

# THE SOCIALIST

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

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

### OUR CANDIDATES:

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

### GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1888	2,088	1896	26,564
1892	21,157	1900	96,961
1904			408,230

### TAFT-BRYAN MANAGERS OFFER A STUPID "EXPLANATION."

There is trouble in the hearts of the Taft campaign managers, and likewise in those of the gentlemen who are organizing enthusiasm for Bryan. Ten million lithographic portraits of Taft and five million of

Bryan have been ordered, and now the campaign committees find to their horror that not one of the shops capable of turning out such large orders in time is entitled to the union label.

The news is sent out over the country with an "explanation"—perhaps intended to pave the way for the issuance of the lithos without a union label. It is explained that the American Federation of Labor, "for some unknown reason," has rejected the application of the lithographers' union for affiliation with that body, and that this is the reason none of the big shops has the label.

This explanation is a lie, pure and simple. As every union man knows, and every other man informed about such matters, the American Federation of Labor has nothing to do with the granting of the label. That is a function of the union concerned, not of the federation. If none of the big shops has the label, it is because for more than two years past they have been closely united in a master lithographers' association to fight the union, to resist the demand for the eight-hour day, and to maintain what the bosses call the "open shop"—that is, the shop from which the boss can bar union men at his pleasure.

If Taft and Bryan and their managers want to pose before the public as friends of union labor, the way is simple before them. Let them drop the stupid pretense that the Federation of Labor is responsible for the existing condition, and let them bring their pressure to bear to force the master lithographers to recognize the union and grant the eight-hour day. The union will be ready to authorize the use of the label the moment these conditions are complied with.

Harry Thaw complains that his eyesight is being spoiled by his confinement in prison. Well, there are thousands of workingmen whose eyesight is being spoiled by overwork in the shop. But they don't dare to complain, for that would be to invite their discharge.

### DEBS AND BRYAN, 1896 AND 1908.

A correspondent of the World professes to doubt Debs's sincerity because, as he says, "In 1896 Mr. Debs supported Bryan, not because he was particularly interested in free silver, but because of the anti-injunction plank in that plat-

form; but now it's different; he declares it's a sham and a snare."

The facts this correspondent states are true, so far as they go; but they do not go far enough. What he fails to see is that Mr. Debs has moved forward since 1896, while Mr. Bryan has moved backward.

Even on the one question of injunctions, the Democratic party was much more outspoken and radical twelve years ago than it is now. Moreover, times have changed since 1896. Even the same labor plank which Mr. Bryan stood for then (and which he does not dare to stand for to-day), a plank which was more or less radical and up-to-date then, would not fill the bill in 1908. Even on the injunction question, the declaration of Mr. Bryan's party this year is lamentably weak. But the injunction is not the only question for Labor now, nor even the leading question, as it may have been a dozen years ago. There are other labor issues even more pressing this year, upon which Mr. Bryan's party has not a word to say. Nor has any other party a word to say upon them, except only the Socialist party.

That is why Mr. Debs is to-day, and has been for more than ten years, enlisted in the Socialist movement. While Mr. Bryan has been going backward, step by step, and making his peace with the capitalist politicians, Mr. Debs has been going forward, leading the van of the labor movement toward the final emancipation of the working class.

There is said to be a possibility that the so-called Independence party will have difficulty in getting its ticket upon the official ballot in this State. Small as is our respect for that party or for its proprietor, we should be sorry to see it kept off the ballot by any legal quirks or quibbles. We Socialists have ourselves had too much experience of this sort of thing to wish to see it practised on anyone else—notwithstanding the fact that Hearst was always willing to give his support, passive or active, to all sorts of dirty tricks for checking and hampering the Socialists on the political field.

Republican Candidate Sherman suggests that as the Republican parade in his city passes under the Bryan and Kern banner the paraders should give a hearty cheer for the Democratic ticket. The suggestion is an excellent one. It would be more than empty courtesy. It would signify the real oneness of the two old parties. It would be one division of the capitalist army saluting another.

### WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE BLOCTON VIOLENCE?

No one can regret more than do the Socialists and union men of the land the outbreak of violence at Blocton, Alabama, last Sunday. The workingmen and sympathizers with the working class who are organized upon the industrial and the political field to work for the improvement of the condition of the workers under capitalism and for their final emancipation from capitalist misrule—none know better than these that such riotous outbursts are injurious to the labor movement.

But, while we lament the occurrence, we will not join with the capitalist press in laying the blame upon the United Mine Workers. There cannot be the slightest doubt in the mind of any well-informed observer that the mine workers' organization is opposed to violence and exercises all its influence to prevent it. A sufficient evidence of this is the fact that during the great anthracite strike in Pennsylvania six years ago, when the miners in that state were well organized, there was almost no violence upon the strikers' part, while rioting almost invariably occurs during strikes or lockouts in such states as Alabama or West Virginia, where the mine workers' organization is weak.

Moreover, it appears that the violent resistance to the importation of strikebreakers at Blocton was not confined to the mine workers, but was participated in or approved by the general public of that rather out-of-the-world community.



The fact clearly is that the mine owners wanted a riot to discredit the strikers and justify the declaration of martial law and the use of arbitrary methods to break the strike. They knew that the surest way to provoke such an outburst of violence would be to ship into the town a train load of thugs such as the Van Cleaves and Farleys are always ready to supply. That a few of their tools lost their lives in the execution of the scheme was nothing to the bosses. They wanted a riot, and they got what they wanted. And the capitalist press of the country was ready with its editorials in denunciation of the strikers and the union movement in general.

It is idle to cry "Peace, peace!" when there is no peace. The relation of the capitalist class and the working class is a relation of chronic hostility. It cannot be otherwise, because the capitalists prosper by the overwork and the poverty of the toilers, because what is good for the workers is bad for the capitalists and what is good for the capitalists is bad for the workers. So long as this capitalist system continues, with its irrepressible conflict of class interests there will be the danger of violent collisions between the workers and the hirelings of the capitalists. That danger can be kept at the minimum only by ever closer and more efficient organization of the workers, restraining individual rashness, uniting the forces of labor for peaceful action, in which their strength lies, both in the shop or mine and at the ballot box.

The labor unions and the Socialist party always stand for peaceful, orderly, and lawful action, wherever such action is possible. The employers' associations always stand for lawless violence wherever they dare to use it.

Let the blame for the Blocton tragedy lie where it belongs—on the capitalists and the political agents of capitalism who have impeded the organization and education of the workingmen in that region and have then seized a favorable opportunity to provoke a riot at the moment when it would suit their own sordid purposes to have blood shed.

Workingmen in the East should beware of answering advertisements offering them employment in Manitoba, British Columbia, or our own Northwestern states. There is a big strike on the Canadian Pacific, and the company desires to flood that part of the country with men seeking for work, so that it can break the strike and force wages down. Though the advertisements for men may appear under the names of other corporations, or may offer jobs at other than railway work, yet they should be looked on with suspicion, for the strikebreaking agencies know that when they get a man a thousand miles from his home, penniless, and perhaps in debt for his transportation, they can put him at any work they please and he must take it or be treated as a "hobo."

#### THE RED SPECIAL MUST GO FROM COAST TO COAST.

"The Red Special must go!" That is the word in Socialist circles to-day. But, to paraphrase an old proverb, "It is money that makes the train go." The National Office of the Socialist party needs twenty thousand dollars, and NEEDS IT QUICK, to start out the special train to carry our Presidential candidate and other speakers, together with literature and all the ammunition of a red-hot campaign, from Chicago to the Pacific Coast, from there to the Atlantic, and then back to the Middle West, on a record-breaking propaganda tour.

If the plans for the Red Special are carried out, our eloquent comrade, Eugene V. Debs, will be able to address big hall meetings in fifty-four cities, North, South, East, and West, and to speak to crowds in the open air in about two hundred smaller places along the route. Without the special train, at perhaps half the expense, he would be able to visit not more than forty cities for big meetings and would have to leave the smaller towns untouched.

And besides, the very fact of the Socialist party having undertaken anything so big will give us newspaper publicity which could not be bought at advertising rates with double the money.

The Socialist party has over forty thousand members. Even four years ago it had, outside of its organized membership, 380,000 sympathizers earnest enough to vote the ticket and get their votes counted; and we may suppose that number to have been at least doubled in these four years. It ought not to be hard for such a body of men—not to mention the women—to raise the \$20,000 necessary to send out the "Red Special" on its light-bearing mission. But, if they want it done, they must respond quickly.

Every five-dollar check, every dollar bill, every contribution, however small or however large, will help to start the Socialist train a-going—PROVIDED IT IS SENT IN THIS WEEK.

We would suggest that those who send in contributions for this

purpose should accompany them with a note saying that, if the amount raised is not sufficient for the Red Special, this contribution shall be added to the regular campaign fund. Otherwise, the National Secretary will feel bound to spend time and money in returning them, in case the special train plan is not carried out.

But let us make up our minds that IT IS GOING TO BE CARRIED OUT. And let us manifest that decision by pouring in a flood of contributions within the next week to the National Secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, 180 Washington street, Chicago.

So long as the competitive system lasts, workingmen cannot afford to think and feel as individuals. When the competitive system is gone, brotherhood and solidarity will be as natural as they are needful now.

#### STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS.

It would be sad to believe that the railway brotherhoods think themselves so weak that they cannot hope to keep up their wages without entering into a conspiracy with their employers to help the latter increase freight rates to the detriment of all the rest of the people. As a matter of fact, the railway brotherhoods are potentially among the strongest unions in the country. That is, they can be strong if they dare to use their strength in action at once aggressive against their bosses and loyal toward their fellow workers in other industries.

If they are actually weak, and treated with contempt by the railway corporations, it is because they have shown less courage and less solidarity than have the printers, the miners, the cigar makers, and the men in various other organized trades. If the railway corporations believed it possible for railway workers of different grades, from conductors and engineers to track laborers, to stand together as firmly as did the coal miners of Pennsylvania in 1902 or the metal miners of Colorado in 1903 and 1904, they would not risk a conflict so long as there was the slightest possibility of conceding the men's demands—as there is at the present day. And if the workingmen of other trades believed that it was possible for the railway brotherhoods to put up a real fight, they would be only too glad to come to their assistance.

It is up to the railway workers themselves to show whether they have any fight in them. Too long have they considered themselves the "aristocracy of labor," according to the false teachings of such misleaders as Frank P. Sargent and Peter M. Arthur, and have in consequence got more work, more responsibility, and more danger piled upon them, without any corresponding increase of pay—just because they were always timid when brought face to face with the corporations and apathetic when called upon to give support to workmen in other industries.

It is high time that they recognized that they are part of the whole working class, sharing its struggles, its victories and its defeats, and that in their line of work, just as in every other, there is an irrepressible conflict on between the employers and the employees—a conflict in which the workers must expect to get the worst of it unless they stand up boldly for their common interests and bring the different branches of their trade to act loyally together and in harmony with the labor movement as a whole.

In the name of liberty, the capitalists insist on dealing with employees as individuals. Will anyone tell us how it would be possible for workingmen to deal with employers as individuals.

#### EMINENT PERJURERS AND LAWBREAKERS.

The New York public has been solemnly informed by the traction company receivers that to get a ride without paying a fare is to steal and brand oneself as a thief. There are two sides to that question, for the passenger may with some show of reason argue that, when he gets three cents' worth of service out of the traction companies without paying five cents for it, he is only informally reclaiming an infinitesimal portion of what the traction magnates are continually stealing (under sanction of law) from him and the rest of the public.

However that may be, we find it timely to advance the counter-proposition that he who owns vast properties and enjoys the services of the city and state in protecting it and increasing its value and reports only a small fraction of it to the tax assessors is morally, if not technically, guilty of grand larceny from all the rest of the people.

The case of the Russell Sage estate is but one of many. A comparison of the small sums upon which our most eminent citizens are assessed for taxation with the enormous amounts they are able to



use in promoting new trusts or bulling and bearing the market in Wall Street is sufficient to brand the whole class of great capitalists as a class of law-breakers and perjurers. And this only confirms the impression conveyed by the results of the insurance investigation, the investigation into the affairs of numerous banks and trust companies, the investigation of the practices of the meat packers, the investigations concerning the adulteration of foods, drinks, and medicines, and countless other investigations in recent years.

And yet it is this very class of men who habitually perjure themselves in order to avoid the payment of taxes on the property they have amassed by the aid of the law, it is these very people who have the effrontery to hire editors and subsidize preachers and professors to speak of them as "the tax-paying classes" and demand special consideration for them on that ground in the administration of public affairs.

A good many interesting things would result from the installation of a Socialist majority in the various boards which govern this city. Not the least interesting would be the assessment of the real and personal property of the owners and masters of the city at something like its actual value and the demonstration that, even under its present charter and laws, New York is amply capable of raising the funds for the solution of its traction problem, its tenement problem, its unemployed problem, and a whole host of other problems of live interest to the masses of its people.

And if, as a part of the process of getting the property truly assessed for taxation, a few eminent citizens went to prison for perjury, that would not be a regrettable feature of the affair.

### HEARST'S "AMERICAN" JOINS IN THE FALSE CHORUS.

Mr. Hearst's "American"—and, by the way, it is remarkable what a different song Mr. Hearst's "American" can sing from that sung at the same time by Mr. Hearst's "Evening Journal"—the "American" editorializes in most misleading fashion under the headline "The West Calls for Muscle." It starts out by declaring that "the Northwest is crying for farm hands," that St. Paul labor agencies say, they have demands for 200,000 men, and continues:

"Wheat is about ready to be cut. By the time that is finished corn will be ripe. Meantime the midsummer hay is to be stacked. When all of these have been gathered into bin, elevator and crib, there will come the frosts. The great forests then will call for muscle. Timbers must be felled, lumber sawed.

"Farther west the mountains hold gold and silver. There is reward almost always for the prospector. If his own pick should fall to uncover precious metals, there are mines for his labor owned by others more fortunate.

There is, of course, a grain of truth in all this—but it is a grain of truth lost in a bushel of falsehood.

That the demand for men to get in the crops of grain, hay, vegetables, and fruit has done something and will, for the next two or three months, do something to relieve the prevailing unemployment, is not to be denied. No one questions that in the late summer and early fall there is more opportunity for employment in the rural districts than at other seasons. But even in the years of prosperity this seasonal demand was always met; even when the mills and factories were busy, there were always enough men looking for jobs to fill the need for harvest hands during these few weeks of special activity in the country. The railroad companies and employment agencies, indeed, always inspired the publication of articles in the city newspapers to create the impression that the supply of labor was very small, that small fortunes were to be made by willing workers. But those who tried it knew that, as a matter of fact, these representations were untrue, that the man who went out from the city to work in the harvest fields had little chance, after several weeks of very hard labor, to come back with any more money in his pockets than he had when he left home. And the motive for the publication of such stories was always obvious enough—the railroads have an interest in getting men to spend their last dollars in passenger fares and the employment agencies have an interest in getting large numbers of men on their lists to be bargained off to the farmers at low wages.

For any newspaper to give editorial sanction to such stories in the present hard times is the height of impudence. For a paper which pretends to be a friend of "the plain people" to do so is the height of hypocrisy.

The most that can be truly said about the opportunities for employment on the farms this season is that, while there are a hundred applications for every vacant job in the cities, perhaps there are only fifty applicants per job in the country

The rest of the "American" editorial is pure poppycock. There are trees to be felled and lumber to be sawed out West, it is true, and metals to be mined, and ditches to be dug, and all the rest of it. But the forests and the sawmills and the mining lands and all the means of production are held as private property there, just as the mines and factories here in the East, and the man with muscle is given a chance to make a bare living working them only on condition that the man with title-deeds shall get a big profit for permitting him to work.

The time is past, and long past, for reviving Horace Greeley's saying, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." The West is no longer a free field for enterprising and industrious men to build up their fortunes. The West has been appropriated and capitalized, and it has its regiments and brigades of the Army of the Unemployed, no less willing to work, and no less desperately suffering under these hard times than those of the East.

From Chicago, from St. Louis, from Denver and Salt Lake City, from Los Angeles and San Francisco and Seattle, all these ten months past, have been coming reports of reduction of working force, closing of mills, cutting down of wages, of wide-spread poverty, of hungry crowds surrounding the employment offices and the charity bureaus, just duplicating what we have seen in Boston and New York and Philadelphia.

Hunger and want are not strangers in the West. And to hold out to the unemployed workers of our Eastern cities the delusive hope that by going out to the prairies or the mountains they will find economic freedom and prosperity is cruelly and criminally false. We expect this sort of things from the "Times" and the "Sun." But if Mr. Hearst does not wish people to know that he belongs body and soul to the same class with Belmont and Morgan, he should keep such misrepresentations out of the editorial pages of his own papers

The seventh of August ought to be made a national holiday, in commemoration of the fact that upon that day in the year 1908 President Roosevelt passed upon the opportunity to call somebody an infamous liar and actually took upon himself the responsibility for one of his own acts instead of laying it off on a subordinate. But just wait; Mr. Taft may get into the Ananias Club yet.

Contributions for the "Red Special" should be sent to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, 180 Washington street, Chicago. Also, "P. D. Q." is the order of the day in this matter.

### RAILWAY WAGES AND FREIGHT RATES.

It is reported that there is a movement among the railway employees to help the railway companies in their efforts to increase freight rates. The railway workers think, it is said, that by this means they will be able to get an increase of their own wages or, at least, to escape a further reduction of wages, which they now have good reason to fear.

We do not wish to jump to a hasty conclusion. Perhaps the reports are unreliable. Very likely they are at least exaggerated. We hope that, at worst, only a few of the railway workers are actually taking part in a movement at once SO CRIMINAL and SO FOOLISH. We should be sorry to think so ill of the intelligence or of the integrity of the railway workers as a body.

The rate of wages does not depend upon the income or the profits of the employers. On the contrary, the employers' profit depends very largely upon the rate of wages they have to pay. The rate of wages depends upon the cost of the workers' living and the supply and demand in the labor market. It is not the employers' rule to pay as high wages as they can afford, though they always pretend that it is so. In fact, their rule is to pay as low wages as will suffice, under the conditions existing in the labor market, to get them the labor that they need in their business. Let the labor market be glutted with unemployed men, and the employers CAN reduce wages; let it be possible for the employers to force wages down, and it is certain that they WILL do so, no matter how large their profits may be, no matter how well they could afford to keep wages up.

If the railway workers help their employers to force freight rates up, they will be playing a somewhat more contemptible part than that of the cat who pulled the monkey's chestnuts out of the fire and got her paws burned for her trouble. It will be a part just as foolish as that, and something worse than foolish besides. They will be the dupes of the railway corporations and, when the job has been done, will themselves be in no better position than they are at the present moment. Higher freight rates will not reduce the army of the unemployed, but will rather tend to increase it; and unless the number of the unemployed is reduced, competition for employment will continue acute and wages will go down rather than up. There will be less business on the railways, less demand for men,



and consequently less necessity for the companies to pay high wages; on the other hand, the companies will be able to make a larger profit on the smaller business at the higher rate than on the larger business at the lower rate. It will be a good thing for the railway magnates; doubtless they will enjoy the chestnuts—and enjoy also the good laugh they will have when they see the railway workers ruefully licking their scorched paws.

And the railway workers will **DESERVE** to have their paws burned, if they enter into such a **CONSPIRACY WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS**. For it will be a conspiracy against the interests of all the rest of the people, and especially against the interests of all the rest of the working class. The success of the conspiracy will mean less employment for the workers in the railway industry and in other industries; and at the same time it will mean higher prices for the food, clothing, and fuel that the workers have to buy.

A few of the railway workers, ignorant of the first principles of economics and accustomed to let their employers do their thinking for them, may be innocent dupes—or half innocent, for even they ought to know that the increase of freight rates will be injurious to their fellow workers. A few others, we are justified in suspecting, are not ignorant dupes, but conscious tools of the railway companies, and count on feathering their own private nests at the expense of their brothers in their own trade as well as of the working class at large. But we cannot believe that the majority of the men working on the railways will be either so ignorant or so false to their class as to give support to the proposed movement.

See that label in the upper right-hand corner of the first page of this paper? That is an assurance that all the mechanical work on the paper—typesetting and make-up, stereotyping, presswork, mailing and delivering—is done by union men, working shorter hours and getting higher pay and enjoying more personal independence than any non-union men in these trades. By supporting a paper which bears that label you help to extend those good conditions to ever larger numbers of men. By patronizing any non-union paper you help the bosses to bring larger numbers of men under a rule which means long hours, low pay, and helpless subservience of the workman to the foreman and the boss.

The conflict between Labor and Capital can be permanently settled only on one basis—that the capitalists begin to do some useful work and the whole product of labor go to those who produce it. Any other attempted settlement will result only in a prolongation of anarchy.

The chief predisposing causes of consumption are insufficient food, bad air, lack of sunlight, overwork, and worry. The death rate from consumption is from three to five times as high among wage-workers as among the rest of the people. Yet, "there are no classes in this country."

One of the things not to be forgotten on Election Day is that Governor Comer of Alabama, who has put the militia of that state at the disposal of the mine owners to break the strike of the mine workers and force a reduction of wages, is a Bryanite Democrat.

The final passage of the Old-Age Pensions Bill, with the defeat of the amendments by which the Lords sought to disfigure it, marks a second long step in the progress of the British Labor party. Not to mention many minor points which it has scored,

its two great achievements in compelling the passage of the Trade Disputes Bill and now of the Old-Age Pensions Bill amply justify the hopes which were raised by the result of the general elections in 1906. And, what is more, these successes have greatly strengthened the independent political movement of the British working class and give promise of more important achievements in the future.

It is worth while for American workingmen to consider this recent episode in British social history, and to compare it with what they have themselves done—or, rather, what they have failed to do.

In England, as in the United States, the two large parties represent the propertied classes; and, while they often differ on questions affecting the respective interests of different species of exploiters, they have for years been coming closer together and acting practically as a unit in their studied neglect of working class interests.

In England, as in the United States, the workingmen have, until recently, gone on dividing their votes between the two parties of the master class, fighting on the economic field through their labor unions, but wasting their strength on the political field in futile peti-

tionings for petty measures of relief at the hands of the political representatives of their employers and landlords.

In England, as in the United States, the power of the law has been used by both old parties to hamper the unions in their work and to defeat their strikes and boycotts.

About five years ago the judicial attack upon the unions reached its climax in a decision, affirmed on appeal to the highest court, giving a railway corporation a verdict for damages to the amount of \$115,000 against the railway workers' union on the ground of alleged unlawful acts said to have been committed by some of the union members in connection with a strike, although the union itself had not authorized any unlawful conduct; and holding, further, that the property of the union and also the property of any member of the union—though not personally involved in the acts—might be levied on to collect the judgment.

That roused the British workingmen. Many of them rallied to the Socialist organizations. The various unions decided to go directly into politics—not to support the Liberals against the Conservatives or the Conservatives against the Liberals, nor to cast their votes for professed "friends of labor" in either of the old parties, but to put a party of their own into the field.

By the co-operation of the Socialist organizations and the unions such a party was organized in time for the general elections of 1906. It carried on a vigorous campaign. The result was that, without counting workingmen elected on old-party tickets, the new Parliament contained thirty out-and-out Labor men, half of them avowed Socialists and the rest having strong Socialistic leanings, who voted as a separate party in opposition to both Liberals and Conservatives. And in its annual conference, held a few months ago, the Labor party frankly declared the establishment of Socialism to be its aim.

This party has commanded the respect of both wings of the capitalist force. It has forced the hand of the Government and compelled it to bring in measures demanded by the working class and to enact them into law.

The Trade Disputes Bill, which was its first great achievement, reversed the so-called Taff Vale decision mentioned above, and made it impossible henceforth for the courts to mulct a union for the unauthorized acts of some of its members or to mulct innocent individuals for the acts of guilty ones.

The Labor party followed up this victory with a fight for the improvement of the school system and for the provision of meals to children who now go to school hungry; with a fight for relief for the unemployed; with other demands which have not yet been realized, but will be energetically pursued.

And now it has won its second big fight, compelling the Government to carry through a law by which the men and women who have spent their lives in useful toil, instead of being left to starve or depend on charity in their declining years, will be assured of at least a small weekly pension.

The experience of our British fellow workers has proved that **THE MOST PRACTICAL POLICY** for labor on the political field is the policy of **RADICAL, AGGRESSIVE, INDEPENDENT CLASS ACTION**. If the workingmen of the United States are wise, they will imitate this example and rally to the support of the Socialist party, which stands for the same sort of policy which the British workingmen have so successfully pursued, instead of being led by Mr. Gompers into the Democratic camp or following the personal and erratic leadership of Mr. Hearst.

Let the city of Adams and Hancock rejoice. Let the city of Phillips and Garrison exult and be proud! The Hub is sound and the Universe is safe. Let the Bostonians put up a memorial tablet on the walls of Tremont Temple, bearing as an inscription that letter in which the Socialists were informed the other day that they could not be permitted to hire that holy place for Debs to speak in, because **"THE IDEAS PRESENTED BY THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATE ARE SO FAR IN ADVANCE OF ACCEPTED THINGS TO-DAY THAT THE USE OF OUR HALL FOR THIS PURPOSE WOULD NOT BE APPROVED BY THE PEOPLE TO WHOM WE LOOK FOR OUR MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT."**

The boss has no real love for the "sucker"—no more than the self-respecting workingman has. He used him while he needs him and then gets rid of him as quick as he can.

Carrying a party membership card may not be conclusive evidence that a man is a good Socialist; but it would be pretty hard to prove without this as part of the evidence.

If the learned judges find that President Gompers is really guilty of contempt of court, it will raise Gompers several points in our estimation.



**DESTROYING THE DEMOCRACY.**

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

It seems as though the fates were conspiring to drive the Democratic party from American politics. So one would gather from a combination of circumstances, piling on the top of the heap of which comes the Independence party.

True enough, the Independence party is the most shining example of the tendency of one-man control of parties. Roosevelt's Big Stick served for platform material and the voice in the White House thundered the nomination of Taft for the Republicans; Bryan chopped down the tree, sawed it up and converted it into planks of platform length and accepted his own nomination for the Democratic party; but it remained for Hearst to go the very limit. The Independence party is to stay independent if Hearst has his way. He is chairman of the National Committee, his candidate for President, Hisgen, was nominated, and his editor, Graves, was nominated for Vice-President. The platform is the mature work of his private attorney, Clarence J. Shearn.

It is probable that the Independence party has shot its bolt. In all likelihood it will not poll more than a quarter of million votes, although Hearst polled that much himself in New York state when he ran for Governor. But the position it occupies as a party more radical than the Democratic will have a tendency to cause the radical Democrats to abandon Bryan. And with the Populists crying in the wilderness for those reforms that Bryan once advocated, but which he now finds expedient to ignore, Watson, too, is a thorn in Bryan's side. And, to complete the chain of woes, the Prohibitionists, if they make any impression this year, will do so in the once "solid South" of Democracy. With such a lineup against it, it is not improbable that the election of 1860 will be repeated

in the respect that the Democratic party will be divided and will poll such a small vote that Taft's plurality will be larger than Roosevelt's was over Parker.

So much for the influence the Independence party will have upon the Democracy. Its most striking influence will be in another direction. It is what the daily press terms "socialistic." That is to say, it is, supposedly, more radical than the Democratic party. But in being so, it points the way upward to the source of all this radicalism, the Socialist party itself. It serves notice upon the American people that all reforms of any consequence to the oppressed among us are to be found in the Socialist platform and program for immediate action. It serves notice that, in the great period of social adjustment consequent upon the growth of the unit of production into the mammoth trust, the Socialist party alone has a practical program to deal with the situation that confronts us. It is but another bit of evidence to the effect that the Socialists have the key to the future.

It is deplorable that, in view of these facts, President Gompers of the Federation of Labor did not see his way clear to call upon organized labor to support Debs and Hanford, the Socialists candidates. The fact that Hearst has a more high-sounding injunction plank is quite disconcerting to Gompers, having endorsed Bryan. Were the American Federation of Labor, together with all other organizations of workers, to come out for Debs and Hanford this year, the Socialist party would run a strong third, if not second. As it is it will have to be content with more votes than will be received by the Populists, Prohibitionists, and Independents combined. And it will have to be content with waiting until 1912 for the fight with the Republican party for victory.

In 1912 the fight will come. It will be the hosts of capital behind the Republican party and the hosts of labor, the wealth producers, behind the Socialist party.

**WOMAN IN HISTORY.**

By LESTER F. WARD IN PURE SOCIOLOGY.

The idea that the female is naturally and really the superior sex seems incredible, and only the most liberal and emancipated minds, possessed of a large store of biological information, are capable of realizing it. At the beginning of the historic period woman was under complete subjection to man. She had so long been a mere slave and drudge that she had lost all the higher attributes that she originally possessed, and in order to furnish an excuse for degrading and abusing her, man had imputed to her a great array of false evil qualities that tended to make her despise herself. All Oriental literature, all the ancient sacred books and books of law, all the traditional epics, all the literature of Greek and Roman antiquity, and, in fact, all that was written during the middle ages, and much of the literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, teem with epithets, slurs and flings and open condemnations of women as being in some manner vile and hateful, often malicious and evil disposed, and usually endowed with some superstitious power for evil.

The Anglo-Saxon woman reflects this world-view, showing that it is older than the stock of language from which this word is derived.

Notwithstanding all this vast network of bonds that have been contrived for holding women down, it is peculiar and significant that everywhere and always she has been tacitly credited with a certain privative power in which the world has, as it were, stood in awe and fear. While perpetually proclaiming her inferiority, insignificance and weakness, it has by its precautions, virtually recognized her potential importance and real strength.

One of the arguments most relied upon for the justification of the continued subjection of woman is that, in addition to being physically inferior to man, the difference between the sexes has been

widening during past ages and is greater in civilized than in savage peoples. \* \* \* The difference which exists between the mean of the crania of contemporary Parisian men and that of contemporary Parisian women is almost double the difference which existed in ancient Egypt.

Accepting these statements as in all probability correct, what is the lesson that should really be drawn from them? In the androcentric regime woman dropped into the condition of a subject class and was denied much that was necessary to maintain her normal existence. \* \* \* When we come to the historic period we have seen how universal and systematic has always been the suppression of woman and her legal and social exclusion and ostracism from everything that tends to build up either mind or body. When I reflect upon it, the wonder to me is rather that woman has accomplished anything at all. \* \* \* M. Jacques Lourbet, in his "Problemes des Sexes," says: "Let us not insist longer on the modest contribution of woman to the creative work of art and science. She suffers this day from the ostracism of centuries that man has imposed upon her, from the network of exclusions and prohibitions of every kind in which she has been enveloped, and which have ended in producing that apparent inferiority, which is not natural, but purely hereditary."

As we contemplate these factors the wonder grows why woman did not sink still lower. The only possible reason is that, despite all, she is and remains the human race.

**"CONSIDER THE LILIES."**

A woman's dress, 'tis said, from scarf to sole, From toe to toe, from lingerie to jacket, Should, tout ensemble, make a perfect whole. It often does so—in her husband's pocket.

—M. A. P., in Life.

**CLEANLINESS AND GODLINESS AND THE DOMESTIC PROBLEM.**

By JOHN SPARGO.

(The following article appeared in The Worker—the predecessor of The New York Socialist—several years ago. It is here reprinted by special request from one of our readers, who thinks—and we agree with him—that it is good enough to be given renewed and wider publicity.—Ed.)

The "domestic servant problem" is as hoary and venerable as any of the problems discussed in the market-places of modern society. Three centuries ago English "ladies" discussed it and used the same terms of complaint, sorrow and indignation as those of our own day—with just as little suspicion of their antiquity.

Personally, I enjoy listening to, or reading, these discussions and find them a source of no little amusement. But there are some phases of the question which I have never heard adequately discussed. They are, strangely enough, overlooked, notwithstanding the fact that there must be many interested in them.

Here, then, as a slight contribution to the discussion, are two little incidents from real life, drawn from different sources familiar to me, but very akin to each other.

Mrs. Van Upstart Giltedge lives in the suburbs of the city. As befits a leader of society and the church she has vicariously sacrificed herself and permitted others to wash her clothes, sweep her rooms, make her beds and cook her meals. With admirable fortitude and courage she faced the horrors of the eternal problem of the servant upon which she is now one of the suburb's leading authorities.

When Marie, who is seventeen and beautiful, became Mrs. Van Upstart Giltedge's under-housemaid, that estimable lady preached to her the homily which experience had taught her was good for the souls of such as Marie. "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" was the text, and "Remember, I shall exact above all things strict cleanliness," its dominant note. Marie listened with reverent awe to the homily and accepted it with her sweetest "Yes, mum," and her politest bow.

Marie had "been out" before and therefore minded not at all that Mrs. Upstart Giltedge enjoined her from using the nice porcelain bathtub with its bright nickeled fittings. That was usual enough, so Marie with the genius of her class adapted herself to circumstances and resorted to the little square family washtubs in the cellar. True, the little stone tubs were uncomfortable and forced her to cramp herself horribly, and she bruised and cut herself against the water faucets, but she was under-housemaid—and uncomplaining.

"What are you going to do, Marie?" demanded her ladyship one evening as she spied the under-housemaid descending to the cellar with an armful of clean clothes.

"I'm going to take my bath, mum."

"Your bath—where?"

"In the cellar—in the washtub, mum."

"Goodness, Marie! The very idea! I hope you never take your bath in the tub my nice clothes are washed in? I cannot permit that. Remember now, that must never happen."

Mrs. Van Upstart Giltedge hurried away and Marie crept back to her little attic room and laid her clean clothes upon the narrow bed.

Poor Marie. She still tries to follow the "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" sermon of her ladyship. She takes her bath nowadays in her little attic bedroom—standing in the little cracked wash basin.

Mrs. Christian Cornelius Hasplenty is manifold richer than Mrs. Van Upstart Giltedge and, in consequence, stands higher in the social scale. She reigns a queen in a circle of society to which the other may not aspire. The number and splendor of her gowns is constantly set forth in the society journals and the illustrated pages of the Sunday newspapers.

Mr. Christian Cornelius Hasplenty (the envious call him "Glucose") Hasplenty in sneering reference to the origin of his millions) sweats and oppresses his employees, gives alms freely

and preaches often at meetings of the Y. M. C. A. Mrs. Hasplenty doesn't believe in giving alms, being a member of the Charity Organization Society and a firm believer that well-equipped organization is better than charity.

Mrs. Christian Cornelius Hasplenty is "intellectual," too, and is a prominent and active member of the Fortnightly Club for the Study of Metaphysics. A list of the societies in which she is interested as member or officer fills several pages of the "Society Register"—a publication which is to our "400" what "Debreit's Peerage" is to the aristocracy of Europe.

Like Mrs. Van Upstart Giltedge, Mrs. Christian Cornelius Hasplenty is an authority upon the servant problem and a profound believer in and preacher of the gospel of cleanliness for housemaids.

"Remember, Louise," she said to her housemaid upon the day of the latter's hiring, "I cannot allow you to use the bathroom upon any account. You must find some other means of bathing yourself, and when I go away from home the bathroom will always be locked."

So Louise bathes herself in the stone washtubs in the cellar and cramps herself horribly and cuts and bruises herself against the faucets.

Sometimes, after her bath, and while her limbs are still stiff from the cramping and sore from the bruising against the faucets, she is called by her good mistress to wash the pet poodle in the nice glass bathtub.

And Mrs. Christian Cornelius Hasplenty herself always comes to pour the eau de cologne in the precious poodle's bath.

These facts—for facts they are—must fit in somewhere in the discussion of the servant problem.

**"BEYOND THE HILLS."**

By PETER EUGENE WALLING.

Beyond the hills an army lies asleep, Heartsick and weary in their constant toil,

Dreaming of glorious days when man shall keep

In loving harmony the ransomed soil; Of days when all shall labor for the good

Of all who toil, and in their labor find The long-sought rest that shall be understood

When brotherhood shall cleanse the cankered mind.

That poverty be banished from the land,

That labor have its product for its own,

This is the slogan of the coming man Who, in his poverty, thus broods alone.

He sees all men in beauteous concord work,

Producing bounty for the use of all; Then none shall hunger save the bestial shirk,

And none shall hold his brother's life in thrall.

To all who have such dreams we say, Awake!

Go seek a brother in the common thought!

Then like a wave our slavery shall break,

And, ere we know it, shall our dream be wrought.

Ten million souls are waiting for your call!

At your command the patriot's bosom thrills!

When we unite in our great purpose, all,

Our dream shall be no more "Beyond the hills."

**THE SYMPATHY OF FRIENDSHIP.**

It is sublime to feel and say of another, I need never meet, or speak, or write to him; we need not re-enforce ourselves or send tokens of remembrance; I rely on him as on myself; if he did thus or this, I know it was right.—Emerson.

**THE TWINS.**

Cholmondeley—You and your sister are twins, are you not?

Marjoribanks—We were when we were children. Now, however she is five younger than I!—London Tit-Bits



## 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. (Copyright, 1908, by Gustavus Myers).

#### CHAPTER I.

##### A PRELIMINARY REVIEW.

##### III.

This survey, however, would be prejudicial and one-sided were not the fact strongly pointed out that the railroad capitalists were by no means the only land-graspers. Not a single part of the capitalist class was there which could in any way profit from the theft of public domain, that did not wallow in corruption and fraud.

The very laws seemingly passed to secure to the poor settler a homestead at a reasonable price were, as Henry M. Teller, Secretary of the Interior, put it, perverted into "agencies by which the capitalist secures large and valuable areas of the public land at little expense." (5) The poor were always the decoys with which the capitalists of the day managed to bag their game. It was to aid and encourage "the man of small resources" to populate the West that the Desert Land Law was apparently enacted; and many a pathetic and enthusiastic speech was made in Congress as this act was ostentatiously going through. Under this law, it was claimed, a man could establish himself upon 640 acres of land and, upon irrigating a portion of it and paying \$1.25 an acre, could secure a title. For once, it seemed, Congress was looking out for the interests of the man of few dollars.

##### Capitalism in Action.

But plaudits were too hasty. To the utter surprise of the people the law began to work in a contrary direction. Its provisions had read well enough on a casual scrutiny; where lay the trouble? It lay in just a few words which had been deftly thrown in, and which the crowd did not notice. This law, acclaimed as one of great benefit to every man aspiring for a home and land, was arranged so that the capitalist cattle syndicates could get immense areas. The lever was the omission of any provision requiring actual settlement. The livestock corporations thereupon sent in their swarms of dummies to these "desert" lands, many of which in reality were not desert but excellent grazing lands, had their dummies get a patent from the government, and then transfer the lands. In this way the cattlemen became possessed of enormous areas; and to-day these tracts thus gotten by fraud are securely held intact, forming what may be called great estates, for on many of them live the owners in expansive baronial style.

##### Vast Thefts of Land.

In numerous instances law was entirely dispensed with. Vast tracts of land were boldly appropriated by sheep and cattle rangers who had not even a pretense of title. Enclosing these lands with fences, the rangers claimed them as their own and hired armed guards to drive off intruders and kill if necessary. Murder after murder was committed. In this usurpation the august Supreme Court of the United States upheld them. And the grounds of the decision were what?

The very extraordinary dictum that a settler could not claim any right of pre-emption on public lands in possession of another who had enclosed, settled upon and improved them. This was the very reverse of every known declaration of common and of statute law. No court, supreme or inferior, had ever held that because the proceeds of theft were improved or were refurbished a bit, the sufferer was thereby estopped from recovery. This decision showed anew how while the courts were ever ready to enforce the law literally against the underlings and penniless, they were as active in fabricating tortuous constructions which coincided not always, but nearly always, with the demands and interests of the capitalist class.

It has long been the fashion on the part of a certain prevalent school of writers and publicists to exonerate this or that man, this or that corpora-

tion as the ringleader in the orgy of corruption and oppression. This practice, arising partly from passionate or ill-considered judgment, and in part from ignorance of the subject, has been the cause of much misunderstanding, popular and academic.

##### Class Methods.

No one section of the capitalist class can be held solely responsible; nor were the morals and ethics of any one division different from those of the others. The whole capitalist class was coated with the same tar. Shipping merchants, traders in general, landholders, banking and railroad corporations, factory owners, cattle syndicates, public utility companies, mining magnates, lumber corporations—all were participants in various ways in the subverting of the functions of government to their own fraudulent ends at the expense of the whole producing class. Nor can even the fraud which they constantly used and upon which they fattened be considered as an isolated evil. It was as natural an accompaniment of the rise, progress and waxing of capitalism as talons are to a hawk: in both cases the fundamental instinct is to prey, which instinct develops the means adapted to the inherent purposes.

While the railroad corporations were looting the public treasury and the public domain, and vesting in themselves arbitrary powers of taxation and proscription, all of the other segments of the capitalist class were, at the same time, enriching themselves in the same or similar ways. The railroads were much denounced, but wherein did their methods differ from those of the cattle syndicates, the industrial magnates or the lumber corporations? The lumber barons wanted their predacious share of the public domain; throughout certain parts of the West and in the South were far-stretching, magnificent forests covered with the growth of centuries. To want and to get them were the same thing, with a government in power which was either representative of Capitalism or composed of its beneficiaries.

##### The Old Decoy.

The "poor settler" catpaw was again made use of. At the behest of the lumber corporations, or of adventurers or politicians who saw a facile way of becoming multimillionaires by the simple passage of an act, the "Stone and Timber Act" was passed in 1878 by Congress. An amendment passed in 1892 made frauds still easier. This measure was another of those benevolent-looking laws which, on its face, extended opportunities for the homesteader. No longer, it was plausibly set forth, could any man say that the government denied him the right to get public land for a reasonable sum. Was ever a finer, a more glorious chance presented? Here was the way open for any individual homesteader to get 160 acres of timber land for the paltry price of \$2.50 an acre. Congress was overwhelmed with outbursts of panegyrics for its wisdom and public spirit.

Soon, however, a cry of rage went up from the duped public. And the cause? The law, as was the Desert Land Law, it turned out, was punctured with cunningly drawn clauses which sanctioned the worst forms of spoliation. Entire trainloads of people acting in collusion with the land grabbers were transported by the lumber syndicates into the richest timber regions of the West, supplied with the funds to buy, and then each, after having paid \$2.50 per acre for 160 acres, immediately transferred his or her allotment to the lumber corporations. Thus for \$2.50 an acre the lumber syndicates obtained vast tracts of the finest lands worth, at the least, according to government agents, \$100 an acre at a time, thirty-five years ago, when lumber was not nearly so costly as now.

The next development was characteristic of the progress of onswearing capitalism. Just as the traders, bankers, factory owners, mining and railroad magnates had come into their possessions largely (in varying de-

grees) by fraud, and then upon the strength of those possessions had caused themselves to be elected or appointed to powerful offices in the government, state and national, so now some of the lumber barons used a part of the millions obtained by fraud to purchase their way into the United States Senate and other high offices. They, as did their associates in the other branches of the capitalist class, helped to make and unmake judges, governors, legislatures and Presidents, and at least one, Russell A. Alger, became a member of the President's Cabinet in 1897.

##### A \$70,000,000 Theft.

Under this one law, irrespective of other complaisant laws, not less than \$57,000,000 has been stolen in the last seven years alone from the government, according to a statement made in Congress by Representative Hitchcock, of Nebraska, on May 5, 1908. He declared that 8,000,000 acres had been sold for \$20,000,000, while the Department of the Interior had admitted in writing that the actual aggregate value of the land, at prevailing commercial prices, was \$77,000,000. These lands, he asserted, had passed into the hands of the Lumber Trust, and their products were sold to the people of the United States at an advance of 70 per cent. This theft of \$57,000,000 simply represents the years from 1901 to 1908; it is probable that the entire thefts for 10,395,689.96 acres sold during the whole series of years since the Stone and Timber act was passed reaches fully \$70,000,000 if not more.

(To be continued.)

## OLD AGE.

By THEODORE PAL.

Nothing can compare with the dread of the advent of old age; nothing can compare with the anxiety of men and women at the discovery of the first gray hair, at the first suggestion of the furrows around one's eyes.

And yet there is nothing unesthetic in the gray hair. At a time when all human ingenuity was directed towards the improvement of the external appearance, men and women, old and young, wore gray wigs. There is undoubtedly a beauty in the marks which life and time imprint on one's face. Look at the great painters, look at those among them who were the greatest masters of color, as for instance, Rembrandt. The face that bore the marks of past storms and struggles, of past defeats and victories, attracted his poetic imagination much more than the smooth complexion of youth.

Gray hair and furrows need not be the cause of any apprehension, since so many have to travel longer with them than without. And still we are fearful of gray hair, fearful of the old age which it foretells, fearful to be left out of the current of life unable to fight its battles and to share in its joys—what price would every one of us pay to prevent, no, only to delay, the arrival of the unwelcome friend, of old age.

However, what has human effort accomplished toward the end? Statistics say the progress of science has succeeded in prolonging the average human life. Black plague and cholera and typhus are no longer permitted to ravage countries and disturb commerce. But, how about old age? Statistics tell you little about it. Someone else does. The employer does. The rules of employment enforced in recent years by all the great industries answer this query: No new man above thirty-five years can find employment. What a tragic answer this is. At thirty-five a workingman is afflicted by the humiliating malady—old age.

No, the workingman does not realize it, does not want to realize it. At thirty-five his hand is no longer steady, the eye has lost its keenness, his memory is beginning to fail him. He can no longer be trusted with the responsibility which used to be his since early youth. He may not notice it, but the master does. And this is all his assets and savings and investment—old age. Years of toil from morning till night without recreation, with nothing to break its monotony but the fear for to-morrow's bread, have caused the atrophy of his mental faculties from disuse and of the muscle from abuse, they have brought nothing but infirmity. Is this the full value of all the years of his

labors, has he contributed nothing to the wealth and comfort of the world?

That recalls to me some other statistics, those on the age of the average college graduate. That age is not far from thirty; it is always above twenty-five. All these years the college boy is improving his mind by learning and assimilating the experiences of the past ages. All these years he is training his body in every variety of game and sport. Mental and physical exercise, activity and recreation are regulated with the greatest scientific precision—so as to make possible the utmost development of every faculty which nature might have bestowed upon him. Up to twenty-five there is nothing to bring on a gray hair or a wrinkle on his face. He is as young as an infant at the time when the workingman is on the eve of old age. He is still led and guided by his seniors and partners, by people of his class, at a time when enforced idleness, with all its horrors, menaces the one who toiled from early childhood. At forty, when the workingman has joined the ranks of the useless, he is just at the beginning of his independent activity. And look at "class days" and class reunions; men gather fifteen, twenty and twenty-five years after graduation—and carry off more than one trophy from their contests with the young graduates. They are still able to play and win, their muscle is still firm and their eye is keen at a time when you of the masses are for years afflicted with the malady of old age. And when the time for retirement arrives, there is a wealth of pleasure which the world has in store for the master, and nothing but humiliation, sorrow and the life of a vagabond for the workingman.

Yes, the master class discovered a way to prolong its youth and to avert the advent of old age by shortening the age of the toiler. But is not the workingman entitled to his youth as well as his master? Slave of the past and of to-day, he made it possible for the master class to send its children to school and college and to guard them from all care and worry until mature age. Are not the children of the slave entitled to the same?

Perhaps if they were allowed to train their minds and bodies until the age of twenty, their tastes would change, they would not be contented to lead the life of a slave and to be left out of the race for human happiness at the age of thirty-five.

##### APPARENTLY.

"So many people trust to luck."  
"Yes. Luck seems to have excellent credit."

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(5) Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1882.



**THE GREAT BLACK WAY.**

By MARY UPDEGROVE.

You may talk about your Great White Way, but there's one fills me with dread; It's the awful, awful Black Way that the little people tread, Where women are too tired to weep—children too tired to play; Where it's work—work—work—all the night and all the day. Oh, the never ending beat of the many, many feet Of a weary folk who never have enough to wear or eat! And life is like a nightmare on the Great Black Way.

II.

Oh, we have fears of more than years upon the Great Black Way, For a wolf preys on our vitals and his hunger hath no stay. So he grinds and grinds us in if we curse or if we grin; And perhaps it is a sin, but in such a rattling din We think no God can hear us on the Great Black Way.

III.

Our children die ere they are born, for women may not rest, And Death is gorged with helpless babes robbed of their mother's breast. The less lucky, white of face and weak-limbed must run the race, Where a great, gaunt, iron Goblin sets the swift, remorseless pace; And their bleached bones are our paving stones upon the Great Black Way.

IV.

The men they die like poisoned rats in tunnels, mines, and caves, And powder mills and railroads kill them so they need no graves; They blind them and they maim them, starve and freeze them on the street, And it's something of a treat just to die of dirt and heat, Instead of being slaughtered on the Great Black Way.

V.

And the women (God be kind to them, and to a world so blind to them), What law protects a woman on the Great Black Way? Oh, ye wise men of all nations, creeping through your sordid lives, Making scapegoats of your mothers, beasts of burden of your wives, See what lowly flowers might teach you: This bulb buried in the mire Contains all the lily's whiteness, all her flaming heart of fire. So the Hope of Man lies hidden, in a woman's heart the germ, But the world must give her sunshine or it rots and feeds the worm.

**A WORLD'S CRISIS IS UPON US.**

By LUELLA R. KREHBIEL.

A world's crisis is upon us. There are but a few of the people who realize this crisis and fewer yet are mentally and morally prepared to meet it.

Man has at last become sufficiently analytical in his reasoning to discover that it is not "God's decree," but a matter of unequal economic support that produces the unequal social classes. Economic or material conditions affect the man just as they do the horse. The horse that is overworked and underfed becomes a pitiable object to behold, while the horse that is well fed, well coached and given just enough exercise is a beautiful, active creature.

The laboring man is overworked and underfed until his body becomes exhausted and then his exhausted body exhausts his mind.

He is paid such a miserable wage that he must buy coarse food and coarse clothes and live in a crude environment and his face and manners soon take on the crudeness of his life. His exhausted, body exhausts his mind; his small wage makes it impossible for him to buy intellectual opportunities; and he is forced to become a deficient member of society.

Where a man is limited to poverty he is robbed of his manhood and his life, and hence it logically follows that a man has as much right to a just economic support as he has to life itself. A life deprived of its rights becomes a torture instead of a joy and the man exists in an enslaved state of mind who would not give his life for the rights of his life.

Everything in life is dependent upon economic support. But we find that a universal industrial condition is developing that makes this economic support more uncertain than ever before in the history of the world.

Heretofore when our Eastern civilizations have become oppressive, the oppressed people have pushed westward, taken up new lands, and built new homes. To-day, for the first time in history, the free land is all taken. The population is increasing but the land is not. On the one hand, we have millions who do not own a foot of land, while on the other hand we have men who control thousands and millions of acres.

How many of our people realize the extremity and the seriousness of this land situation and the pressing need of a new land system or adjustment.

The law of supply and demand no longer works in our markets.

To-day our industries have become so concentrated that a handful of men control all the necessities of our lives. They can set their own prices on these necessities and we have to pay them, no matter how exorbitant. The men who control what we eat and wear control our lives. Is it not folly to talk of freedom under such a condition?

To-day, for the first time in history, a handful of men control all the tools of production. The laboring man cannot go to work until the machine owner says he may. He must take whatever wage the machine owner will give him and then after he has worked all day he must turn around and pay the machine owner whatever he demands for the product. It is a crime to talk of freedom and prosperity to the laboring man as long as another man controls his job and the products of his labor.

And we have at last come to the end of the profit system. In the staple industries of this country the average laboring man produces about ten dollars worth of wealth per day. He is paid an average wage of two dollars a day. With this small wage he can buy back such a small part of what he produces that a surplus soon accumulates.

Our manufacturers have been carrying this surplus across the seas, disposing of it in foreign markets and getting large profits on the things for which American laboring men were suffering. All of our late wars have been fought in a contention over markets. But at last these less progressive nations are waking up and are producing for themselves. They care not whether America is ever heard from or not.

There is little foreign demand for our goods, and our laboring men with their small wage can buy back so little of what they produce that our markets are glutted, business is at a standstill and a panic is upon us.

Our industrial conditions are altogether different from what they were 50 years ago, and we are facing a state of affairs that must be radically adjusted or it will produce universal, militant revolution. The hungry man does not reason, and the numbers of the unemployed are increasing.

Yes, we have come to the end of the profit system and we shall have to learn how to produce and distribute life's necessities without having anyone skin a profit.

Yes, we are facing an industrial crisis to-day that decrees the fate of all modern civilizations. We are suffering to-day because of an unorganized competitive condition of industry. We are

suffering the curse of private ownership and manipulation. We have reached a climax where we can no longer float like driftwood without disaster.

We have come to a point where the intellectual forces of the race must be asserted sufficiently to get this great process of producing and distributing life's necessities organized on a scientific basis. We have come to a point where the masses must awaken and stand for their rights.

Is justice unpractical, impossible? Then what can we say of American intellect and ingenuity? Is justice impractical, impossible? Then man is a failure and God inhuman!

**HELP WANTED—MALE.**

**ORGANIZER WANTED.**—Westchester County Committee invites applications for position of Special Organizer from Sept. 1 to election day. Wages \$20 weekly, inclusive. Must be a hustler; able to hold open-air meetings; good literature seller; willing to do house to house visiting. No one afraid of hard work of this kind need apply. Address, stating all particulars of experience, etc., L. A. Malkiel, 49 Cornell avenue, Yonkers.

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

**CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 241 E. 84th St.** The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—316 E. 6th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 7:30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2059 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—325 E. 75th St., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Fauthaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

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

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL UNION No. 476,** meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. in the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. Financial Secretary, Joe Maeller, 542 E. 150th St. City; Recording Secretary, Arthur Gonne, 1992 Anthony Ave., Bronx.

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

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

**BROOKLYN, 22d A. D., Br. 1 (American),** meets the second and fourth Friday at 675 Glenmore Ave.; Br. 3 (German), meets the second Monday of the month at 675 Glenmore Ave.

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MR. TAFT'S REAL VIEWS.

By ROBERT HUNTER.

If you want to know a man's real views do not seek them when that man is candidate for political office.

At such times a man is NOT disinterested. He does not at such times go out of his way TO OFFEND any section of the people.

If his views are likely to offend Jews or Germans or Irish, or the workers or the property-owners, he at least remains silent. He has everything to gain by concealing his real views and by uttering opinions which attract as many as possible of the different kinds of people, organizations, races and classes.

For this reason a wise man takes the views of a candidate for office with a grain of salt.

But now and then there comes along a candidate with a record. At such times the voters can if they wish find out the REAL VIEWS of that candidate.

Such a one is William Howard Taft. When he was judge of the United States Circuit Court he sentenced a labor leader to prison. It was part of an extraordinary judicial effort to crush the American Railway Union, of which Eugene V. Debs was president.

In sentencing this labor leader Mr. Taft said: "The vile character of the conspiracy of the American Railway Union staggers the imagination. The purpose, shortly stated, was to starve the railway companies and the public. . . . Certainly the starvation of a nation could not be a lawful purpose of combination, and it is utterly immaterial whether the purpose is effected by means usually lawful or otherwise."

"To starve railway companies" is a term which no man whose horizon extended beyond the mere rights of property could have possibly used. He never thought of the people who were starving in Pullman.

At this moment millions of men, women and children labor without hope. Yet if these millions were to strike and assert their right to a living wage or to equitable conditions of livelihood Mr. Taft would call that a dangerous conspiracy "to starve" railway companies and other property-owners.

Mr. Taft also says it is utterly immaterial when these men strike "whether their purpose is effected by means USUALLY lawful or otherwise."

We had supposed that in this republican men had the right to better their condition providing they ACTED LAWFULLY.

But Mr. Taft says it matters not whether they act lawfully or otherwise, they are conspirators threatening to starve the railroads and the public.

That ends the matter, and their leaders must then be dealt with summarily, and LAWFULLY OR UNLAWFULLY cast into prison.

Now what is it that enables ONE MAN to exercise a power so great as this—a power that indeed staggers the imagination? What is it that enables a judge to condemn a man or any group of men when they have committed NO illegal act? What is it that enables him to over-ride their constitutional rights and sentence them TO PRISON?

IT IS THE POWER OF THE INJUNCTION. It is the power of king and czar, power that came direct from king and czar, which, when we abolished kings, we gave to EVERY JUDGE that sits on the bench.

Mr. Taft was one of the first of our judges to exercise that power in its most obnoxious form, and he well earned his title, "The Father of Injunctions."

To-day this judge, to whom the effort of workmen to obtain honorable conditions of livelihood is A CONSPIRACY, to-day this judge, to whom the starving of railway companies is a thing that STAGGERS THE IMAGINATION; to-day this judge, to whom starving men, women and children are matters of no consequence; to-day this judge stands as candidate for the Presidency.

The man who built up the American Railway Union and led the Pullman strike is also candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. Taft did noble and popular service for the "starving" railway companies. Mr. Debs did noble and unpopular service for the starving railway employees.

Mr. Taft was applauded and promoted. Mr. Debs' heart was broken when the strike was broken, and for years he visited desolate homes, befriended blacklisted workmen, and tried to hearten the thousands of crushed and defeated strikers.

Well, that's an old story. But in November next the measure of manhood possessed by every union man in this country will be taken.

CHORUS OF CAPITALISTS.

By NELSON GARDNER.

We are the rulers of the land— All for the best, you understand.

For now the money makes the might, And being rich, we must be right.

We are possessed of every prize Because we are so good and wise.

'Tis not because we water stock, Or at the nation's statutes mock.

Or make a deal to fix the rate At which outsiders pay the freight.

Or by judicious bribery Obtain a valued franchise free.

Or with an arbitrary frown Put prices up and wages down.

Though there are demagogues who say

That we have won in such a way,

How great is the ingratitude Of those whose comments are so rude.

What would the thankless people call Without our sugar, milk and meat?

The nation could not last an hour Deprived of our sustaining flour.

Our oil and gas supplies the light Wherewith our critics see at night.

When they upon a railroad ride, It is in cars that we provide.

We furnish them with all their coal, And yet they say we have no soul.

If we declined to let them buy They'd starve and shiver, freeze and die.

But still they can't be made to see The need of our authority.

But let them grumble as they may— We are their masters anyway.

The statesman has become our tool,

And helps us to extend our rule.

We teach our justice to the judge, And he obeys our slightest nudge.

We build a college now and then, And so control the cultured men.

While many press upon the press Our proud supremacy confess.

And even in the pulpit, we Are not without authority.

With friends like these to help us out, We can the common people flout.

Our serfs may raise an awkward row, But in the end they have to bow.

For year by year we grow and gain, And nothing can resist our reign.

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

HE HAS MEASURED THEM CORRECTLY

Mr. William English Walling, who has just returned from after thorough study of political movements abroad, and who, though not a member of the Socialist party, but writes for the party press as well as for the Federationist, said when asked his opinion of the old political parties:

"The Republican party is the devil; the Democratic party is the devil with a mask on. The Republican party is composed largely of liars and thieves; the Democratic party of liars and thieves and hypocrites.

"Understand," he said, "that I realize there may be some reasons why a part of the people are not ready to vote the Socialist ticket now, but I cannot see how they can very well vote for the party of Tammany Hall and the negro-burners; for the Democratic party is now entirely in the hands of these two elements."

AN UNREFINED PALATE.

"Think," exclaimed the pure food advocate, "of the thousands of people who are deceived with cold storage eggs."

"I can't get up any sympathy for them," answered the epicure. "A man who can be deceived with a cold storage egg deserves to be."—Washington Star.

EVADING THE ISSUE.

Mrs. Lushington.—And there you were, at three o'clock in the morning, hugging that cigar store Indian. Mr. Lushington.—Surely, my dear, you are not jealous.—Judge.

"One of my ancestors was a noted pirate," said a man.

"That's nothing," said the other, "I'm the direct descendant of a corporation lawyer."—Life.

First Disputant—Then I'm a liar? Second Ditto—Not this time, my dear fellow; you have just spoken the truth.

She (at the theatre)—John, the man next to me is drunk.

"We're in luck," said John. "He won't have to go out after it."—Louisville Courier-Journal.

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

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

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 232 local branches with 31,597 male and 6,408 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively, \$250 death benefit guaranteed to the beneficiaries of every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the third class upon payment of an initiation fee of \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but all candidates have to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invite to do so. Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third Avenue, Room 2, New York City.

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This is not a cartoon. It is a faithful sketch made while President Roosevelt was delivering his anti-socialist speech recently at Oyster Bay.



**THE PRIEST AND THE DEVIL.**

By FEODOR DOSTOYEVSKY.

(The following sketch has a peculiar origin. It was written with pencil on the grey wall of one of the most dreadful cells in the prison fortress of Sts. Peter and Paul, at St. Petersburg. The hand has been identified with certainty as that of the famous Russian writer, Feodor Dostoyevsky. He wrote it during his imprisonment in that gloomy fortress in 1849. The church of the prison of Peter and Paul has little dim cells, facing toward the altar, each provided with a wire netting, so that the prisoner can see and hear the ministering priest but can see none of his fellow sufferers. The prison guards seldom visit these cells, and so it happened that this strange manuscript escaped notice for many decades. It was discovered during the making of some repairs, and by order of the prison authorities, was covered with a glass to protect it. Until recently no one but the prison officials had ever seen it. It was at last brought to light by another political prisoner, F. Narodny, who was immersed in the fortress for many years. Having seen the inscription, he found means of copying it on his shirt sleeve, and after regaining his liberty gave to the world this work which had remained for more than half a century hidden in the darkness of the prison.)

Before the altar in a splendid church, glistening with gold and silver and lit up by a multitude of candles, stood a priest arrayed in beautiful robe and gorgeous mantle. He was a portly, dignified man, with ruddy cheeks and well-kept beard. His voice was sonorous and his mien haughty. His appearance was in keeping with the church, which glowed and shone with luxury.

The congregation, however, presented a different picture. It consisted mostly of poor workmen and peasants, old women and beggars. Their clothing was shabby and exhaled the peculiar odor of poverty. Their thin faces bore the marks of hunger and their hands the marks of toil. It was a picture of want and misery.

The priest burned incense before the holy pictures and then piously and solemnly raised his voice and preached.

"My dear brethren in Christ," he said, "our dear Lord gave you life, and it is your duty to be satisfied with it. But are you satisfied? No."

"First of all, you do not have enough faith in our dear Lord and his saints and miracles. You do not give as freely as you should from your earnings to the holy church."

"In the second place, you do not obey the authorities. You oppose the powers of the world, the Czar and his officers. You despise the laws."

"It is written in the Bible, 'Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and give unto God that which is God's.' But you do not do it! And do you know what this means? This is a deadly sin. Indeed, I tell you, it is the Devil who is tempting you to go his way. It is he who tempts your souls, and you imagine it is your own free will that prompts you to act in this way. His will it is, not yours. He is waiting for your death. He is burning with eagerness to possess your souls. He will dance before the flames of hell, in which your souls will suffer agonies."

"Therefore, I warn you, my brethren, I admonish you to leave the path of damnation. There is still time. O, God, have mercy!"

The people listened, trembling. They believed the priest's solemn words. They sighed and crossed themselves and fervently kissed the floor. The priest also crossed himself, turned his back to the people—and smiled.

It so happened that the Devil was just passing by the church while the priest was speaking thus to the people. He heard his name mentioned, so he stood by the open window and listened. He saw the people kiss the priest's hand. He saw how the priest, reading before a gilded picture of some saint, hastily pocketed the money which the poor people had put down there for the holy church. This provoked the Devil, and no sooner did the priest leave the church than he ran after him and caught hold of his holy mantle.

"Hello, you fat little father!" he said. "What made you lie so to those poor misled people? What tortures of hell did you depict? Don't you know they are already suffering the tortures of hell in their earthly lives? Don't you know that you and the authorities of the state are my representatives on earth? It is you who make them suffer the pains of hell with which you threaten them. Don't you know this? Well, then, come with me!"

collar, lifted him high in the air, and carried him to a factory, to an iron foundry. He saw the workmen there running and hurrying to and fro and toiling in the scorching heat. Very soon the thick, heavy air and the heat are too much for the priest. With tears in his eyes, he pleads with the Devil: "Let me go! Let me leave this hell!"

"Oh, my dear friend, I must show you many more places." The Devil gets hold of him again and drags him off to a farm. There he sees the workmen threshing the grain. The dust and heat are insufferable. The overseer carries a knout and unmercifully beats anyone who falls to the ground overcome by hard work or hunger.

Next the priest is taken to the huts where these same workers live with their families—dirty, cold, smoky, ill-smelling holes. The Devil grins. He points out the poverty and hardship which are at home here.

"Well, isn't this enough?" he asks, and it seems as if even he, the Devil, pities the people. The pious servant of God can hardly bear it. With uplifted hands he begs: "Let me go away from here. Yes, Yes! This is hell on earth!"

"Well, then, you see. And you still promise them another hell. You torment them, torture them to death mentally when they are already all but dead physically! Come on! I will show you one more hell—one more, the very worst."

He took him to a prison, and showed him a dungeon, with its foul air and the many human forms, robbed of all health and energy, lying on the floor, covered with vermin that were devouring their poor, naked, emaciated bodies.

"Take off your silken clothes," said the Devil to the priest; "put on your ankles heavy chains such as these unfortunates wear; lie down on the cold and filthy floor—and then talk to them about a hell that still awaits them!"

"No, no!" answered the priest. "I cannot think of anything more dreadful than this. I entreat you, let me go away from here!"

"Yes, this is hell. There can be no worse hell than this. Did you not know it? Did you not know that these men and women whom you were frightening with the picture of a hell hereafter—did you not know that they are in hell right here, before they die?"

The priest hung his head. He did not know where to look in his confusion.

The Devil smiled maliciously. "Yes, little father, you are going to say that the world likes to be cheated. Well, now go!" And he released his hold.

The priest tucked up his long mantle and ran as fast as his legs would carry him.

The Devil watched and laughed.

This story came into my mind while listening to the sermon of the prison chaplain, and I wrote it down on the wall to-day, December 13, 1849.

A PRISONER.

**EMOTIONAL INSANITY.**

A gay young Parisian, de Laine, Long courted an heiress in vain. When he said, "Now or never!" She answered, "Au river!" So he promptly, of course, went in Seine.

—Judge.

**POOR FELLOW.**

He—I'm saddest when I sing.  
She—Well, how do you suppose I feel?—The Daily Tribune.

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WHICH GOVERNMENT WOULD YOU LIKE?

Capitalism.

Socialism.

1. To vote for candidates nominated by a few capitalists, and when they are elected see them work with all their might against you in the interest of those capitalists.
  2. To go again and vote for the same, same system, have politicians, lawyers and ward-healers as representatives, men that don't care a jot for your interest.
  3. To work as slaves all your life, and your children doomed to the same fate, worry and poverty to be your share, while a few capitalists pile up millions of dollars, living in idle luxury, others performing all the work.
  4. To see panics and hard times bound to come at certain intervals, worse and worse every time, and the capitalists themselves unable to avoid them.
  5. To live in tenements, huts (or no home at all), often unable to pay your rent. Or starve yourself to secure a little home. And often look in vain for work, sold as slaves under the will of a few capitalists.
  6. When old go to the poorhouse, or commit suicide, or become a burden to your relatives.
  7. So-called charity is now a small share of the spoils taken from the workers, thrown back as to dogs by the spoilers to the poor.
  8. Capitalism means "Everyone for himself; grab all you can." It is legalized anarchy.
  - It kills all true ambitions, lowers the morals, stunts the field of inventions, creates class hatred, fosters crime and is the cause of wars, "accidents" and present poverty.
  9. Capitalism deprives the majority of the people of the right of owning a home, or true private property.
  10. Capitalism means strife, war, poverty, injustice.
- It is on the verge of its fall; your vote will prolong its existence and the suffering of the people at large.

1. To vote for well-trying men, nominated by workers, who we know will stand up for your right under all circumstances (as proved they do in other countries), men of your own class.
  2. To vote for a government composed of men, or women, selected each by their own trade or profession, all able to represent their own fellow brothers and sisters.
  3. To work under a co-operative system, where you will receive the full value of your labor, and your children are free to select their own calling; and no chance left open for idlers or grafters.
  4. To see a system where poverty is abolished forever (the earth is rich enough to feed us all, over and over again).
  5. To live under a system under which everyone is entitled to his own private home, paid by a few cents every day, deducted from their full wages. And no one can be denied the right of making a living, a natural right guaranteed to all.
  6. When old receive a pension substantial to live in comfort and free from worry. No paupers.
  7. Everyone unable to work to have their full share, not as charity but as their natural right (like a crippled child in a family).
  8. Socialism means that the people shall own, all together, all land and all natural resources, such as mines, forests, lakes, etc.
  - And all own and work together all means of production, such as all machineries, railroads, ships, factories, stores, water works, gas plants, telegraphs, telephones, etc.
  9. Socialism assures everyone of their own home, enables everyone to own their private property, such as furniture, clothes, books, pianos, etc.
  10. Socialism means union of all, peace, comfort, justice to all.
- It is bound to come; nothing can stop it, only that your vote will hasten the day of liberty and victory.
- F. G. W.

BANQUETS AND SWILL CANS.

By W. A. JACOBS IN THE VANGUARD.

In spite of the "panic" we still hear people boasting of our great government and our representatives in Congress. We also hear people who have no capital or even a reserve of food supply say that our navy can lick the world, and we warn Japan not to let her fleet get out of her own waters.

In connection with the manoeuvres of the American fleet in the Pacific ocean I want to quote a paragraph from a letter which I received from a comrade who is now living in San Francisco and is connected with one of the large hotels there, who was therefore in a position to study the whole affair from the inside, so to speak. We quote the following:

"Yes, the fleet has come and gone. It was an imposing spectacle to see twenty-five warships come sailing into port at one time, and from a capitalist standpoint I can readily understand how some poor, deluded fools of working people allowed themselves to swell up and say our navy, and really feel a bit patriotic.

"The electrical display at night was wonderful. It beat anything I ever saw. Boats were outlined with lights and in unison would throw their many search lights. The parade was fine, being a combined army and navy affair.

"The banquets, balls, dinners, receptions and what-nots to the officers kept things lively among the '400.' The 'Jackies' had a few crumbs in the way of entertainments. The business men, contributed liberally to help entertain, and then proceeded to pluck the poor geece. Most of the swill (swell) affairs were pulled off at the \_\_\_\_\_ So I had a chance to study things at close range.

"On one particular occasion the banquet to the officers did not break up until after 6 o'clock next morning, and then it was necessary to stow some of the brave (?) officers away until they sobered up. Some of the women were in a bad fix also.

"At 6 o'clock that morning, while those officers were wasting the product of the working class, three ragged little children of the working class

were at the back door picking refuse from the swill cans that they might keep soul and body together."

If Socialists could put up no other argument than to state the facts as outlined in the above quotation, this argument alone should be enough to condemn capitalism and its prominent representatives to everlasting oblivion. According to the comrade's letter, capitalism either from the working class standpoint or from the standpoint of the masters, is a "swill affair," and as I do not like swill, I am "agin it."

Some people say there is no hell, but I deny it. We are in hell now, and as a Socialist I am trying to get out. I venture to say that working people's children who must get a living out of the swill cans in the rear of a large city hotel feel that it is hell to be poor! And all this in our boasted land of freedom and opportunity. "How long, O Lord, how long."

THE ONWARD MARCH.

From Finland comes word of another victory. The parliament was too radical so the Czar dissolved it. Another one is elected and it is worse than the last. The Socialists have gained four seats, the Agrarians two. The figures now stand as follows:

Socialists	84
Old Finns	54
Constitutionalists	50
Agrarians	10
Christians	2

The Old Finns (Conservative) have lost four seats. The Constitutionalists, with pro-Russian leanings, have lost 2.

Finland presents an object lesson in class consciousness and solidarity that should put us to shame. With a population of some three millions, her workers support eleven Socialist publications, one of which, Tyomies, has a circulation of over thirty thousand. This compares quite favorably with Canada and her six million odd (very odd) people.—Western Clarion.

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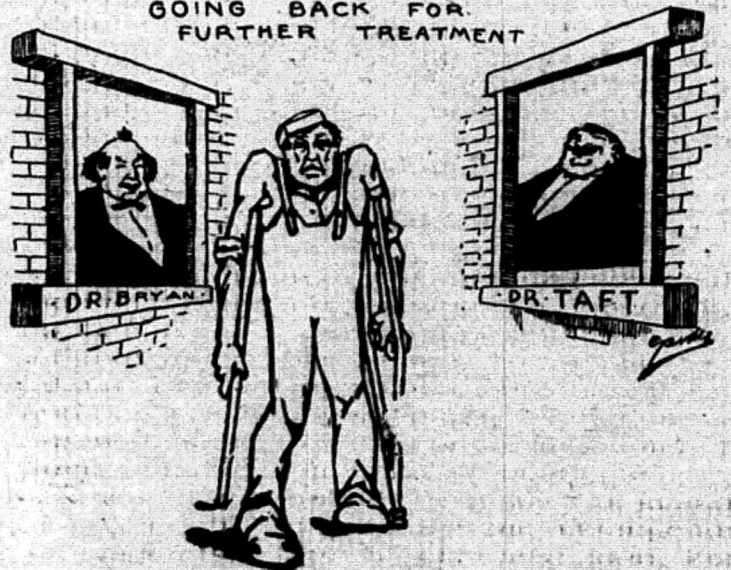
KEEPING MUM.

r. Bacon—Now I want you to act natural when we are in church.  
rs. Bacon—Don't be silly! How am I to act natural when I can't talk.—Yonkers Statesman.

SORRY SHE SPOKE.

She (after a vivacious discussion)—Ah! how can you look me in the face?  
He—Good heavens! In this world one becomes accustomed to everything.

GOING BACK FOR FURTHER TREATMENT





## AN ODD CASE.

As Dreamt by EMANUEL JULIUS.

Last night I had a heavy supper and possibly that accounts for my having dreamed—a thing I rarely do.

I dreamed I was in a large city and was at loss for something to occupy my time. I tried from different sources to ascertain whether there was "anything doing," but in vain. Everything was dead. I asked a uniformed gentleman where I could spend a few hours profitably. He thought awhile and then told me he was afraid he could not help me, but that there was a great trial to start in about twenty minutes at the courthouse over yonder. I asked him what the trial was about and he answered, "Socialism has Capitalism up before the court to decide which has the right of existence."

I was overjoyed at being just in time to attend a trial on a matter of such vital importance, so I made hasty steps for the courthouse.

The courthouse was comfortably filled when I got there, but I was fortunate enough to get a seat from which I could see everything. In about ten minutes the Judge started the proceedings and called the complainant and defendant with their counsel to the bar.

While they all stood there I got a good look at their features. The complainant was a young man of about twenty-five years of age. He wore clothes of plain cut, he was tall in stature, and he said he was a producer by profession. His counsel was a man of middle age. They all called him "Comrade Gene." To look on this man was a pleasure. Those big, burning eyes alone would convince anyone that he was looking into the face of a born fighter.

Every time I looked at the defendant and his counsel a sour taste would come into my mouth. The defendant was short and very, very fat. His dress was gaudy, his voice was gruff, and he said he was a coupon-clipper by profession. I would like to describe his counsel, but really, I was afraid to look at him. All I can remember is a great set of teeth. They called him "Terrible Teddy."

The judge called on the prosecuting attorney to state his case, which he did in a few well-chosen words, saying that "the defendant side has, without one stroke of labor on his part, got possession of all the things needed by the whole of Society and continues to use that advantage as a means of robbing the whole of Society and now, the Working Class, the only class in society worthy of existence on this planet, is here to demand its own."

The judge seemed struck with the strangeness of it all, but he proceeded to select twelve jurors.

Everything went rapidly and to the point. The counsel for Capitalism made several attempts to get a postponement of the case, but without avail. The complainant was called to the witness stand.

"Kindly state, in your own way, your case against the defendant," said the lawyer for the prosecution.

In plain language Socialism stated that the coupon-clipper had gained possession of the means of life and, it was necessary for the members of the working class, who possess nothing but their labor power, to go to the capitalists and ask them for permission to use these tools in order to live; and how the capitalists retain for themselves as profit the greater part of what the worker produces. He showed that, because of this fact, there was an irrepressible class conflict between the workers and the capitalists. Then he went on to explain that his purpose in prosecuting Capitalism was for the good of all; that he wanted, primarily, to end this class struggle, and thus, ultimately, could be established the Brotherhood of Man.

"Don't you realize that but one, either Capitalism or Socialism, exist at the same time and should you come out victorious in this case that Capitalism would have to be relegated to oblivion?" asked the judge.

"Yes, sir," answered the Socialist in a firm tone.

"That will do, you may take your seat. Call your witnesses," ordered the judge.

The first witness slowly trailed up the aisle.

He was a pale-faced, anaemic, shrivelled child of about ten years. It

was a pity to look on its little back, bent with years of incessant toil.

In a low voice, filled with emotion, the prosecuting attorney asked the child to tell its story.

It only took him a few moments, but in that time he told how, at the early age of seven, he had been forced into a cotton mill to earn a few pennies a day and thus help the family keep the wolf of hunger from the door; how he had worked twelve hours each day; how he was forced to grind hour after hour for the profit of the capitalist who owned the mill.

Then he said that if the factories and other places were owned by the workmen, the fathers of little boys and girls would not be robbed, their children would not have to go to a horrible factory—then they could go to school, play and romp in the fields, and grow up to be strong and healthy men and women.

Everyone in the courtroom, except Capitalism and his attorney, was visibly affected at the story told by this child. The defendant's counsel did not dare to cross-examine the child and so he was told to take his seat.

The next witness was a desperate criminal who was serving a term in jail. He told how, during the last industrial depression, he was thrown out of work and forced into the army of unemployed. He told how he walked the streets for months in a vain effort to obtain a job; how his family was starving at home; how the landlord was threatening to throw him into the streets; how his children were crying for bread; until finally, in a fit of desperation, he tried to steal a loaf to satisfy their hunger, when he was caught and sent to jail for a year. He also stated that, if the workers owned the means of production and distribution, no one could close the factories and throw the workers out to starve; then and not till then would crime disappear.

And so, witness after witness, victim after victim of Capitalism came up to recite his or her story—there were drunkards who told how they were driven to drink by this wretched system; lunatics who told how they were driven insane by this insane system; chemists who told how they were made to misuse their learning and adulterate food that the insatiable greed of Capitalism might be satisfied; prostitutes who told how they were forced by circumstances to sell their bodies in order to get the necessities of life; there were witnesses of all classes and all told of the horrors of Capitalism and all agreed that to put an end to all this it was necessary for us to socially own that which is socially necessary.

Finally all the witnesses were heard and the defendant was called to take the stand.

He was then asked to tell the jury why he should continue to own the mines, the mills, the factories, the railroads, and be allowed to exploit the working class out of a major portion of what it produced.

He answered that he always had done it and always intended to do it and that he didn't intend to argue the case, he had witnesses to think for him. With this he took his seat.

The first witness was a sober looking preacher. He told how God had given this fat individual the care of the world's wealth and that Capitalism was merely God's agent. He said that it was God's will that there be rich and poor and that those who suffer now will get their reward in the next world.

The next witness was a college professor. He told the jury that the capitalist was not robbing the worker, but was merely being rewarded in the form of rent, interest, and profit because of his Superior Ability.

And so witness after witness was called to testify why one class should live without labor at the expense of the others until, finally, all were heard.

I pass over the appeals of the attorneys. The jury at last retired to decide on the merits of the case, and in a few minutes the jurors again filed in.

Everything was still as death.

"Have you decided on a verdict," asked the judge of the foreman.

"Yes," answered the foreman.

"Tell the court what your verdict is," ordered the judge.

"Our verdict is that the defendant, Capitalism, is declared guilty and his railroads, mines, and factories shall be turned over to society to be owned collectively by those who operate them, and that the defendant shall in the future be given an opportunity to

## ADDRESS TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

(Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party at Chicago, May 14, 1908.)

The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage workers under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

## It Does Not Dictate.

The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms or organization and methods of action.

In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

## Confronted by Great Crisis.

Organized labor is to-day confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

## Courts Always Hostile.

The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, the payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor ques-

tion is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

## Danbury Hatters' Case.

In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous "Dred Scott decision" of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the anti-trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

## Ballot Is a Weapon.

At this critical moment the Socialist party calls upon all organized working men to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.

Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor of the Socialist party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule.

## IF MEN WERE WISE.

By CHARLES MACKAY.

What might be done if men were wise!

What glorious deeds, my suffering brother,

Would they unite In love and right And cease their scorn of one another

All slavery, warfare, lies and wrongs,

All vice and crime might die together,

And fruit and corn To each man born

Be free as warmth in summer weather.

The meanest wretch that ever trod,

The deepest sunk in guilt and sorrow,

Might stand erect In self respect

And share the teeming world to-morrow.

What might be done? This might be done?

And more than this, my suffering brother,

More than the tongue E'er said or sung,

If men were wise and loved each other.

—In Industrial Socialist Review.

## FORTUNATE MAN!

Jim (regarding damage done to church by fire)—Good job it wasn't a factory, Bill.

Bill—You're right, mate. Only one man put out of work, and he draws his money.—London Punch.

## GIRL-LIKE.

Patience—Those two girls dislike one another, and yet they always kiss when they meet.

Patrice—Yes, I suppose each hopes the other will get the microbes.—Yonkers Statesman.



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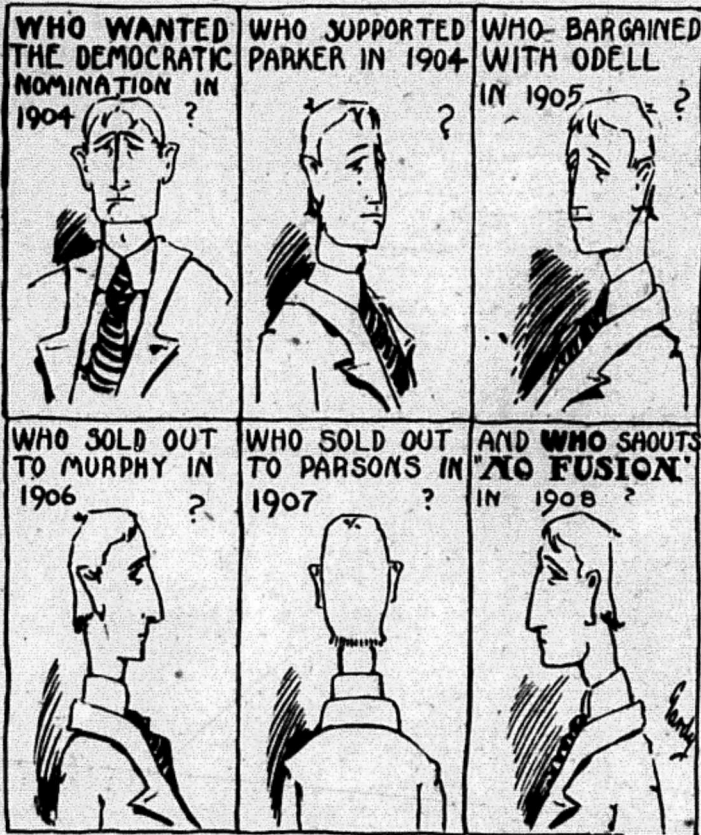
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NEW YORK, AUGUST 15, 1908.



THE FATHER OF THE HEARST'S 'DEPENDENCE' PARTY

### THE FEW SHALL HAVE MORE.

The few shall have more, and the many less,  
That is the gist of it all, boiled down;  
Another founce on the rich girl's dress;  
Another gem in the jewelled crown;  
Another yard from the ragged skirt,  
Another bite from the poor man's bread,  
Is another stud for the Prince's shirt,  
Another jewel for languor's head.

Another serf to a life of shame  
Is another cent to the factor's bank;  
Another coal from the dying flame  
Casts a brighter glow on the hearth of wealth,  
Another penny from the workers' pay,  
Another hour to their dreary toil,  
Is another hour to fritter away,  
Another coin to add to the spoil.

It all means this, the man with the head  
Has stolen the ewe from the poor man's flock,  
Has taken the bread from the poor man's board,

And thrown him, in smiling contempt, the rock;  
And the high-bred girl, in her hours of ease,  
Has lived by the sale of her sister's shame;  
And the sum of Monopoly's increase  
Is the sum of Souls writ in words of flame.

And you, ye laggards, who stand afar,  
Wistful and wan from the Paradise  
Of the things that yours and your brothers' are—  
Why bear ye yokes if ye are wise!  
Out of your harness, ye Slaves of the Few!  
Ye are the Many—then rise from the dust!  
The earth is God's! He gave it to you—  
He fights for the many, for He is just!

—International Socialist Review, Sydney, Australia.

### BRIGHT COLLEGE YEARS.

"Smith tells me he has been graduated from an automobile school."  
"Yes; he feelingly refers to it as alma motor."—Puck.

## SOCIALISTS NOT SLOW IN QUAKER CITY

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 12.—The Socialist Party Campaign Committee reports that Geo. R. Kirkpatrick has held a very successful list of dates here, his averages for thirteen meetings were: Attendance, 532; collections, \$3.50; literature sales, \$1.48.

A blank card in reference to unions is being sent out to the membership through the branches; it is necessary that we get this list as complete and as soon as possible.

A few of the ten banners have been finished, and will be distributed to the corners having none.

The Philadelphia Young Socialists' Debating Club has been organized by the young comrades of the party. The purpose of the club is to interest the young people outside the movement in the Socialist philosophy.

Debates will be held every Sunday afternoon at 3.30 p. m., at 541 North Fifth street, and membership is open to all.

## SOCIALISTS ACTIVE IN WESTERN N. Y.

OLEAN, N. Y., Aug. 5.—The Socialist party in Allegheny, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties, which comprise the Thirty-seventh Congressional District, and of Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties, which comprise the Fifty-first Senatorial District, in conventions held in Trades and Labor Council Hall here, have nominated candidates for Congress and the State Senate, and a big vote is predicted.

The Congressional candidate is William B. Wilson, of Olean, member of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, and it is expected that the local central labor body, the glass blowers' organization and other labor bodies will endorse his candidacy. The new Congressional district committee consists of Fred T. Williams, Peter C. Robertson and Gust Peterson, of Jamestown.

The Senatorial convention named Anuel Carlson, a Jamestown workman, for the State Senate, and since the Socialists ran ahead of the Democrats in Jamestown at the last election, a good vote is assured. The new Senatorial district committee is F. T. Williams, P. C. Robertson and Gust Peterson.

Resolutions endorsing the national and State platforms of the Socialist party were adopted.

## TEXAN SOCIALISTS NAME CANDIDATE

WACO, Tex., Aug. 13.—After an all-night session, in which great enthusiasm was manifested, the State Socialist convention early yesterday morning nominated J. C. Rhodes of Grand Saline for Governor. The Socialist organization in this State is in excellent condition, and an extraordinary vote for its candidate is predicted.

## PSALMS OF SAMUEL.

"Sam's an ass, but you'd like him."  
—Lord Dundreary.

The Lay of the Lemon.

A spectacled person named G—, Fat-witted, slow, solemn and pompous,  
Asked twice for a lot,  
But two lemons he got—  
And most people think he's non compos.

—Camarado.

HIS LUCK.

Smith—I had the most singular thing happen to me the other day. Did you ever go into a man's place to pay a bill you owed him and find him out?

Jones (emphatically)—No, sir. Did that happen to you?

"It did. I had a notion, or, rather, I nerved myself up to it, to settle up some bills that I owed. So on my way up from the office I dropped in to see my fishmonger."

"And he was out?"

"Correct. Then I tried my grocer."

"He was out?"

"Right; plenty of shopmen, but no proprietor. Of course I left word that I called in to settle up, but wanted to see the proprietor first. Dispute about bills. Do you twig?"

"Oh, yes; that strengthens your credit."

"Exactly. Then I called to see my butcher, and I'll be hanged if he wasn't out also."

"By Jone, but you were in luck!"

"No, I wasn't!"

"Why not?"

"When I got home I found them all waiting for me."—London Scraps.

AT ALL COSTS.

Scott—In spite of this being leap year, the women are not proposing. Why is it, I wonder?

Mott—It's probably due to the fact that they want the last word in everything.—Exchange.

### UNITE.

Ye workers, who have slaved so long,  
Not dreaming of your giant might,  
Shake off your tyrant-chains of wrong.  
Unite!

Off were ye thwarted, mocked and slurred,  
Or wounded in th' industrial fight.  
To-day your voices shall be heard.  
Unite!

Alone, ye are like toy-boats hurled  
By winds upon the rocks at night,  
Together, ye shall shake the world.  
Unite!

The sacred cause of Brotherhood  
Glows with a love-begotten light,  
Through it shall be the highest good.  
Unite!

Those starving bairns their souls' light gone,  
From faces old and drawn and white,  
In gasping whisper urge you on—  
Unite!

The dawning day no more is hid  
From eager hope's expectant sight,  
When joy shall reign because you did  
Unite!  
—Rose E. Sharland, in Justice.

### NEW JERSEY.

The New Jersey State Campaign Committee requests all the comrades holding lists for signatures to the nominating petition to hurry up and get them filled up and sent in, as thus far only 400 names have been secured, and if something is not done at once the ticket cannot be filed.

The Campaign Committee intends to secure the services of Comrade Killingsbeck for September and October and Comrade Kirkpatrick for October, consequently all locals wishing to obtain dates for these speakers should notify the committee at once. Stanley Clark is also available as a speaker August 24, 26 and 29.

### AND PA PASSED IT UP.

Ethel—Papa, if a lion should swallow me should I die?  
Papa—Of course, dear.

Ethel—And should I go to heaven?  
Papa—Being such a good little girl you certainly would.

Ethel—And would the lion have to go, too?  
—New York Press.

FATAL.

Cleverton—Do you think it is possible to love two girls at the same time?  
Dashaway—Not if they know it.—The Daily Tribune, Manitowoc, Wis.