

TAFT BOOSTS LABOR FOE

Judge Carpenter Appointed to Take Bethea's Place on Federal Bench

ENEMY OF UNIONISM

Sentenced Three Carpenters to Jail Without Hearing for Injunction Violation

President Taft has appointed Judge George A. Carpenter of the Circuit court of Cook county to assume the place on the federal bench in Chicago, left vacant by the death of Judge Solomon Bethea. It is said that President Taft appointed Judge Carpenter on his record as a judge. There are two points in Judge Carpenter's record which interest labor men. One is his hostile action in the Mears-Slayton contempt case, in which he sentenced three union carpenters to jail for contempt of court without a hearing. The second is his refusal to include, without a full hearing, several manufacturers in the injunction granted by Judge Richard S. Tuttle in favor of the W. C. Ritchie company against the Woman's ten hour law.

Made the Special Target

At the last judicial election, held June 7, Judge Carpenter was a candidate, having been put on the "unfair list" of the Chicago Federation of Labor and having been made the special target for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Though elected Carpenter ran far behind his ticket. The action for which Carpenter was placed on the unfair list of the Federation of Labor was as follows:

There was a strike on at the Mears-Slayton lumber company. The company secured an injunction against the carpenters. The injunction was secured before Judge Carpenter against John J. Brittain, Charles Grassi and John Leckie. It was later alleged that the men enjoined had taken an automobile ride to several buildings where work was going on and had informed the men employed that there was a strike on at the Mears-Slayton company plant. This action was construed by Judge Carpenter as contempt of court and without serving the defendants with notice to appear for a hearing he sentenced them to jail for contempt of court.

Rehearing of Case Ordered

A writ of habeas corpus was argued before Judge Julian Mack, who declared that the order sentencing the union men for contempt of court was improperly drawn, and he ordered a rehearing of the case. When the case was heard, the defendants being present, Judge Carpenter is declared to have conducted the hearing in his chambers where he seemed to be willing to find law books for corporate lawyers. In spite of the arguments of defending counsel Judge Carpenter sentenced the labor men to jail. Their case has been appealed and the decision is pending.

FLAMES ROUT MANY FROM FLAT

A score or more of occupants, including five widows and five children, were routed from a four-story flat building at 6723 East Ravenswood park, which was attacked by fire shortly before 6:30 a. m. The blaze was attended by several thrilling rescues by employees of the Diamond Livery company, across the street, and by Edward Steele, agent for a candy concern, who lives near by. When the flames, which were the result of a fire in an overcooked furnace, started through the building, the occupants were sound asleep. Steele is believed to have been the first to discover their peril. He ran from his own home on the next corner, crying the alarm, and began the work of rescue.

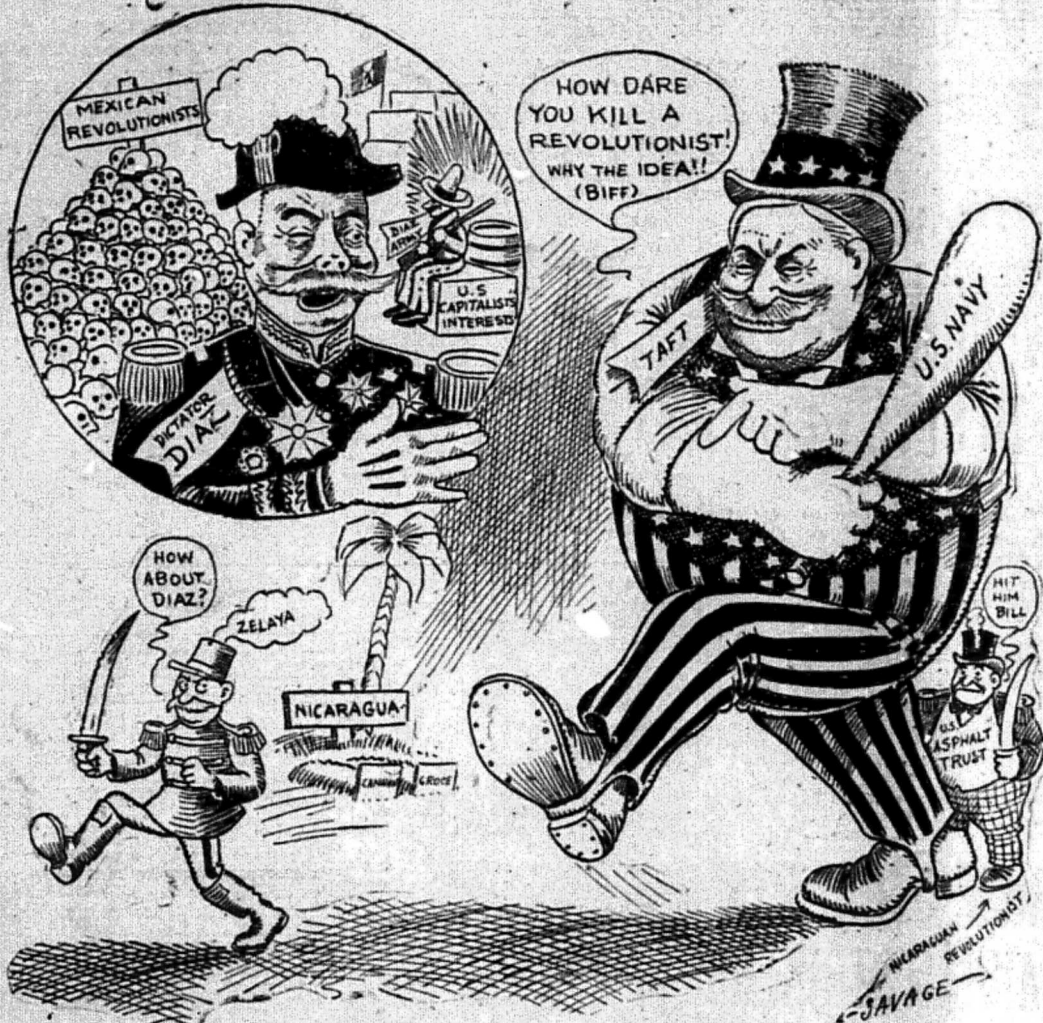
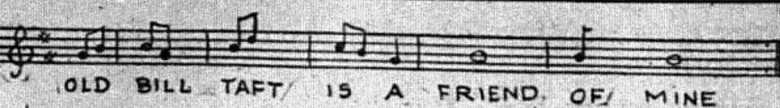
MILA TUPPER MAYNARD TO ADDRESS WOMEN SOCIALISTS

The women Socialists of Cook county will hold their monthly educational meeting Saturday evening, December 4, at the assembly hall, 180 Washington street. Mila Tupper Maynard, writer and lecturer of national repute, will speak on "The Essentials of Our Faith." "Organization Work Among Women in the West" will be discussed by Ellen Megaw. Many other educational features will mark the program. An orchestra has been arranged for to furnish music. Miss Stella Gilham will act as chairman.

LA FOLLETTE IS OUT FOR RE-ELECTION TO SENATE

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 4.—The campaign for the re-election of Senator Robert M. La Follette has been formally opened in Milwaukee with a speech by Senator Clapp of Minnesota, the public meeting being followed by a conference of La Follette's friends which lasted until near daylight.

DIAZ' LITTLE TUNE



IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHAT THE REVOLUTION IS ABOUT

MAY REPLACE CORONER MALM

Miners Await Cherry Official's Action on Damning Evidence Given Him

Cherry, Ill., Dec. 4.—The coroner's inquest over the St. Paul Mining company's dead is coming to an end and a fight for an immunity bath is being planned for by the operators. The United Mine Workers have placed volumes of evidence in the hands of Coroner Malm and if he does not act on it, as the evidence warrants, steps toward having him removed may be taken.

Seven members of the Illinois mining commission were present at the inquest yesterday and for the most part conducted the examination of witnesses. The mining board was represented by Glen W. Traer, Chicago; H. H. Stoll, Urbana; Graham Taylor, Chicago; John Walker, Danville; Bernard Murphy, Pana, and Charles Burch, Eldorado. Attorney Seymour Stedman of Chicago, representing the United Mine Workers, and Attorney F. A. Rochhold, representing the Russian and Austrian consuls at Chicago, were also present. Duncan McDonald, state president of the miners; Patrick Carr, state executive board member from this district, and Thomas Hudson of Galva, state mine inspector, assisted the coroner in delving into the possible violation of the mining laws.

Flaws in Construction?

Attorney Stedman inquired particularly into alleged violations of the law in respect to the construction of the mine and the facilities for escape. It was also sought to bring out that the St. Paul Coal company is in reality a part of the St. Paul Railway company. For this purpose, F. P. Buck, chief clerk of the coal company, was placed on the stand, but Buck stated that he could give no direct testimony on this point except as to the treasurer, F. G. Ranney, who, he said, is a stockholder in the St. Paul Railway company.

The witnesses heard were Charles Thorne, driver in the second vein, who hauled the fatal car of hay from the hoisting shaft to the air shaft; James Steele, the mine superintendent; Robert Maxwell, the mining engineer of the St. Paul Coal company; Harley Dougherty, the mine carpenter, and John Chedister, the mine machinist.

Principal Points Brought Out

"The principal points brought out at the inquest were that no continuous escape shaft was provided from the third vein, as required by the law," said Attorney Stedman. "That the fire protection in both levels was inadequate, and that the law, which says the main air passage shall be unobstructed, was violated. The testimony of Maxwell, Dougherty and Chedister plainly shows that men coming from the third vein level had to pass through a trap door at the second level and walk several feet before they could reach the stairway to the surface, and also that the main air passage was obstructed by a double track, pipes and other things."

\$643,000 EMBEZZLEMENT UP FOR TRIAL AGAIN TODAY

Cincinnati, Dec. 4.—The grand jury inquiring into the alleged embezzlement of \$643,000 by Charles L. Warriner will continue its session today. Frank M. Couden, the federal official who claims to have given the New York authorities the first intimation of the shortage of funds, will probably be one of the witnesses. A subpoena was issued for him to appear. The indicted treasurer of the Big Four railroad, Mr. Warriner, furnished a statement which accounts for \$15,000 of the \$643,000 he admits having embezzled. He cannot account for the remainder of the funds. Of the \$138,000 accounted money, \$54,000 was paid in blackmail, he says, and \$234,000 was lost in speculation.

TRADE SCHOOL BOYS MANACLED

Investigation Shows Ferris Institution Was a Veritable Hell Hole

Wilmington, Del., Dec. 4.—Horrible stories of brutality and cruel treatment to the boy inmates of the Ferris Industrial school, near here, the conduct of which is being investigated because of serious charges made against the management by former Congressman Handy, were told to the special committee when it began its probe.

Among the most revolting points brought out at the hearing were these:

That one young inmate, who tried to run away, was brutally beaten by a guard armed with a fence rail.

Beaten With Fence Rail

That the boys working in the fields in the summer time were denied water because "they lost time taking drinks." That a 13-year old boy was threatened with dire punishment if he gave any evidence to Handy. That one boy was kept shackled more than two months and that he was compelled to work in the field with chains on his ankles, which tore the flesh and made him lame. That inmates were tied to tables and posts and unmercifully flogged with heavy straps and with knotted widow cords.

Governor Investigates

The investigating committee is composed of former Gov. Lea, T. Allen Hillee and Lindsey S. Kent. Handy appeared personally to conduct the investigation.

Mrs. Margaret C. Ford, who resides on the Stewart farm, near the institution, the first witness called, told in detail of the beating, with a fence rail, of a boy named Pfeffer. The beating was administered last August by an attendant named Mayne, she said.

SPECIAL SESSION TO BE CALLED TO CONSIDER CHERRY DISASTER

Changes in the mining statutes will be one of the features of the special session of the Illinois legislature. Governor Deneen will issue a call for the session Saturday. It is reported from Springfield that the Cherry disaster will be specially considered. The extraordinary session will probably convene Dec. 14. Among other matters for legislation will be deep waterways and amendments to the general primary election laws.

SEEK TO STARVE OUT STRIKERS

Bosses at Ludlow Forbid Famishing Poles to Solicit Assistance

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 4.—When the sun rose this morning over the hills of Ludlow and Indian Orchard, the scene of the wholesale evictions of the striking Poles of the Ludlow Manufacturing association, it disclosed the forms of the evicted tenants still huddled about the camp fires built in the streets.

Sleep in Rain

A bitterly cold wind, that pierced even the warmest clothing, swept over the campers during the night, almost freezing the men who slept in the open beside their furniture, which had been ruined by the rain of the night before. Not satisfied with turning the strikers' families out in the cold, the company is seeking to prevent the destitute from soliciting aid from the public. It has asked the authorities to put a stop to the strikers placing boxes on top of the heaps of goods in the streets into which sympathetic onlookers dropped their contributions. The authorities, however, refused to make this order.

Solicit Aid in Springfield

Realizing that there is need of instant relief for the half fed, poorly clad men, women and children who are fighting desperately for their cause, Mayor Sanderson of Springfield has given permission to the strikers to solicit aid in the streets of Springfield. Ten girls have taken up their stand beside kettles hung upon tripods. The silent children need no words to describe their condition, as is shown by the liberality of the donations.

JOHN R. WALSH NOW IN CUSTODY

John R. Walsh, convicted of wrecking the Chicago National bank, was given into the custody of United States Marshal Hoy today by Judges Grosscup, Baker and Seaman of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

MRS. SIMONS TO GIVE COURSE OF LECTURES ON SOCIALISM

The Socialist party announces a course of lectures on the "Science of Socialism," by Mrs. May Wood-Simons. The lectures will be delivered every Thursday night at the Socialist assembly hall, 180 Washington street. Mrs. Simons will give her first lecture Thursday, December 2. Her opening subject is "Socialism—Its Subject Matter."

RAILWAYS EXPECT STRIKE WILL HIT CHICAGO POINTS

JUDGE GROSSCUP HAS NIGHTMARE

Says He Is Through With G. O. P. and Advocates a New Party

Disappointed with the lack of reforms on the part of the Republican party, Judge Peter S. Grosscup, of the federal court, famous for reversing the \$25,000,000 oil trust fine and rendering other decisions in favor of "big business," is casting sheep's eyes at some semi-Socialist ideas and announces his readiness to abandon the G. O. P.

"Prosperity With Justice"

In analyzing his subject, "Prosperity with Justice," Judge Grosscup insists that the right of every man to have the surplus of his labor coined into property, without loss or diversion to any one else, is just as fundamental a human right as are the rights to possession of the bread a man earns by the sweat of his face, or an open field for mind and soul development and of free and untrammelled exercise of the right of franchise.

"The central figure of the period of awakening," said Judge Grosscup further, "was President Roosevelt, but no one saw more clearly than himself that his administration had accomplished little in the actual work of reframing the laws to carry out its spirit—no one saw more clearly than he that his work was chiefly that of a preacher of righteousness."

"The proposals themselves he left to be framed and submitted by his successor. And upon that understanding his successor was overwhelmingly elected."

On Tariff Revision

"The first of these proposals was tariff revision. That proposal was distinctly framed in the convention that nominated Taft. It was submitted by him pointedly to the jury of the people. The verdict returned was for revision—not make-believe, but a real revision; and nothing remained after that but to put the verdict into judgment at the special session of congress."

Profit Sharing Plan

"The article advocates the sharing of the profits of large corporations with employees, not as a present but as a matter of right."

Ready to Quit Republicans

"If that aid can be better exerted with any existing party, I am ready to go along with it. If to give that aid effectively, I must cast aside political connections in which I have spent a good part of my life, I am ready to do that."

"My father, at the beginning of his maturity, that he might be on the right side of the great human cause involved in the slavery question, left the party in which he had been born. Both of my grandfathers, in the same cause, left the party in which they had grown old."

"I can, if necessary, follow their example."

"All that I wish to know—all that an awakened public mind will wish to know—will be that at last we have associated with a movement that is in earnest."

"Let no one think that the world is

going to stand still. Let no one fear that the material civilization, from which our prosperity in the mass comes, is going to stand still. But the relation of the individual to this property in the mass can not, on the other hand, be made to remain as it is today.

ROADS AND TOBACCO TRUST INDICTED BY FEDERAL JURY

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 4.—The special grand jury, which has been sitting in the federal court to investigate alleged violations of the interstate commerce law returned indictments against the Louisville & Nashville and the Louisville, Henderson & St. Louis railroads and the American Tobacco company for rebating.

Eight indictments, aggregating forty-two counts, were returned against the first named road. One indictment of twenty-five counts was returned against the American Tobacco company. Two indictments were returned jointly against the Louisville, Henderson & St. Louis and Lucien Iron, now president of the road, but at the time of the alleged offenses its general freight agent and traffic manager.

THEATERS YIELD TO BILLPOSTERS

Union Men Gain Signal Victory After Fight of Two Months

The bill posters won a victory over the American Posting Service yesterday when the theater managers' association granted the demands made by the union. The scale asked and granted is \$18 a week for the bill posters and \$21 a week for bill poster foremen. The bill posters were locked out in October and have kept up a strong fight ever since. Friday the union musicians and stage hands met and they would have aided by a sympathetic strike had not the theater managers yielded to the demands of the bill posters who were represented by the grievance committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Victory Is Notable

The victory won by the bill posters is one of the most notable achieved by a labor union in Chicago. At first they had against them all the large downtown theaters which had signed five-year contracts with the American Posting Service which upon the signing of the contracts locked out its union men. Police were furnished and an army of scabs recruited. The bill posters stood firm and on the "posters" of the unfair theaters near, attractive signs were posted telling of the lockout against the union men.

Federation Aids Strikers

Frank Warren, business agent of bill posters, and Edward McCormick, a delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, presented the statement of the bill posters' lockout to the federation and the services of the grievance committee were tendered to the bill posters. After several conferences which threatened to involve the musicians and the stage hands, as well as the scenic painters, in a strike in support of the bill posters, the theater managers granted the demands of the bill posters.

PARDONS 52 FOR XMAS DINNER

Guthrie, Okla., Dec. 4.—In pursuance of a recently adopted rule by the state board of pardons allowing convicts to be released thirty days before expiration of sentence if good behavior entitled them to that commutation, Gov. Haskell pardoned fifty-two short term men in order that they may eat Christmas dinner at their homes. The pardons do not carry citizenship rights.

DEAD "BURIED" ABOVE GROUND ARE ROBBED BY GHOUL

New Orleans, La., Dec. 4.—"The meanest sneak thief in town has been operating in New Orleans. His specialty is stealing brass screws from the tombs in cemeteries." All burials here are in vaults above ground.

This was the report made by a junk dealer yesterday to the sexton of St. Louis cemetery, the quaint burial place where thousands of travelers from all over this country have visited for a look at its "above ground graves."

Every Effort Being Made to Corral Sluggers and Rowdies to Act as Scabs

NEWSPAPER IS TRAITOR

Daily News Being Used to Procure Strikebreakers to Replace Unionists

The railroads with terminals at Chicago fear that the strike of the switchmen may spread from the west to Chicago, and for that reason men are being gathered by strikebreaking agencies for use here. At the same time the available supply of scabs in Chicago is almost exhausted and but few men are around the strikebreaking headquarters this morning. Every effort is being made by the roads to get more men. Small towns are being scoured and more men are expected in Chicago tomorrow. Many of these men will be held here in case the switchmen employed in the yards at Chicago strike.

The Chicago Daily News is aiding through its want ad columns, the recruiting of strike breakers to replace the 2,500 switchmen on strike against thirteen railroads in the northwest. Nine advertisements for strike breakers appear in the News and, in some of the advertisements, the character of the work is clearly indicated.

"Wanted 50 switchmen to take strikers' places. Good pay," is the way one advertisement runs.

Hundreds of men are being recruited at 44 Sherman street, at 467 State street and at the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad headquarters in Walter's Hotel, at room 505, 124 East Van Buren street, is H. B. Holmes, head of a private agency who advertises in the Daily News for "Watchmen for out of the city." His business card reads, "H. B. Holmes, Chicago and New York Detective Agency, Corporations only." Holmes wants men six feet tall as sluggers.

Nearly 1,000 men, destined as strike breakers and "guards" for the Northern Pacific railway, were shipped out of Chicago by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad Thursday night and more will follow. The members of the General Managers' association, headed by I. G. Rawn, president of the Monon, held an important meeting Thursday and shortly before 8 o'clock two men appeared in the general manager's office of the C. B. & Q. with requisitions for the transportation of the scabs. Scab recruiting agencies under the direction of the General Managers' association have been opened in Chicago at 44 Sherman street, at 467 State street, at 124 Madison street and at 124 Van Buren street. The men recruited are ignorant of railroad work. Strong arm men and thugs from the red light district are being gathered to act as "guards."

Hoherling Explains Situation

First Vice President Heberling of the Switchmen's Union of North America is in Chicago and gave the following explanation of the strike:

"My understanding of the situation is that the General Managers' association wanted to put off the settlement with the switchmen until the railroads had dealt with the members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, as well as the Order of Railway Conductors. The switchmen are receiving 32 cents an hour for day work and 35 cents an hour for night work, the foremen receiving 35 cents for day work and 37 cents for night work. Overtime was paid eight hours, after a man had worked the regular 16-hour day. We wanted 6 cents an hour flat increase."

"The railroad is likely to, and does, work men very long hours and we wanted double time pay for overtime to penalize overtime and make the railroads cut it out. The men in our organization in the northwest, wherever the yards are controlled by us, are the switch engine crews, composed of a foreman and two helpers, the switch tenders, the assistant yard master and the interlocking tower men. Thus we have the key to the traffic situation."

Delay Would Be Disadvantage

"The switchmen knew that if they waited till after the other railroad organizations had been dealt with they

(Continued on Page Two)

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DAILY SOCIALIST MAGAZINE PAGE

To the Editor

Feeling the need for a wider discussion of party affairs, the Daily Socialist will devote as much space as is needed in this department on Fridays to communications on party policies. Such communications should be short, not to exceed one thousand words, and will be much more apt to secure publication if they are less than five hundred. One absolutely hard and fast rule will be that no personalities and abuse will be permitted. It will be useless to send any communications containing these characteristics. Every endeavor will be made to give both sides of each question an equal hearing, but since the number of communications on each subject are always many times more than can possibly find space, the best judgment of the editor must be exercised in selecting those to be published.

Problem of the Day

The most important problem of the world today, to my mind, is how to convince the toilers that in Socialism lies the panacea for the ills of society and the establishment of a civilization founded on justice and equal rights.

And in their enthusiasm for their cause Socialists are prone to overlook that which is most vital to their cause. What is the secret by which men and women may be drawn into the Socialist ranks?

Is it an appeal to selfish interests? Is it the presentation of facts showing that the producers are deprived of the products of their toil?

Is it a description of the wonderful Utopia that will come with a Socialist government?

Is it an appeal to the passions founded on the wrongs and injustices of suffering humanity?

Is it an arraignment of the rottenness and corruption of the commercial system and modern government?

Is it an appeal to class distinctions? In this list is contained the seeds, but what about the soil in which they are to germinate? That is something which I believe has been almost forgotten by the men and women who are today sacrificing their material welfare in order to benefit their fellow being and bring order out of the chaos of our industrial and legislative affairs.

Socialists apparently fail to realize that to the prejudiced ear their arguments, though pregnant with truth, are dreams, their facts misrepresentations and their conclusions absurd.

These prejudices must therefore be broken down before the Socialist can receive a hearing.

And the prejudices will be found based on our present institutions, of which there are three great divisions.

First, the basic institution of private land ownership.

Second, the competitive commercial system.

Third, religion.

We claim that Socialism is an inevitable evolution; yet in the next breath many Socialists preach Socialism as a creed that has only to be stated in order to secure converts.

If Socialism is to be an evolution and not come by a revolution, then it will come from the gradual breaking down of the institutions on which our society is founded.

Taking this for granted, I am convinced that the best way to make Socialists is to expose the filth rights on which these institutions rest.

First in regard to land ownership. No one can object to a man owning the land which he is using for his own purposes within reason. His title must rest on government and it is controlled by powers of eminent domain, taxation and confiscation if the necessity should arise. When the evils of land ownership come in in the institution of landlordism, under which men are given the right by the people, to levy a private tax in the form of rent on the users of land to which the owners claim title. This tax runs for all eternity. Such land ownership is a crime. Its revenue dwarf all other revenues by comparison. It is a tax that makes property an impossibility for those who pay the tax.

For centuries land owners have controlled governments, made laws and balked all public measures of general benefit, on the theory that they paid for them, instead of the tenant. And yet this institution is founded on a rock of sand. By the repeal of a few statutes and the overturning of a few legal decisions, the entire institution would crumble. Repeal the Wills' acts and property cannot be disposed of by will. Repeal the acts of descent and real property ceases to have an owner at death. Change your system of taxation of rents and landlords would beg their tenants to take the property off their hands. The work has already started by inheritance tax laws and government land purchase acts in England.

This is one argument the doubter is willing to hear. It is the weapon he does not know he has the power to wield. It will turn mannikens into men.

Second—The competitive industrial system.

Is it to evolve into a system of co-operation? Will the toilers ever have the means and power to drive out the profit system by the establishment of co-operative institutions. With convenience of location the basis of trade and land held at prohibitive prices and prohibitive rents, it is at once seen that landlordism is the bulwark of competitive industry.

The problem of industrial government is a gigantic one. But Socialistic evolution is constantly going on. It is seen in the development of the public service corporations. Their administration has been a failure. Government control has been tried and found wanting. The next step is government partnership in these industries and the third development will be government ownership. Union labor is also insisting on partnership with employers and profit sharing may come with the strength of labor unions. Governments must drive the private bankers out of business and utterly destroy the credit system, which means a tax on industry in the form of interest.

Co-operative industries have developed in other countries and they must be developed in America. Labor must buy at the stores of the co-operative commonwealth and insist on the stamp of labor on every article purchased. From the moment political power is achieved in the humblest village in the country union aid should be given in every way to break down private capitalism founded on the profit system.

This breaking down of the capitalist system, I submit, is more powerful to convince the skeptic than any other appeal, because when the way is pointed out for securing the change, there is an illustration of the argument in every day's evolution, if the Socialistic idea of evolution be true.

Third comes the religious prejudice. Ministers have always been arrayed on the side of private property with some few exceptions and the church has thrown down the gauntlet to Socialism. It is therefore true that while a man remains loyal to the church he cannot be a Socialist except in so far

as he may believe that the economic teachings of Christ and other religious teachers were Socialistic.

There is no desire to attack religion, but having made Socialism an issue the church must take the consequences. Experience shows that religious prejudice was formerly the most terrible of all prejudices to break through. But there is one argument that will break through it. It is not an attack on individuals or churches. It is the simple statement that if there is a God he must be a God of economic justice. If he stands by and tolerates oppression, sees want and starvation without relieving it, allows children to perish through no fault of their own, the Christian has created a monster and not a God. If heaven is a monarchy and not a republic the conception belongs to a past age. If the Bible be against Socialism, much the worse for the Bible. The church today is the only institution that will give the unrepentant sinner, loaded with his ill-gotten gains and deaf to the voice of conscience, a certificate of good moral character. It must accept the responsibility.

These are the methods I have found absolutely effective in bringing new converts into the fold of Socialism, when they find that Socialism is just another name for government. Instead of individualism or "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

And one word more, about the men to whom these arguments are addressed—the opponents of Socialism. They may be divided into the following classes:

The capitalist; the religious devotee who spurns the present life for a reward after death; the employer who fears the loss of his job; the men and women who devote themselves to society; the politician who believes the world will never change; the man who believes human nature is too base and selfish for Socialism; the man who is ambitious to rule over others; the opportunist who wants a partial reform; the intellectualist who pecks at the evils of the world; the individualist who would regenerate each man separately leaving crime and misery breeding institutions intact.

Maybe there are others, but there are so many men and women who would come into the ranks if the way is prepared for them that they will be swept aside like chaff in a decade of work based on arguments that will strike home.

W. Chicago, Ill.

On the Socialist Vote

A recent contributor insists that the smallness of the presidential vote was due to the incorporation into the platform of immediate demands. Apparently he has not interpreted the significance of recent gains and losses or he would have better defined the relation between votes and immediate demands.

A few weeks ago, Anderson, Ind., quadrupled its vote. Why? Not because the Anderson comrades have become impossible, but because they went into a municipal contest and staked the outcome, as far as possible, on matters primarily of local concern. The issue was the liquor traffic.

No doubt the vote was more injured than aided by the current impression that the Socialists are not so sincerely interested in the solution of municipal problems as in ultimate social developments.

And Grand Junction, Colorado, elected a Socialist mayor. Why? On distinctly local issues.

To a resident of Chicago these seem very small places, but unless I am mistaken their experience may teach larger cities something valuable about the relation of immediate demands to party success.

Or take Milwaukee. You may mistrust the Milwaukee movement, but it is incontestable that they carried the city a few months ago not on an impossible platform, but on an immediate demand in regard to a concrete municipal problem. The issue was the support of public schools.

Or take Los Angeles, which about the same time came near electing a Socialist mayor. The issue was not the ultimate outcome of social evolution, but a local municipal problem.

In all these cities and in others where the Socialists have accepted the challenge to fight out municipal contests on Socialist lines, the vote has absolutely or relatively increased since the presidential election. And in every case, so far as I have been able to learn, the local comrades felt hampered rather than helped by the fact that their neighbors had learned about Socialism through the speculations of impossibility, rather than inductively through the Socialist attitude on local questions.

Moreover, the only party that made a notable increase in the last presidential election was the Democratic. It was not because the Socialist platform made immediate demands, or because the Democratic platform was impossible, but because the vote for Debs increased by over a million, but because it looked to the average voter that the Bryan demands were more likely to be realized. A large number of these Bryan voters since declared for Socialism. But the Debs platform was not helped by the fact that over it lay like an incubus a cloud of ill defined impossibility.

The party speakers and the party press for the most part either enervated the discussion of issues immediate to the voters' minds, or else attempted to correlate so many immediate demands that the average voter was alternately attracted and repelled, and so sought a quieter rest.

The Socialist managers, though able political scientists, were not sufficiently skilled in applied psychology to press their strongest point good and hard. Their aiming at a million and missing a unit might add credit to an abstract scientist, but not to a practical leader.

Subcapital gains have also been made all over Europe, except probably Russia. But it is not because the European comrades are becoming more impossible. With them the great issue still is the suffrage and reforms of representation, readjustment

of taxation, and those municipal enterprises that will especially benefit working people. Outside political contests they are particularly interested in co-operative buying, co-operative selling, and co-operative manufacturing.

Both at home and abroad it is therefore evident that the Socialist vote increases in proportion as it is based on the Socialist solution of immediate problems.

The party must indeed maintain a clear-cut organization, free from faction and personal log-rolling. But it can ill afford to look lukewarmly on such proposals as municipal ownership and direct legislation as fast as they develop an appreciable momentum in the right direction.

If we continue to abandon such of our own begotten issues in the hour of their success we shall justify the conclusion of capitalist propagandists that Socialism can never become more than a minority party. The last vote for Debs may be interpreted as the utmost strength of impossibilism, but it is far from being the utmost strength of multifarious Socialism.

ROLIA MYER.

Emmett, Idaho.

The Need of New Methods

The party is in a bad way. For eleven months I have traveled through Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Washington, California and Arizona. Everywhere I find interest lagging, the locals disrupted, the spirit gone. Superhuman efforts of organizers and state secretaries manage to keep the party together, at times even to revive the lagging interest, but on the whole our work is like bread cast upon the waters. What is the matter? Simons says it is spies. Kaplan says we got to have co-operatives. The spy business is all nonsense. We do not need enough to make it worth while for anybody to hire spies to disrupt us. As a matter of fact the capitalists are not taking any notice of us whatsoever.

We are yet a long way from being a real social force. The reason for our moribund condition is that the Socialist party in the United States gives the worker nothing in return for his efforts and sacrifices. Instead of helping them the Socialist party is merely another burden added to their already heavy load. In most European nations when the worker joins the party, his whole family knows the difference. They know the difference in cheaper commodities to be obtained at the co-operative store. In sick and death benefits; in a pleasant place to go to on an evening or on Sunday.

The party has become part of their everyday life. It helps them instead of draining them. They get more than their money's worth in benefits coming to them, in enjoyment, etc. In the United States nothing of the kind is done, except by the Finnish and some German locals. The Finnish locals are generally in a flourishing condition. They don't get tired of paying dues, the party is of some practical benefit to them. In Staunton, Ill., there is a very flourishing German local. They own a nice headquarters, a good reading room. They have a sick benefit fund, an orchestra and a singing society. If they want a glass of beer they can get it at their own bar for two and a half cents. The Germans will have their beer and they might as well drink it in their own headquarters, reading a Socialist paper than to drink it at the bar of some saloon, pay twice as much for it and listen to smutty stories. One would be foolish not to belong to such a local if he is a Socialist; the cost is small and the benefits great.

I know of only one English speaking local between Chicago and the Pacific coast which is of any benefit to the workers. I am not acquainted with all the locals, so there may be others still better. The local I mean is Portland local No. 1, the local of the much maligned Thomas A. Sladden. It is not a "nice" local and possibly something can be said against it, although not as much as Comrade Untermyer would make us believe. It has, however, the one saving grace that it is of some practical benefit to the workers. Dues are fifty cents a month, but if you are out of a job you can sleep at headquarters. The floating labor of the Pacific coast appreciates that. You can't get a bed under 25 cents in Portland, so the local is actually of some use to them and that is more than can be said of most other locals.

In the Imperial Valley, Cal., the I. W. W. has two flourishing locals, one at Brawley and one at Holtville. The Brawley local has over sixty members in good standing; the Holtville local almost as many. In both places there is also a Socialist party local, one with half a dozen, the other with about eight members. Why is this? It costs money to belong to the Socialist party. The I. W. W. has a headquarters at both places. A workman coming into town can find shelter in the I. W. W. headquarters, he can sleep there over night (at Brawley a tent is provided), there is also a kitchen where they can cook a common meal at a very low cost, and an employment office where they can obtain a job for nothing. The dues of the I. W. W. are twice as high as those of the Socialist party, but the workers at Brawley and Holtville consider it a far better investment. The I. W. W. is saving them money, the Socialist party is spending their money. That's the difference.

I feel no hesitation in saying that the Socialist party is going to the dogs unless we get closer to the needs of the working class.

RALPH KORNGOLD.

Organizer for Arizona.

Tucson, Ariz.

For Co-operation Now

I second the motion of Comrade Morris Kaplan that we have a meeting of those in favor of establishing wholesale and retail co-operative stores. The meeting to be held in Chicago at some date to be determined on later by those in favor of the scheme.

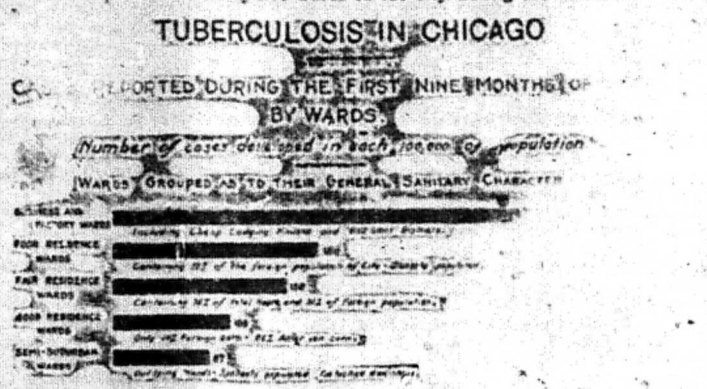
I agree with the comrade that it is time we did something about this line. Some say that "this is not Socialism, and that it will not succeed under a capitalist system, and that all such schemes have failed."

Well, what difference does a name

TUBERCULOSIS CLAIMS ITS VICTIMS AMONG CROWDED POOR

During the first nine months of the current year 3,024 new cases of tuberculosis were reported to the Department of Health, a ratio of 136 for each 100,000 of the population of the city. In the same period there have been 2,957 deaths from tuberculosis, a ratio of 132 for each 100,000 inhabitants.

The Department has been tabulating and studying these reports. Among other important studies is the one herewith presented in graphic form. The accompanying diagram shows the ratio of new cases to population that have developed in the thirty-five wards of the city during the first nine months.



Wards grouped according to their general sanitary character:

Wards 1-10: Good sanitary character. Wards 11-20: Fair sanitary character. Wards 21-30: Poor sanitary character. Wards 31-35: Very poor sanitary character.

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BUSINESS DIRECTORY

Bates under this heading: Three lines daily for one year only \$3.00 per month. Each additional line \$1.00. Tell your merchant about the Daily Socialist Purchasers' league. Invite him to advertise.</

STUDY COURSE IN SOCIALISM

LESSON V.—THE ECONOMICS OF CAPITALISM: 4

We have noted that capitalism is essentially an expanding system. Its expansion is closely connected with the accumulation of capital.

The Origin of Capital.—The amount of capital needed in the early stages of capitalism was comparatively small. This original capital was provided partly in the hoarded wealth of feudal proprietors and medieval merchants; more largely by expropriation of peasants, spoliation of guilds and monasteries, and enslaving or enslavement of conquered peoples—Mexicans, Peruvians, East Indians, Negroes, etc. These methods are still used, especially in extension of capitalism to new countries; but they are not now the chief methods by which capitalism grows.

The Accumulation of Capital.—The industrial plant is continually being enlarged—more machinery installed, more mills, factories, and railways built and shipped, more mines opened, etc., and more wage workers employed. This increase of capital is paid for chiefly out of surplus-value realized from past operation of capital. — It is effected by capitalists reinvesting part of the rent, interest, and profit they have derived from the past labor of the wage workers. This is supplemented to some extent by investment of savings of the middle classes—farmers, professionals, independent artisans, etc., but the amount of such is comparatively small.

Capital increases more rapidly than did the productive plant of any previous
 tem, for several reasons. First, free wage workers are more diligent and
 cient than workers ex-pited by any other method; having nothing but wages
 live by, in competing for employment they drive themselves more effectively
 a bailiffs or overseers could drive serfs or slaves. Second, they use power-
 even machinery instead of hand tools, and this further multiplies their produc-

power. Third, their competition prevents their wages from rising in proportion to their product. Thus the capitalists derive a vastly greater surplus from a given number of wage workers than could lords or planters from a like number of serfs or slaves, and consequently they have a larger surplus from which to spare for adding to the plant. Further, while the use of machinery and competition among wage workers enable the capitalists to reinvest largely, competition among lords and serfs prevents them from doing so. In general, the larger the capital in any country, the less the lords can do so. The larger the capital in any country, the better the organization of production—because of the use of better machinery, better organization of processes, less waste of power, materials, and labor. Hence, when one capitalist enlarges and improves his plant, his competitors must do the same or he will get part of the loss. Capital as a whole must grow, because those enterprises which do not grow are destroyed by competition. The increase of capital goes on at an accelerating rate, because each increment of capital increases the amount of surplus-value, which in turn facilitates further increase of capital.

Constant and Variable Capital.—Capital may be divided into two parts, both which are used in different proportions in every enterprise. Variable capital that portion devoted to the purchase of labor-power, to the payment of wages. Constant capital is that part which is embodied in buildings, machinery, materials, etc., the process of accumulation, constant capital increases more rapidly than variable capital; while the whole mass of capital increases more slowly than does the amount paid in wages; in other words, there is no mutual increase in the amount of capital necessary to employ a given number of workers in the most profitable manner.

Capital and Product.—The increase of capital causes an increase of product. increase of product is less than the increase of capital, but it is greater than increase in the number of workers. In other words, the purpose and effect of accumulation of capital is to increase the amount of product per workman.

The increase of product is also greater than the increase of total wages. During the capitalist period as a whole, rates of wages have increased; during the portions of this period they have increased rapidly, at other times more slowly, and at some times remaining stationary or even falling. But never for any considerable time have wages increased more than the increase of total product, and never have wages increased more than the increase of total wages. If wages were to increase more than the increase of total wages, it would check the accumulation of capital, so checking the growth of opportunities of employment, and thus sending wages down again. Consequently, not only do the capitalists share in an ever larger product, but they get an ever larger proportion

The fact of a slowly declining rate of interest is often misinterpreted as indicating a reduction in the capitalists' share of the product and an increase in workers' share. It indicates nothing of the sort, for (a) interest is drawn in an amount of capital which is growing more rapidly than the rate of production rises; (b) the rate of production is rising more rapidly than the rate of interest falls; (c) a decline in the rate of interest does not prevent a rise in the rate of profit; (d) the rate of return to direct possessors of capital; and (d) rent. The simultaneous decline in the rate of interest. In fact, the total income of the capitalists increases more rapidly than the total income of the wage workers, and it absorbs the greater part of the increase of product. So rapid is this growth of capitalist income that the funds for an ever larger reinvestment does not prevent the capitalists from having an ever increasing revenue left to be spent in luxury. On the contrary, in recent years, the great complaint of the capitalist class as a whole has no longer been how to get enough of the necessary increase of capital, but how to find sufficient opportunities for profitable investment.

Reinvestment and Capitalist Consumption.—The capitalist man consumes his money—i. e., spend it in luxury, philanthropy, etc.; he may use it in increasing production—i. e., reinvest it, usually by the purchase of stocks and bonds; or, as is generally the case, he may divide it between the two purposes. The ratio in which he divides it, the capitalist class as a whole is divided varies continually with the state of the economy. Certain classes of capitalists have, however, one of the capitalist income from the manufacturing industries in the United States was reinvested in those industries; besides this, a considerable amount was undoubtedly invested in commercial, financial, railway, mining, and other enterprises in the United States, and another portion in capitalist enterprises of various kinds in more backward countries—Mexico, South America, Russia,

When capitalists as a whole tend to reinvest too much of their income, the rate of return on capital falls abnormally and discourages further investment; when they tend to reinvest too little, the rate of return rises and encourages a more liberal investment. Thus the accumulation of capital regulates itself in accordance with the opportunities presented by technical and social development, in a manner as to give the capitalists the largest possible share of the product.

Organization of Capitalist Ownership.—In the beginning, capitalist property was individual property in the full sense, implying also individual control. But as the growing need for larger units of capital, first in foreign commerce, then in machine industry, came partnerships and then joint stock companies. The latter is now the general form of capitalist organization for industry, commerce, and even to an increasing extent for holding personal investments.

Persons forming a company receive stocks in proportion to the capital they lay out. Membership is impersonal, depending on ownership of stocks, which may be bought and sold at will. The company's business is transacted by a director, elected by and acting for the membership. The members' voting power share of the profits are proportionate to the stocks they own. Members are individually responsible for the company's debts beyond the amount of their active stocks.

The capital thus furnished by stockholders and owned by the company is mostly supplemented by capital which the company borrows through the sale of bonds, on which it undertakes to pay a specified rate of interest. Bonds, like stocks, may be bought and sold at will by individuals.

This form of organization renders capital highly mobile. By selling stocks bonds a company can enlist the capital, large or small, of many persons who have no active part in the business, and yet can preserve a control as centralized as that of an individual proprietor.

REFERENCES.

Marx, Deville, or Hyndman, as before.

1. What is capital? Distinguish between capital and means of production.
2. What governs wages? What effect does a cheapening of food and clothing have upon wage rates?
3. What is surplus-value? What is the relation between product, wages,

surplus-value?

+PUBLIC HEALTH+

BT SAMUEL A. BLOCH

THE DANGERS OF DRY SWEEPING

very once in a while pseudo-reformers tackle something with the zest of a "Billy" Sunday or a "Gypsy" agency.

sprinkling and cleaning in a much more efficient manner than human agencies.

under the classification of revivals
those of the health board offi-
of the various cities and towns

their anti-spitting crusades. The
for clean streets attacks them
the manner of all public offi-
and they go after the effects

not the cause. The dangers laid to spitting in the streets is really overestimated. The danger lies in the dry sweeping
ters cast off by animals, and often mixed with dirty water to make sewage, will when dried up make very dangerous material for people to in-

the streets. The inhalation of the
when this goes on, the raising of
by the heavy traffic and the run-
of cars and automobiles, and also
hale.

..In the very early stages of civiliza-
tion man regarded the atmosphere as a
dangerous conveyer of diseases of all

inhaling of the smoke is what
causes people to spit.
The inhalation of the dust causes
starch of the throat and the effort

Of course, it is easier to arrest and fine them than to ask the municipalities to give up some of the

Whether the sweeping be in the homes or on the public streets, water must be employed. In sweeping, as

no doing are not tolerated, and law forbidding this practice can be enforced.

The vacuum cleaners are very good household improvements. They are now becoming very cheap and can be operated by gas electricity or gasoline.

If this interferes with the traffic it could be very efficiently done at night, when there is no one to get one.

many of our larger cities the vacuum cleaning machine is replacing the old method. The machines remove dust under cover, at the same time
