. Hearst, who personally exemplifies that rule more than any man I know.

There is a frying pan and there is a fire, and men cannot accomplish independence by jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Independence is the greatest word in modern politics, until the people rule

we shall know only oppression, injustice and misery.

But if the people wish to rule they must guard jealously their independence. They must give their press into no man's hand. They must accept no boss upon any condition whatever.

We want democracy full and complete. But a people which cannot run a Democratic press, and cannot own and control and administer a Democratic party, will never own and control and administer a Democratic government.

If Mr. Hearst's followers wish to be independent they must begin by being independent of Mr. Hearst.

THE SOCIALISTS.

By VICTOR HUGO.

The transformation of the crowd into the people—profound task! It is to this labor that the men called Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. If he claims his place among these philosophers it is because it is a place of persecution. A certain hatred of Socialism, very blind, but very general, has raged for fifteen or sixteen years and is still raging most bitterly among the influential classes. Let it not be forgotten that true Socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity and that, therefore, the principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation.

A SONG OF CHEER

Cheer! comrades, cheer! no time for idle sorrow!

Courage! our Cause claims willing hearts and hands

Hope's seeds to sow, and speed the bright to-morrow—

Workers shall reap their Rights throughout all lands.

So, comrades, come! break age-worn chains that bind you,

"Who will be free themselves must strike the blow!"

Faint not, nor fear to join our living legions,

In myriads rise, lay robber tyrants low!

CHORUS.

Cheer! comrades, cheer, for the coming revolution!

Cheer! comrades, cheer! let our watchword be unite!

Cheer! comrades, cheer! we who sow will reap the harvest!

Cheer! comrades, cheer, for the Red Flag and our Right!

Cheer! comrades, cheer! our ranks are hourly growing,

We'll reap the wealth our willing work has won;

Kings, princes, peers, capitalists are going

To their just doom for the dark deeds they've done!

Long have we toiled, and sold ourselves in bondage,

Our labor power has been our loss, their gain;

Soon will we own the tools and fruits of labor,

And live, rejoicing, on our land again.

Cheer! comrades, cheer for the coming Revolution!

Cheer! comrades, cheer! our victory is in sight!

Cheer! comrades, cheer! the trumpet sounds for battle!

Cheer! comrades, cheer! sound the Red Flag we'll unite.

—Ellana Twynam, in London Justice.

CHILD LABOR UNKNOWN AMONG BARBARIANS.

An Indian was recently conducted through New York and the marvels of the white man's science and the triumphs of invention were paraded to excite his admiration and his awe. As the extended tour drew near to its end the guide complacently inquired of him which of all the wonders he had seen had most impressed him. "Little children working," said the red man solemnly. The practice of deriving profit from child labor is unknown among those tribes we call barbarous.—Journal of Theosophy.

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There is too much privation, too much poverty, too much immodesty, too much nakedness, too many convict prisons, too many tatters, too many defalcations, too many crimes, too much darkness, not enough schools, too many little innocents growing up for evil! The pallet of the poor girl is suddenly covered with silk and lace, and in that is the worst misery. By the side of misfortune there is vice, the one urging on the other. Such a society requires our prompt succor.—Victor Hugo.

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FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Phil Callery of Missouri, who had started on a speaking tour of the central and eastern states, was taken sick in Indiana and compelled to cancel all his dates and return home.

Comrade J. B. Capshaw was recently elected Magistrate for the Second Ward of Ouachita Parish, Louisiana.

Jasper McLevy, of 1213 North avenue, Bridgeport, has been elected as National Committeeman for Connecticut.

Twenty-seven National Organizers are now in the field, working in Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico and California. Among them are G. Bertelli, who speaks in Italian, and A. C. Meyer, in the Scandinavian language. The list includes one woman, Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis.

The National Executive Committee has mapped out a tour for the "Red Special," carrying Eugene V. Debs, our Presidential candidate, which covers fifty-four cities for evening meetings, and allows for something like two hundred stops at intermediate points where our candidate can address crowds at or near the station. The tour as planned begins at Chicago on August 30, proceeds through the Southwest to Southern California, runs up the coast to Washington, then back through the Northwest, the central states, and then east to Boston, down the Atlantic coast to Baltimore, and then west again, closing at St. Louis on October 23.

National Organizer Jms. S. Brower reports from North Dakota: "I spoke in a barn twelve miles from a railroad. The collection was \$16.21. On the way over we met first a Democrat, then a Republican, and they informed us that they were done with the old parties and would be with us from this time on. A local formed."

State Secretaries will kindly send to the National Office at once a list of the comrades now holding political positions, including those who have been elected and served in any public office in the past. This is necessary at once for the campaign book.

The State Secretary of Arizona reports the expulsion of Maxwell Smith by Local Bisbee for forfeiting bonds by failing to appear at a trial, the bonds having been provided by the local.

The Redpath Chautauqua System, which reaches an average of 500,000 persons every summer, has decided to make a lecture on Socialism a feature of its program, and has engaged Carl D. Thompson, Socialist member of the Wisconsin State Senate, to deliver the lecture at all the remaining Chautauquas. The following are his dates: Ord. Neb., Aug. 1; Columbus, 4; Blair, 8; Seward, 8; Wahoo, 10; Concordia, Kan., 13; Washington, 15; Pawnee City, Neb., 17; Sabetha, Kan., 19; McCook, Neb., 22; Alma, 24; Minden, 24; Stromburg, 28.

AND INSIGHT.

"What happens when people fall in love at first sight?"
"Usually marriage and second sight."

DAYTON COMRADES WIN THEIR FIGHT

The Socialists of Dayton, O., have won a victory in their fight for the right to hold meetings on the streets.

Under the influence of the Manufacturers' Association, an ordinance was passed putting it in the power of the police chief to forbid such meetings at his pleasure. The Socialists insisted on their rights and some of them went to jail for violating the ordinance. The cases were carried to court, and Judge Long has sustained them and declared the ordinance void. He ruled in part as follows:

"The ordinance in question seeks to reduce the right of the citizens to use the streets for any lawful public purpose to a privilege. It further seeks to confer upon the chief of police the following unrestricted, arbitrary, discretionary powers:

"First. To grant or refuse to grant the citizens permission to use the public streets for a lawful public purpose.

"Second. If he grants a permit, he specifies the location where such use may be exercised.

"Third. He determines the hours, and date or dates when the permit may be used.

"Fourth. He may in his discretion, revoke the permit granted.

"In other words, the ordinance seeks to make the chief of police the sole guardian of the rights of the people to the use of the public streets for all public purposes, except the right of public travel.

"It is the decision of the court that that part of the ordinance in question which requires the people to obtain a permit from the chief of police before they can use the streets, avenues, alleys and lanes to hold any public meeting, religious meeting, or public parade, is repugnant to sections 3 and 11 of article 1 of the constitution of Ohio, is in conflict with section 6896 of the revised statutes of Ohio, is inconsistent with ordinance No. 2704 of the ordinances of the city of Dayton, and is unreasonable, unconstitutional and void."

GREETINGS FROM HARDIE.

Declining with regret an invitation to take part in our campaign, Keir Hardie, Socialist member of the British Parliament, writes to National Secretary Barnes:

"Needless to say I most cordially wish success to Comrade Debs and the party generally.

"Until the working class has its own party fighting for it upon all occasions, conditions will go from bad to worse.

"Here, through the efforts and influence of the labor party, complete protection for trade unions has been secured; no injunctions are possible; meals are being provided for children, something for the unemployed, and now an old-age pension will soon be an accomplished fact.

"In every white man's country in the world, labor has its own party. The workers of the United States of America will, I feel confident, want to be in the van of progress, not lagging in the rear, and to accomplish this they must vote solid for Debs and his co-nominees."



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THE SPREAD OF THE RED.
Tune—"The Red, White and Blue."
There's a chorus the Nations are singing,
There's a Cheer on the wings of the breeze!
There's a War Cry of Liberty ringing
From the mountains and plains to the seas!
'Tis the anthem of gladness and glory
For our Banner of Freedom outspread—
Let the heavens re-echo the story:
Chorus.
"Three Cheers for the Spread of the Red!"
"Three Cheers for the Spread of the Red!"
'Tis our Anthem of Brotherhood and Freedom—
"Three Cheers for the Spread of the Red!"
In the North where the Czar in his madness
Sheds the blood of our patriots brave;
In the West, in the East, with what gladness
We sever the bonds of the slave!
All the world is a-shouting the Chorus,
Every tyrant is shrinking with dread!
Ring the worlds, till naught stands before us!
"Three Cheers for the Spread of the Red!"
We are weary of blows and oppression,
Of our bloodshed and slavery and wars!
Come, ye Toilers, awake to possession!
Comrades, up, fix your eyes on the stars!
And the darkness shall fade into dawn
As our flag proudly waves overhead!
Raise the shout to the winds of the morning—
"Three Cheers for the Spread of the Red!"

IMPORTANT NEWS OF THE WEEK IN BRIEF.

POLITICAL.

The first National Convention of the Independence League, which henceforth will be known as the Independence party, ended shortly after midnight Tuesday in the nomination of Thomas L. Hisgen, of Massachusetts, for President, and John Temple Graves, of Georgia, for Vice-President. Hisgen is the man who polled 75,000 votes as the League candidate for Governor of Massachusetts last year. The convention showed its hostility to Bryan by howling down and trying to mob a Kansas delegate named Sheppard who presented the name of the Nebraskan for the nomination. Editor Hearst, the founder and virtual owner of the party, was on hand Monday night when the first session was called to order and, as the temporary chairman, made the keynote speech. His appearance was greeted with a nineteen-minute demonstration by the 500 delegates present and the galleries full of spectators. Hearst made the expected attack on both the old parties and explained the need of a new one at this time "to preserve the Government as the fathers framed it," and to aid the people in their struggle with the trusts. He called the Republican leaders the political attorneys of the trusts and the Democratic vanguard as "a Falstaff army led by a knight arrayed in a motley of modified professions and compromised principles, of altered opinions and retracted statements." Such was Hearst's estimate of Bryan.

The platform adopted at Tuesday's session includes many radical policies, although asserting the party to be a "conservative force in American politics." The demands are for direct nominations, the referendum, the recall, a corrupt practice law, no injunctions in labor cases before trial and a jury trial in contempt cases, removal of labor organizations from operation of the Sherman law, law against blacklisting, the eight-hour day, anti-child labor and liability legislation, money to be issued by a central government bank, tariff revision, physical valuation of railroads and an inter-State commerce court, government ownership of railroads as soon as practicable, parcels post, court review of postal rulings, Asiatic labor exclusion, extension of waterways, a national health bureau, a greater navy, popular election of senators, and income tax.

Replying to the formal notification of his nomination for President by the Republican party, as delivered by Senator Warner, of the Notification Committee, at Cincinnati, Tuesday, William H. Taft took his stand squarely upon the policies advocated by President Roosevelt, whom he described as "the man who formulated the expression of the popular conscience and who led the movement for popular reform." In so many words he declared that the chief function of the next administration would be "to complete and protect the machinery by which these standards may be maintained, by which the law-breakers may be promptly restrained and punished." He contrasted the Roosevelt policies with those of Bryan, calling the former constructive and the latter destructive. Taft promised that in carrying on the work of the President there would be no interference with legitimate business interests, but with this proviso he proceeded to add to the Chicago platform many of the La Follette proposals which were voted down at Chicago. As to injunctions, he is for a notice and hearing except in certain extreme cases, and attacks the Democratic plan of jury trial of contempt as an assault upon the judiciary. He favors the validation of railway traffic agreements and the physical valuation of inter-State carriers, the classification of corporations under a national law to insure Federal supervision, a more elastic currency, postal savings banks, and income tax if it becomes necessary.

Upon the personal request and advice of Candidate Bryan, the subcommittee of the Democratic National Committee has chosen as chairman for the present campaign Norman E. Mack, editor of the Buffalo Times, who has been a member of the National Committee since 1900. This was with the approval of the New York leaders, Connors and Murphy. The fact that Mack is a Catholic was also believed to weigh in his favor, but Bryan, in a formal statement, said that the selection was intended as a recognition of the Eastern Democracy and that one of the strongest arguments in Mack's favor was "that he is a successful business man." Dr. L. P. Hall, a Lincoln banker and chair-

man of the Nebraska Democratic Committee, was elected vice-chairman, Gov. Haskell, of Oklahoma; was made treasurer, and Urey Woodson, of Kentucky, secretary. Chairman Mack at once announced that he would open headquarters at Chicago and push the fight in every State.

The Democratic primary elections in Texas on the 25th resulted in a majority for the proposition to so amend the State Constitution as to permit State wide prohibition. Gov. Campbell was renominated.

President Van Cleave of the National Manufacturers' Association, in American Industries, boldly declares war upon the Democratic ticket especially on account of the labor plank in the Denver platform. He says that it is a monarchical rather than a democratic plank and that Bryan's election would tell the people "that reaction and revolution are dominant in the United States" which would destroy prestige abroad and prosperity at home.

J. G. Phelps Stokes has been nominated for the Assembly by the Eighth District, which is on the lower East Side of the city. The New York World, though opposed to Socialism, has come out in support of Stokes, taking the ground that "the best way to defeat Socialism is to have its ablest advocates present their detailed program to the public." Mrs. Stokes will "take the stump for her husband. Morris Hillquit has been again nominated for Congress by the Socialists in the Ninth Congressional District.

Candidate Bryan has announced his resignation as editor of the Commoner, and his purpose to turn over all its receipts to the campaign fund. The control of the publication passes to his brother Charles. Bryan says that henceforth he does not want to be held personally responsible for any editorial utterance in that paper. Richard L. Metcalfe will be the new editor.

LEGAL AND CRIMINAL.

"Check," says the richest American citizen with a smile as he notes the effect of the latest move in his game of legal chess with the President of the nation. Landis reversed by Grosscup and his associates of the Court of Appeals and the Indiana cog in the huge Rockefeller wheel of industry and finance is relieved of the strain of paying \$29,240,000 fine pending the motion for a retrial of the famous Alton rebate case. The reversal is based upon the assumption that the fine was excessive inasmuch as the Standard Oil Company of Indiana was not shown to have over \$1,000,000 in assets; also on the grounds of evidence excluded and of a wrong method of computing the fine.

President Roosevelt's opinion of the decision of the Appeals Court was given out in a formal statement at Oyster Bay. This said the Attorney General had been instructed to take steps for a retrial of the case and the reversal did not in any way "touch the merits of the case," except as to the size of the fine. The President adds bluntly: "There is absolutely no question of the guilt of the defendants or of the exceptionally grave character of the offence." He would "regard it as a gross miscarriage of justice if through any technicalities of any kind the defendant escaped the punishment which would have been meted out to any weaker defendant who had been guilty of such offence." He will do all in his power to prevent such miscarriage.

Judge Grosscup in reply had this to say:

"There is no more reason for my taking notice of any comment Mr. Roosevelt has made than if it were made by a private citizen. True, he is President, but that office and the office filled by a judge of the Court of Appeals are entirely separate and independent branches of the Government."

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.

EXECUTIVE.

When the Interstate Commerce Commission announced, Monday, that it would start a thorough investigation of the reasonableness of any increased freight rates it was generally taken to mean that the President was thus answering the protest of the shipping interests against the proposed advance. Only two days before the Receivers and Shippers' Association, of Cincinnati, had addressed a public letter to the President charging that the Missouri Pacific and Rock Island had deliberately ignored the mandate of the court, and asking if there is no power in the land "to reach railroad companies that brush aside the decrees of our courts." The statement of the Interstate Commerce Commission gives notice that a close check is being kept on all increases in rates, and while admitting that it cannot legally do anything toward altering rates before they have been in effect and complaints filed, it intimates that a preliminary investigation on its own motion is possible, and that this would make action very prompt. The presumption that prosecution would follow is apparent.

Superintendent Scott of the West Point Military Academy has recommended the expulsion of eight cadets found guilty of brutal hazing of the new class members, or plebes. One of the new forms of torture used was to require the victims to gather ants by the hundred and keep them in their lockers. They have appealed to the President for clemency.

INDUSTRIAL.

In placing new orders with various employment agencies for men to work in its coke ovens the H. C. Frick Company has inserted the provision that only Americans will be considered, or at least men who have lived here a number of years. Consequently word has been sent to the European agencies to tell the men who went back during the panic that they are not wanted here.

With the arrival of the first cargo of ore on the steamer E. H. Gary in the harbor of the new made-to-order city of Gary, Ind., Thursday, the formal opening of the place for business was marked. The city has been built by the Steel Trust at an expense of \$30,000,000. It is located on the extreme southern shore of Lake Michigan.

Charles J. Glidden, the noted long distance motorist, has begun the organization of the American Aerial Navigation Co., at Boston, with a view to operating public airship routes, the first of which is to be run between that city and New York. Dirigible balloons using hydrogen gas will be employed, the form to be determined by the experiments going on in this country and in Germany. Glidden says: "Aerial travel will be, when thoroughly established, the cheapest and safest form of travel."

FOREIGN.

The second week of the Olympic games in England has contained many victories for the American team and some new records were made, but disagreements over decisions and scoring marred the relations between the British and American athletes. On Monday, C. M. Daniels of New York won the 100-meter swim in the record time of 1 minute 53-5 seconds; Edry of New York won the standing broad jump by covering 10 feet 11 1/2 inches; Hehnert of Newark took the bantam wrestling match. On Tuesday, Sheppard of New York won the 800-meter race in the record time of 1 minute 53 4-5 seconds, and Porter of New York won the running high jump with a jump of 6 feet 3 inches. On Wednesday, Irons of Chicago captured the running broad jump with a leap of 24 feet 6 1/2 inches, while Bacon of New York took the 400-meter hurdle race. On Thursday, Carpenter of Cornell ran first in the 400-meter hurdle race, but was disqualified on the charge that

he fouled his English competitor at the turn. The Americans protested and refused to take part in the runoff of the event Saturday. Kerr of Canada won the 200-meter race, Kelley of England took the heavyweight wrestling match. Ewry won the standing high jump at 5 feet 2 inches. On Friday, John Hayes of New York won the long distance, or "Marathon" race, as Dorando, the Italian, who finished first, was disqualified.

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 Kahn 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 expense the first year are about \$40,000,000. The vote was 123 for to 16 against. Lord Rosebery declared that the bill was socialism pure and simple and that it emphasized the growing desire to transfer responsibility from the individual to the state.

Throughout European Turkey the demonstrations of joy over the concession of a constitution and a parliamentary form of government, which occurred on July 24, have continued. On Monday at Constantinople a crowd of more than 200,000 persons assembled outside the palace of the Sultan to shout their approval of his course. Already preparations are on foot for holding the first elections. The new Parliament will assemble in the fall. The fact is not lost sight of that while the action of the ruler is called a grant, it was in reality forced by the almost universal appearance of the revolutionary sentiment fostered by the party known as the Young Turks. Quietly but effectively this organization has gained control of the army itself so that the Sultan was powerless to resist. Marshal Feizi, who had been sent to replace the assassinated general in command in Monastir, was kidnapped and held by the rebels. Everywhere the soldiers joined in wild demonstrations, singing the "Marsellaise" and shouting "Long live liberty!" The Sultan's surprising surrender to the revolutionary forces followed his appointment of Said Pasha, the Liberal statesman, as Grand Vizier in place of Ferid Pasha, the reactionary. The final straw which forced the Sultan's hand was a message telling that the Albanians also had joined in the movement. There is evidence on all sides of a burst of pro-British sentiment. The Constitution of 1876 is now for the first time to be really carried out, it having remained a dead letter until now. Enver Bey is the leader of the Young Turk party.

Following the expulsion of the Dutch Minister, Jonkheer de Reus, from Venezuela by President Castro, demonstrations of extreme anger and excitement have been reported in the Dutch South American colony and throughout the Netherlands. At Willemstad, Curacao, mobs gathered before the Venezuelan Consul's retreat in the German Consulate and shots were fired at the house. At the Hague the newspapers were bellicose, and there was talk of sending an ultimatum at once demanding an apology. Later the Venezuelan Consul, Lopez, was escorted to his residence by the troops.

At Reval, Russia, Monday, President Fallieres of France arrived and exchanged visits with the Czar, the latter receiving on his yacht Standart. Both made the expected speeches expressing undying friendship of their respective nations. It is possible that some secret agreement was made for concerted action.

TAFT A LEMON!

The dispatches report that the Steam Shovelers' Union have made Mr. Taft an honorary member of their organization. We wonder if he gave them in return for this favor one of his fine collection of labor injunctions. If he didn't do it, the Steam Shovelers got a lemon.—The Trackman.

THE NEW YORK SOCIALIST.

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NEW YORK, AUGUST 1, 1908.

"WHO IS GOING TO ANSWER THIS MAN?"

The article "Who Is Going to Answer This Man?" which appears in this issue of The Socialist, has been printed also in leaflet form. It can be had from the office of The Call, 6 Park Place, New York, at the following rates: 1,000 copies, \$1.00; \$3,000 copies, \$2.50; 5,000 copies, \$4.00; 10,000 copies, \$7.50. This includes postage or expressage. Cash must accompany all orders.

Our capitalist contemporaries are all moralizing on the "dangerous step" taken by the British Parliament, under pressure from the Socialist members, in establishing the old-age pension system. Of course it is on behalf of the working people that these guardians of public interests protest. A pension of five shillings a week, it seems, is sure to "degrade and pauperize" the recipients. It would be much better for the working people that they should quietly starve when they are too old to be of any use to the employing class. It is very curious that, neither here nor in England, do any of these pious moralists find anything degrading to a superannuated army officer or the widow of a general or admiral in accepting a pension ten or twenty or a hundred times as big as that which England's aged workers are to receive.

Surely, Castro must be "spanked." He has committed the high crime of refusing to permit his country to be exploited at will by the asphalt trusts and financial gangs of the United States and Europe. What does Venezuela exist for, if not to enrich the capitalists of the stronger nations?

The workingman in any organized trade who does not belong to the union is doing what he can, by that neglect, to cut down his own wages and the wages of all his fellow workers.

"Taft Makes Strong Bid for Labor Vote," say the headlines. But what if it should turn out at last that the labor vote is not up at auction to be knocked down to the highest or the loudest bidder?

The best credentials to a workingman's intelligence are a clear union card and a red card of the Socialist party with the proper quota of dues stamps affixed.



THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

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

OUR CANDIDATES:

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

GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1888	2,038	1896	36,564
1892	21,157	1900	96,961
		1904	408,230

SOCIALISM IN CURRENT THOUGHT AND LETTERS

By LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

Every reader of the books and magazine publications of the day is bound to be impressed by the rising tide of Socialist thought. A few years ago Socialism was ignored or swept aside as something too insignificant to be worth arguing about. Nowadays, the leading magazines are devoting leading articles to a discussion of its principles. Broughton Brandenburg's ill-informed screed on "The Menace of the Red Flag" (in the Broadway Magazine), James Creelman's flamboyant indictment of "America's Trouble Makers" (in Pearsons'), are really significant signs of the times. They show that Socialism has won a central place in the world's news.

Almost all the cleverest writers and dramatists of the day are either Socialists or men of Socialistic sympathy. Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells in England; Maxim Gorky, the Russian; Jack London and Upton Sinclair, in America, are prominent representatives of this type. They are all active, ardent spirits. Bernard Shaw has just sent a letter to Moses Harman in Los Angeles, declaring that the latter's imprisonment for publishing high-minded articles on the sex question is "monstrous" and a confirmation of his previous statement that we are "a nation of villagers." R. G. Wells, in spite of advice from his literary friends to "leave Socialism alone," insists on writing Socialist books and making Socialist speeches and mixing in Socialist politics. Gorky, from last accounts, is working himself to death in Italy. Jack London has been lecturing on Socialism in the Sandwich Islands. And Upton Sinclair has lately completed a new novel, the second of a trilogy of which "The Metropolis" is the first, dealing with the mad world of Wall street.

While the radicalism of such men as Bernard Shaw and Gorky is a matter of general knowledge, it is not so widely known that Anatole France, the foremost living Frenchman of letters, is also a Socialist. He has published in all some fifty books of fiction and essays—"bibles of incredulity" one French critic calls them. The whole series is soon to appear in English, and several of the volumes will be found to show the strong impress of Socialistic thought and sympathy. M. France was first stirred to a sense of civic wrong by the Dreyfus case. His development from Dreyfusard to Socialist is one of the interesting chapters in the intellectual history of our times.

Thomas Chatterton, the marvellous boy-poet of Bristol, who committed suicide at the age of seventeen, was an embryo Socialist. So at least suggests his latest biographer, Charles Edward Russell. Mr. Russell, who, by the way, is another of the literary men of the day who has now definitely cast in his lot with the Socialist movement, is himself a poet, and there is a passage in his book on Chatterton that is well worth quoting verbatim: "Among the convictions of Thomas Chatterton were a profound contempt for convention and a prophetic sense of the future of mankind. The great poets that have made the paths whereon our poetry has traveled have been of this stamp: Marlowe, Milton the Republican, Shelley, Swinburne; the innovators have been the radicals, the men impatient of feudalism, indignant

against the trammels of caste and established conditions, rebels and often outcasts. That a man should feel beauty enough to be a great poet he must feel deeply also for men. Always the poets have been mighty on the side of democracy if they have been great enough to endure; as do but think of Dante, Massinger, Lessing, even Schiller, and above all the supreme light of Victor Hugo, besides the great group we have already spoken of. Who knows but it was this that cost Surrey his head? And for all his later backsliding Coleridge was of the valiant brood so long as opium had left his wits clear. In our own day we have seen poets become Socialists like Morris, and a whole brood of American singers; fervent champions of the broadest democracy like Whitman; fiery and uncontrollable revolutionists like Swinburne; friends of the oppressed and the suffering like William Watson. He was of this angelic brotherhood, he too, this boy; he was for democracy, and the keen sword of his satire was out against king, prime minister, and all surviving oppression."

Very few Americans are aware of the significance of the weekly New Age, now being published in London. This is, in certain important respects, the ablest Socialist paper ever published in the English language. The Commonwealth, under William Morris's editorship contained many memorable pages, and the Clarion under Blatchford's editorship has reached the masses as no other Socialist paper ever has, but in sheer intellectual quality The New Age excels them both. It is edited by A. R. Orage, for many years the literary critic of the Labour Leader. Bernard Shaw stands behind it (and, according to rumor, has helped to finance it). Among its contributors are H. G. Wells, Hubert Bland, Belfort Bax, Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, G. K. Chesterton, Eden Philpotts and a very talented woman writer, Florence Farr. No one who wants to keep in touch with the deeper currents of Socialist thought can afford to miss The New Age.

ONE ON DEBS.

Eugene V. Debs, the noted Socialist leader, tells the following story on himself:

"I was to address a public meeting and there was an intense prejudice against me, so the young man who had to introduce me thought he would try to disarm it.

"Debs is hated by some people," he said, "because he has been in strikes. This is not right. It is the law of nature to defend yourself. Why, even a dog will growl if you try to deprive him of the bone he is gnawing, a goat will butt if you get in his way, and you all know what a jackass will do if you monkey with him. Ladies and gentlemen, this is Debs, who will now address you."—Vermont Union Signal.

WAS IT A DEN OF THIEVES?

A suggestive comment on the Republican convention was the posting of the following warning in the hall by a Chicago detective agency:

Don't wear watch fobs.
 Fasten your watch to the lining of your pocket with a safety pin.
 Leave your valuables with the hotel clerk; then watch the clerk.
 Always give the buffet clerk the exact change.
 If you let anyone carry your grip to the hotel, have it insured.
 If an effusive stranger greets you, give him only one hand to shake! If you give him both you would be easy picking for his confederate.
 Suspect everybody you meet.
 After 9 o'clock at night avoid alley entrances and rearways.
 If, in spite of this advice, you are robbed, take it philosophically; remember there will be others.—Appeal to Reason.