

CONGRESS TO HEAR OF ARGENTINE PEONAGE AT THIS SESSION

Cruelty of the Open Shop Is Exposed in Government Evidence

INSIDE STORY IS TOLD

Misery in Stockade Described in Detail by Men Held as Peons

BY FRED SCHOLL AND J. J. CARROLL

For the first time it seems advisable to give the facts relating to the practice of peonage at the Argo plant of the Corn Products Refining company, as such facts are now in the hands of United States government officials and the special congressional commission on peonage, which will report at the present session of congress. The entire matter is of interest to organized labor because it is a complete exposure of the open shop. It is of interest to Socialists because it shows in a small way the utility of the Socialist press in fighting the battles of labor.

Political Action Necessary.

It shows another thing of importance to organized labor and Socialism, and that is the necessity for political action on the part of labor. No set of facts could prove such need more clearly. We make no blind assertions in this story. Months of investigation, both day and night, were necessary before the case was clear in details as given in this story. Without further prelude let the facts speak for themselves. In spite of the fact that none of the men who imposed the cruel conditions on workmen at Argo has been punished by the courts, the plant at Argo in a union shop. When the conditions to be described existed it was an open shop, in which men, single handed and unaided, dealt with an \$80,000,000 corporation, which had seized on the time of the panic as a period peculiarly suited to securing cheap labor.

The letter written to the special congressional peonage commission, while the commission was in Chicago for three days, on the Argo investigation and other matters, speaks for itself. The attorneys who were best informed, as the letter shows, were Assistant District Attorney Shirer, who presented the Argo matter to the commission while that body sat in Chicago.

The letter to the commission reads:

The Facts Outlined
Chicago, Ill., Oct. 17, 1909.
To the Special Peonage Commission, Its Chairman and Members.
On December 17, 1909, the federal grand jury, sitting in the federal building, Chicago, began to hear witnesses in regard to peonage, which was declared by scores of workmen to exist at the stockade which was constructed around the plant being erected for the Corn Products Refining company at Argo, Ill. Seventy or more witnesses had been examined by secret agents of the United States government, and from among that number Assistant District Attorney Legg chose about 30 to be taken before the grand jury. In making the selection of the men to be taken into the grand jury room Mr. Legg took only such men as said that they had not belonged to a labor organization for at least five years. The witnesses taken before the grand jury during the first day of the examination were questioned by Assistant District Attorney Childs and Legg, while on the succeeding days of the investigation Mr. Legg had charge in the grand jury room. After an exhaustive investigation, entered into by the authorities in Chicago and Washington, the grand jury failed to indict.

The Investigation Begun
We, Fred Scholl and John C. Carroll, having been the ones to call the attention of the government to the case, and having acted with federal agents during the investigation, desire to make a statement of fact, asking that statement receive the consideration of your honorable body.

About two weeks prior to Thanksgiving, 1908, John C. Carroll visited District Attorney Sims and called his attention to the case. A few days later we, Fred Scholl and John C. Carroll, brought two men, by the names of Bruin and Baxter, whom we had picked up at random. Those two men were brought to Mr. Sims' office and by him referred to his assistants, Mr. Legg and Mr. Wilkerson, who heard the story which Bruin and Baxter told. Mr. Sims said that they must discuss the matter with Mr. Sims and give us his reply the following day.

The next day we received a telephone message for an appointment with Special Agent Hobbs of the department of justice. Scholl was made a special government agent during the investigation. In several weeks of investigation evidence was produced, first, as to the commission of a crime:

The Evidence Outlined

Men had been held by force within the stockade at Argo, Ill. They had worked out a \$2 labor fee and board at the rate of \$5 a week, for such time

5 GIRLS DIE IN FACTORY

PLANT IN PHILADELPHIA BURNS; BODIES ARE BURIED IN THE RUINS

Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 18.—At least five girls who were employed in the six-story building occupied by Schreick & Sherwood, manufacturers of undertakers' supplies, which was destroyed by fire last night, are missing, and it is feared they lost their lives. One fireman, Joseph Toner, was killed. He gave up his life in searching for missing women in the lower floors of the building while the upper part of the structure was aflame.

14 CHICAGOANS INJURED IN WRECK ON SANTA FE ROAD

Flagstaff, Ariz., Dec. 18.—The cause of the wreck at Winslow, Ariz., last night, in which Mrs. Alice D. Bennett of Hartford, Conn., was killed and 13 other passengers were injured, is still undetermined and an investigation has been ordered. The collision was between Santa Fe Limited No. 4 and the Overland passenger No. 8, both eastbound. Fourteen Chicagoans were injured in the wreck.

WOMEN FREEZE AND STARVE IN FIELD'S STORE

Cold Winds Sweep Through Basement and Bring Bitter Suffering

PROTESTS ARE IGNORED

Vast Throngs of Holiday Shoppers Yield Profit, as Saleswomen Toil

Worn out by the endless work of the holiday season, paid a wage scarcely sufficient to sustain life, the saleswomen in Marshall Field & Co.'s basement freeze in the cold wind which blows down from the first floor, as the great swinging doors are opened to admit women wrapped in furs and men in heavy overcoats who are gayly bent on holiday shopping. Seemingly unable either to pay a living wage to its women employees, or to keep them from freezing, Marshall Field & Co. have pledged \$2,000 as its annual gift to the United Charities.

Plenty of Work, but a Scant Wage
Complaints of the cold winds which whistle through the basement of the huge store have brought no relief, the management not being accustomed to consider its women employees in any other light than as unorganized workers, who can be secured at a starvation wage and worked long hours.

The draft appears to be due to the overheating of the building on the Washington street side and to the cold air which streams in through the alley which separates the two parts of the Field store.

The basement that even brings comment from the casual visitor is under the Wabash avenue store. The wind blows in cold gusts from the southwest corner, where there are two big doors almost continuously open. The waves surging into the basement are so strong that a woman walking down the stairs has to hold her skirts from being blown up as if she were rounding the corner of the Masonic temple in a gale.

Need to Wear Furs
"Is it cold?" replied a girl in the picture department at the foot of the stairway. She was shivering as if she had been in an icebox at the stockyards. "I am almost frozen to death," she said. "I wish I could put my furs on."

This wish was expressed yesterday when the draft cut keenly. "Have we reported the matter to the managers?" said a girl selling buckles for ladies' belts. "I should say we have. But it does no good to report it, seems. We have complained about it several times during the last few weeks, but nothing has been done."

A little girl, "with hazel eyes," who was selling bracelets, had wrapped a duster round her hands to keep them warm. "This will help for a while," she laughed. "My hands are red as beets and my face must be blue."

The floor manager, when asked whether it wasn't possible to stop the draft, said that he couldn't do anything about it.

"Gay Life of the Shop Girl"
"How did you find out about it?" he demanded. "Is that so?" he snapped back when given an answer. "Those women who complain about this draft are the very ones who will go to a ball with no collars or their dresses," he

ROYAL CUT-THROAT DIES

LEOPOLD, KING OF BELGIUM, ENDS A LONG AND FAMOUS CAREER

Brussels, Belgium, Dec. 18.—Leopold, king of the Belgians and ruler of the Congo, died here early today. Paralysis of the intestines followed an operation performed three days ago. The men, women and children who have had their hands cut off for failing to produce enough rubber to glut the prodigious desire of the owner of the Congo Free State have shown no signs of sorrow over the news of the king's death. No one in this city has a good word for him.

SOCIALISTS WORK WITH UNIONS, SAYS CARL LEGIEN

THE WAY IT LOOKS TO THE BOSS



Head of German Labor Movement Tells Graphic Story of Victory Wrung From the Bitter Defeats

WORKERS HAVE THEIR OWN CHAIN OF NEWSPAPERS

Men From Ranks of Toil Sit in Reichstag to Fortify Vantage Ground Won by Unions' Struggle

By C. Legien, M. P., President General Federation of Trades Unions of Germany, International Secretary of National Trade Union Centers.

Apart from some beginnings of trade union organizations of a modern character in 1848, which were destroyed during the ensuing period of reaction, a real trade union movement did not exist in Germany until the middle of the sixties of the last century. The first centralized trade union or federation—the Federation of Tobacco Workers—was formed in 1865. The formation of the Compositors' Federation took place in May, 1866. Nine central federations came together on the occasion of the first Trade Union Congress in September, 1868, constituting together the "General Workingmen's Federation."

The latter federation later changed its name, and ultimately, in 1874, dissolved, when a period of persecution of trade unionism by the authorities commenced. These trade unions had always been under the influence of the "General Workers' Union," the political group with the "Lassallian" tendencies.

Some members of the early Social Democratic party, which existed at that time, also created a number of unions—the "International Trades Associations." The conflict between the two Social Democratic parties was also transferred to the trade union movement. Both parties united in 1875. An amalgamation of the trade union groups of both wings took place at a conference at the same time, followed by a period of quiet development of the trade unions. The authorities did all in their power to obstruct the progress of the organization of labor by putting into practice the various regulations of the association laws, but all their efforts were in vain.

OWNED THIRTEEN PUBLICATIONS

At the end of 1877 there were twenty-six central federations, with a total membership of 50,000. These organizations published and owned thirteen periodicals, with a total circulation of 37,000 copies. The "Anti-Socialist laws" of 1878 entirely destroyed these trade unions, but even under the regime of the anti-Socialist laws their reorganization was once more under way. A number of local societies were formed, and very soon these began to be united in central trade federations. Not less than twenty-eight central unions were created during the period of 1884 to 1890. The anti-Socialist laws were canceled in the latter year, when the trade unions numbered 301,200 members. The unions formed a "General Commission of German Trade Unions" in November, 1900. Since this time they have steadily made headway all around, with the exception of the years 1891 to 1893, when they experienced a small loss in membership as a result of the continuous depression in trade during these years. The number of central trade unions or federations had increased to fifty-four in 1894, with a total membership of 246,500. In 1899 they counted 580,500; in 1904 they had already 1,052,108 members, increasing to 1,831,731 members in 1908. In 1894 the total income of our trade unions amounted to 2,700,000 marks, their expenditure to 2,135,000 marks; their funds to 1,319,000 marks. In 1908 the respective figures were: Income, 48,544,000 marks; expenditure, 42,057,000 marks; accumulated funds, 40,839,000 marks.

Independently of these "central" trade unions, who considered the Social Democratic party to be their political representative, there are the "Hirsch-Dunker Trade Societies," who side with the Liberal party, with a total membership of 105,633, and the "Christian Trade Unions," under the influence of the Centre (party of the Catholic clergy), with altogether 264,519 members. Both groups have their separate central bodies, which transact the general business of their affiliated societies. There are, furthermore, a number of other organizations in existence which do not belong to any of the above groups, with 117,325 members, and forty-nine societies of commercial and private service employees, with a membership of 878,669. These are the main features of the present trade union movement in Germany.

HAVE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC AIMS

These latter societies, strictly speaking, cannot be considered to be bona-fide trade unions. The Hirsch-Dunker Trade Societies date from the end of the sixties, while the Christian Trade Unions were created early in the nineties, because of the alleged Social-Democratic character of the Central Trade Unions, and, as is asserted by the Christians, because of the "anti-religious" tendencies of our central organizations. They were to lead "the struggle against the 'Social-Democratic' trade unions and to frustrate their frivolous strike tactics." The actual industrial conditions, however, have forced these organizations as well to employ the very same tactics as propagated by the "central" unions. The latter certainly do not fight for the mere joy of conflict, but they do not shun a fight, if all other means have proved unsuccessful. From 1890 to 1908 they have carried on altogether 19,766 strikes, with 2,134,557 workers involved, and at a total cost of 70,797,000 marks.

But what is the truth about the alleged Social-Democratic character of the German Central Trade Unions? It may be mentioned, first of all, that experience in Germany has shown that no working-class organization of any character whatever can dispense with a representation on the political field, i. e., with the defense of its inter-

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PAINTERS FAVOR SKEMP'S POLICY

Convention Indorses Stand of Official Journal; Per Capita Tax Raised

BY W. E. RODRIGUEZ, LOCAL 180
Cincinnati, O., Dec. 18.—Heated debates were occasioned by the consideration of the constitution, especially that part referring to the policy, political and otherwise, of the official journal, at the annual convention of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America.

After a lengthy debate, participated in by J. Tanciar of New Jersey and J. Dorney of Delaware, both of whom attacked the policy of the journal, and also by Victor Buhr, J. C. Skemp, the editor, and A. Lammert, the recommendation of the constitutional committee was concurred in. This practically amounts to an endorsement of the policy heretofore followed in the official publication.

Another item of the times presented itself in the action of the convention in striking from the constitution a section which prohibited any member from representing the organization who had been elected to any political position.

Per Capita Tax Raised

The per capita tax was raised from 25 to 30 cents per month, the monthly dues being raised from a minimum of 50 to 75 cents per member.

A resolution was adopted almost unanimously by the convention treating of the Cherry (Ill.) mine disaster, and appropriating \$1,000 for the benefit of the widows and orphans. The resolutions condemned the disregard of the state for the child labor laws in the most bitter terms.

STRIKE PARADE AROUSES PARIS

Paris, Dec. 12.—The railroad employees of this city held an imposing demonstration as an evidence of their strength and their determination to force the companies to grant their demands for a raise in wages. Divided into three processions they marched to the principal railroad stations carrying flags and chanting the International.

The police did not molest the marchers, so there was no trouble.

Peoria Has a Big Fire

Peoria, Ill., Dec. 18.—Fire early today destroyed the Model Clothing store and spread to J. Schradick's clothing store. It is feared the entire half block to the north will be destroyed.

U. S. PLEDGES AID FOR MINERS

Senate Passes Cullom Resolution Calling for More Rescue Stations

Washington, D. C., Dec. 18.—The United States senate has passed the Cullom resolution calling for additional rescue stations to be placed in the dangerous mining fields. Senator Joseph Bailey of Texas, the hero of the great Standard Oil scandal in that state, when it appeared that the trust had bought the statesman and paid for him, opposed the plan advocated by Senator Cullom of Illinois.

"I might not deny the power of the federal government," said the Texan, "to make an appropriation to collect such facts as might be found useful, but I do deny the power of the federal government to undertake in any manner to supervise a mining operation within a state. Mining, manufacturing and agriculture, at least up to this time, are free from federal interference and federal supervision. Just how long they will remain free under the modern tendency I am unable to say, but it shall be as long as I have a vote to cast, at least so far as that vote might be effective."

MADRID ELECTS TWO SOCIALISTS

Madrid, Dec. 12.—Municipal elections held throughout Spain indicate a general overthrow of the conservatives and clericals in favor of the liberals, republicans and Socialists.

In Madrid all the conservative candidates were defeated, and fifteen liberals, eleven republicans and two Socialists were elected. There was serious rioting, in which revolvers and knives were used, in many places, notably, Bilbao, Saragossa and Malaga. Everything was quiet in Madrid and Barcelona.

KANSAS PRODUCE MEN HELD FOR TRIAL AS BEING TRUST

Topeka, Kan., Dec. 18.—Criminal proceedings against all of the Topeka produce commission dealers have been brought by Fred S. Jackson, attorney general, who charges them with being members of the Topeka Produce and Fruit Exchange and violating the state anti-trust laws.

WOMEN WAR ON SALOON AGENTS

Waitresses' Union to Aid in Wiping Out Vampire Employment Men

Girl waitresses of Chicago are leading the men in the Cooks' and Waiters' unions in the fight on the saloon-employment agencies of the city, against which open war will be declared at a mass meeting to be held tonight, at 183 South Clark street, announcement of which has been made in the Daily Socialist.

"The vampire system must go," is the war cry of the militant members of the Waitresses' union, who are distributing circulars advertising the meeting tonight. Mrs. Georgia Teeters, chaplain of the Waitresses' union, is the leader of the "waitresses" forces that carried terror to the saloons of Hillier & Wohlgenuth, 233 Wabash avenue; Gus Leister, 14 Federal street, and Emil Bauer, Clark and Monroe streets, yesterday afternoon, when they appeared to distribute the pluggers for the mass meeting and personally urge the men to fight with their union.

Men Promise to Quit

"We obtained promises from many of the men to quit patronizing the vampire saloons and join the union," declared Mrs. Teeters, who will have her forces on the firing line again this afternoon. "The girls are able to do considerable good work where the men in the union seem unable to help themselves," said Ben F. Parker, president of the Waiters' union. "We are more than glad to get their aid."

"At first we did not think the girls ought to do the work," said A. A. Mayer, also of the Waitresses' union. "We were afraid that they would be insulted by the men from the saloons. But they wouldn't listen to us. They went right ahead."

NOT TO EXPEL ENRICO FERRI

Rome, Dec. 18.—In a leading article, Bisolati, editor of the *Avanti!*, the Socialist daily, denies that the executive committee of the Socialist party intends to propose the expulsion of Enrico Ferri because the latter has withdrawn from the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies. Ferri's act has aroused great excitement throughout all Italy, however, and the Socialists of Genoa, who elected him, have asked an explanation of Ferri's actions.

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SAYS SOCIALISTS MUST WORK IN HARMONY WITH TRADE UNIONS

J. R. Clynes, British Socialist and Trade Unionist, Points Out That the Road to the Toilers' Emancipation Is by Co-Operation of All Organizations

PARTY SHOULD MAKE USE OF EVERY INSTRUMENT THAT WILL HELP IN UPLIFTING THE MASSES

"I Want the Workers of the World Not to Have a Part of the Wealth Their Labor Makes but the Whole of It"

We are working upon different lines, but for the same object. Difficulties in different places are greater, but the cause is the same. It is not a class for which we stand; it is not labor merely we seek to represent. It is the larger factor in the world; it is humanity, the cause of men and women and children for which we are fighting, than which greater cause can be espoused by men, no matter what their purpose may be.

Here we feel our difficulties are greater than our own. You have a variety of races, a multiplicity of languages, and you have several states, coming, I presume, at times, to conflicting decisions on the same subjects. The greater the difficulties, the greater the need to be ready to overcome them. On this side, your need for wholesome and enduring combination in a trade union movement is greater than it is in any other part of the world.

The power that money has assumed over man in the nations of the world is enormous. In no country in the world, I suppose, more than in America does that power exist. I do not think that all past history shows us a time in which the individual workman counts for as little as he does at the present time. He is lost in the large masses of men and women who must assemble to earn their daily bread in these huge workshops and places of business where the old time relationship between the master and the man does not exist at all. It is only when men unite together and seek the advancement and good of all that any of them can hope to reach the stage of betterment and the stage of right that all are entitled to.

Greater Unity Needed
We come from a country that I think may claim to have set some example to the workers of the world in trade union organizations. One of our largest organized bodies has recently celebrated its one hundredth birthday. Our unions are perhaps too many; we have over a thousand separate organizations. I would much prefer to see fewer unions and greater unity among the wage-workers of our country. The tendencies and the steps taken in the past few years have, however, greatly diminished the difficulties that existed between one trade and another in former days. These unions subscribe in dues more than \$12,000,000 per year, and the reserve funds of these unions exceed at present \$30,000,000.

The benefits of trade unions cannot be expressed merely in statistics. No recital of dollars can convey any measure of the benefit trade unionism distributes among the workers. It not only advances wages, but it prevents reductions. It gives better laws to the workers and though there may be some who will not support trade unionism, I have yet to discover the former man who will refuse to take his share of any of the great things trade unionism can give. Our trade unionism did not come as an easy gift to us. It is the outcome of struggle, and like all good things worthy of having, it has come from the source of trial and difficulty. In our earlier days men had to... at on the hillside; it is their deliberations were given. The law did not permit combinations, and though Britain claimed to be the greatest civilized agency the world then possessed, its workers were denied the right to combine. But that did not deter our forefathers from going forward, and after years of struggle the law finally recognized the right of trade unions to their proper legal place in the organizations of our country.

Tyranny of Courts
For some thirty years the trade unions were free from menace. They felt they were in a position of absolute security. Then came to us that great, surprising deliverance which we looked upon, not as law made in Parliament, not a decree of the people, but as a meritorious judge made law. Then we had to... to use it. We wanted no privilege, we claimed equality. We said when there was a difference between the worker and the employer the law should stand outside the ring and let the battle be freely fought without the balance of power being given to the employer's side. In a few years our position of security was restored, safety was again assured to our funds, and we were freed from the risk of not only having to pay the cost of our own fighting, but having to cover the

losses the employers might incur in fighting ourselves.

There was a time in our work when we could win battles by a certain show of lung power, but the days of heroic successes have gone by. Fifteen or sixteen years ago it was possible in our country for great bodies of men to cease work and by volumes of public sympathy and opinion march forward to that certainty of success. Now employers are organized as well as we. It is easier for them to use the instruments of organization than it is for workmen. The men must come out in the open. We have nothing to conceal; but if we had, we could not very well accomplish it. Our meetings, our marches and countermarches, all this elaborate machinery for advertising our cause, make our decisions known to our employers. It is possible for the employers by reducing their numbers to a few to meet behind closed doors and quietly decide what is good for their interests. We find from experience that whatever differences employers have are matters of nationality, of religion, or politics, of point of view and temperament, when it comes down to dollars they know no differences, they unite in the interest of their land, their money and their property, and agree on what is best for themselves. That is a course the workers of the world should imitate, as far as possible.

Labor in Parliament
This growth of the employers' power was followed by further adverse decisions in our law courts. The most important of these decisions is still awaiting a final verdict from what is known in our country as our Law Lords. We have no payment of members, and the public service which workmen require in our country must be paid for by the contributions of the workers. Years ago our betters advised us to rise above the payment of public funds for any of this work we said should be done. They said if we wanted labor represented in the house of commons we should organize and raise funds for the purpose of carrying on that work. We did so, and our trades unions, convinced partly by experience, forced partly by the pressure of economic events, came finally to the point of agreeing to subscribe so much annually in order to have the voice of labor heard on the floor of the house of commons. This has meant that about \$40,000 a year has been subscribed by the workers of the United Kingdom to pay and maintain labor representatives in the house of commons.

Without any boast I think we may claim there has been substantial results from the work they have done. Law after law profitable to the worker fortifying and strengthening the wage earners' position, has been secured. The employing classes became disturbed. It has always been possible for the employers to secure some one of the working class to serve the evil purpose of the employers and undermine, as far as possible, the position of the workers. In our case persons were found to go into the court to secure injunctions to prevent unions from putting on any levy—as we term it—in any sense assessing the workers as a whole for this purpose. We, of course, resisted the proceedings of the employers, but they have so far been unsuccessful in securing judgments in their favor, and the decision is now pending.

Labor Not Terrorized
The question at issue is this: Has a trade union the right, after elaborate processes of appeals and decisions of members, and after having decided by overwhelming majorities in favor of the whole of its numbers paying money for a certain public purpose, the right to say that all shall pay, as well as one? The law at present decides that we have a right to ask for only voluntary contributions; our point is this: inasmuch as all the members benefit by the good we do, all can justly be called upon to pay their share toward the good work we are undertaking. We feel that any judgment to the contrary would become unwarranted interference with the internal business of the various organizations of our country.

Now let me say that whatever these decisions may be we are in no sense terrorized or menaced. Our congress at Ipswich looked with such complacency upon the situation, that no resolutions were offered, and no reference was made to the situation at all. Our feeling is that if the law steps one road to attain our ends we shall find another equally as good.

a money lender for workers in distress. It supplements the support which trade unions give to members who are locked out or on strike. It mediates, it intervenes, when it can, between the employer and the employees. It is in particular a support to the smaller organized trades. The two greatest organized forces of the country are what we briefly term coal and cotton.

Great as our separate organizations are in number, and glad to assure you, though we have these separate instruments for expressing working class purposes, there is no organization in Britain today of any account or number which has cut away from the national movement. All of them are connected in one way or the other with this national expression of the desires of labor. The trades congress is in point of numbers slightly ahead of the labor party. The trades congress I may describe without offense as a cautious agitator of the claims of labor. It formulates and expresses the demands and resolutions embodying the hopes of the organized workers. It is a kind of big brass band for the workers of Britain. It booms its claims and grievances throughout the country. It advertises what we want and approaches ministers to let them know what we want.

Has Always Been a Socialist
Then we have a third expression in the labor party of which I am not less proud. That labor party has been the chief agency for expressing in the public and political life of Britain the claims and desires of the organized workers of our country. It is the infant of the trades congress. Some ten years ago our trades congress called together a large convention of the trade unions and of the Socialist bodies.

I cannot make any safe allusion to the position of Socialists in your country because I am little informed; but I can, without risk, tell you of our own. Since I was a young man, twenty years ago, I have been a Socialist. I have believed in the ideal of a social system in which not merely the land of the nations but the main means for making the material wealth shall be social property and used for social good. That is an ideal, I hope Mr. Gompers will pardon the allusion when I say I know he dissents from that ideal; but I can work with Mr. Gompers and can join hands with him in seeking the immediate betterment of the workers by any means that may be available in this or any other country. And that is why I feel that the old servants in our movement in the land should have, not merely the toleration of a charitable respect; they are entitled to full reward; to the homage and veneration of the younger men in our movement, because of the great knowledge they have acquired and the foundation of experience upon which they stand. Men in our country, whatever be the advancement of their views, however extreme their opinion, dare not publicly express their disrespect for the veterans of our movement upon the British soil.

Wants Whole Product
Our labor party is an affiance of these extreme forces. The moderate trades unionists join hands with even the extreme Socialist. We have, it is true, in England a section of the Socialists that has cut away from this National labor party; but without disrespect to that section, it can be correctly said that it is one which so far has secured no measure of national influence in the councils of the nation. I cannot conceive a Socialist declining to work in fullest harmony with the organized trade unionists of any land. The reason why I am a Socialist is that I want the workers of the world, not to have a part of the wealth their labor makes, but the whole of it. I feel that the workers of a country should not be merely a class in our country, a section in our country, cut away from the rest of society and doomed to a place, to die, branded merely as a class of workers who must labor, and labor without their full share of that joy in life nature meant all her children to have. I feel that the Socialist, being a Socialist because he wants to uplift the workers of the world, will use any instrument of the wage workers' position.

That is why in our country we have secured this harmonious working alliance known as the labor party. It is not a party which takes from either the freedom each has a right to retain. The alliance reserves to the trade unionist the liberty to go on with his industrial work, to preach combination, secure gains for the workshop, and secure better laws in parliament. It leaves the Socialist free to spread his ideals, to teach his principles, and to strengthen his organization. Freedom of opinion in no sense involving sacrifice of principle on the part of either has been the foundation, has been the safety valve of this labor party existing in Great Britain today. That, I think, is sufficient in regard to the three main means by which in Great Britain we seek to advance the cause of the workers.

Workmen's Compensation
Mr. Gill dealt at length—and I think rightly—with that great question you are now approaching in such a practical and, I believe, helpful frame of mind—the question known to us as the Workmen's Compensation Act, known to you as the Employers' Liability Act. To what Mr. Gill has said, I would like to add that the financial value of our laws on this has been recently expressed in a government publication. It shows that the injured workers of our country—too many by far there are—have in one year secured as compensation more than eleven million dollars. Now, considering that we do not spend in political work more than twenty-five thousand pounds per year, that money is seen at once to be a very profitable financial investment. Trade union money and money paid by the worker for any other labor cause is not thrown away; it is not spent in the ordinary sense of the term; it is invested, and brings back a yield of advantage, either in the way of better laws or better working conditions.

Old Age Pensions
A word about our pension system, which you are also beginning to deal with in this country. We are paying pensions now to nearly half a million old persons. If you had the experience

we have had in British meetings, of old folks coming forward with tears in their eyes to express to us their thanks for having rescued them from the workhouses of England and given them a corner of dignity in the homes of the country, where to some extent they are self supporting, you could see the worth of our old age pensions. The system is full of defects as yet, but we are going to improve it. It is the beginning of a great principle, upon which I feel our country will never go back. More than fifty million dollars per year is now being paid in Britain to the aged pensioners, among the British poor.

I want to take the liberty of making reference to what I must regard as an important expression of opinion by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, one of the great men of your country. Mr. Carnegie says, respecting Europe and Britain—that there are two systems, that of Germany, a contributory system, that requires a man to contribute in his youth toward a pension that he is to use in his old age. "I think," says Mr. Carnegie, "that is a most salutary feature. It gives a man that feeling of independence and of manhood that he is doing himself, and when he has contributed to his pension, and the time comes to get it, it makes him feel that it is not another man's money that he is getting; it is his own. The British system," he says, "is not contributory; it resembles a charity given to all without their participation, and I cannot think that it has a stimulating effect."

Pensions Not Charity
That is an opinion entitled to the closest notice, and what I take leave to say about it is this. Public opinion in our country does not regard pensions received by our aged poor as a charity at all. The aged poor who receive pensions have served their country on the field of industry, many of them having risked their lives in the good cause of peaceful pursuits, and they feel they are as much entitled to their pensions as a civic right, and not a charity, as men who have served their nation on another field. That is the view they entertain on the British side. But really the workers do contribute for their pensions. I know of nothing the workers get free in any part of the world unless it is a lot of the work for which they are not paid. The wealth made by the workers in the lands of the earth is the contribution of the worker, is the title the worker sets up for whatever pension he may claim when he reaches the winter of life, and is entitled to treatment better than the British workhouse system.

These pensions we now pay to our poor were not the beginning of the new principle; they were the extension of an old one. Rich persons in Britain had pensions long before we gave them to the poor. We pensioned rich men to even the extent of twenty million dollars a year. We have two men now in England in receipt of twenty million dollars a year each; a large number receiving ten millions, and others five millions every twelve months. Eleven million pounds were paid in pensions in England to the rich classes long before we paid a single cent to the poor. The rich did not contribute for their pensions. They served their land in various ways, and if their services gave them a title to support in their old age, that title is as much a right of the industrial servants among the poor as among the rich.

Wage Boards Bill
Our recent legislation has covered a very extensive field—compensation, trades disputes, factory laws, what we call the fair wage clause, a really substantial benefit to the workers of our kingdom. In addition to that, we have begun quite a new legislative principle I hope to see extended the world over—the principle of fixing by law a human level of wages and conditions below which no master's power can drive a human being. We have recently passed what is known as a wage boards bill. That singles out what we call our sweated trades, trades of which any civilized nation should be heartily ashamed, trades in which girls and women, and men and boys as well, are employed at slaves' wages, under the worst and most unsanitary conditions. It singles out four trades to begin with, and establishes boards composed equally of workers and employers, presided over impartially by a chosen civil servant. The decisions of these boards will have all the power and authority of British law. They fix wages and hours, and fix the sanitary surroundings. This is an advance upon the old time economic idea of leaving the workers to the tender power of money and the mercies of employers.

Feeding School Children
We have done something to feed the hungry children of the poor classes, thousands of whom often went without breakfasts to school. We have established safe and sound exchanges for labor. Commodities are exchanged; cotton, coal, and so on, but the greatest commodity of all—the human frame, humanity, which is above the narrow interpretation of labor, is to have its exchange, also. Our unemployed classes in Great Britain will be better cared for. These exchanges are not the old labor bureaus, managed by hostile employers, and kept going for the purpose of supplying blacklegs in times of dis-

(Continued on Page Five)

RUPPERT "Storm Shoes"

For rough winter weather—the ideal shoes for chauffeurs, hunters, surveyors, civil engineers, contractors and all men whose work necessitates exposure to wet and cold conditions.

12 Inches High
With or Without Buckles

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Made of moosehide, carefully oil grain-ed—tan or black—rawhide laces—large eyelets—full bellows tongue—double soles—water proofed—rope stitched sole and heel seat—specially well built.

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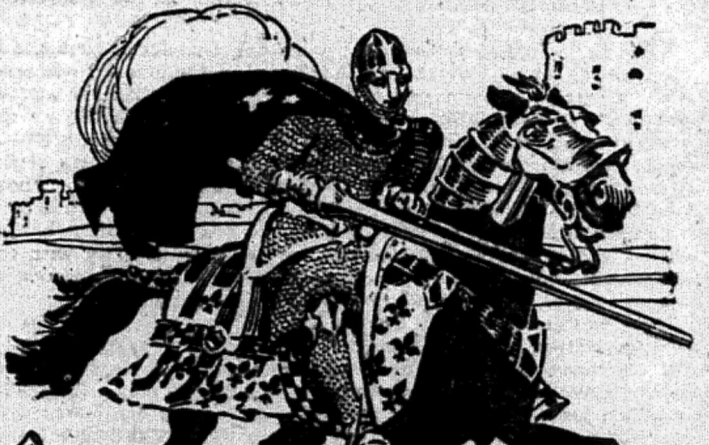
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can be depended upon in every emergency where a stimulant is needed.
Old-Pure-Rare-Rich in flavor
CHAS-DENNEHY & CO. CHICAGO, ILL.

The Greatest Purchase Ever Made By Us

WE bought the entire stock of overcoats—from a prominent manufacturer—whose name we are compelled to withhold—at a great reduction from the regular prices — and have placed them on sale for the Holiday trade—at a price that means an absolute saving of almost one-half. The real value of these overcoats are \$18, \$20, \$22.

Specially Priced \$15
Other Big Values \$10 to \$35

Nothing would please the husband or brother better than a new suit for Christmas—and no place would be better to buy that suit than "THE CONTINENTAL," for the reason that you can get a better selection at lower prices than any store in the city.

Boys' Overcoats at Low Prices

Get your boy a nice, warm overcoat for the winter weather and save money on your purchase. You will find here the most stylish designs in boys' wearing apparel. One special value offer in boys' overcoats which you cannot afford to miss. The latest styles, most dependable fabrics, and latest patterns at the wonderfully low price

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Do not fail to take advantage of our liberal offer of sleds offered with clothing purchases. Now is the time for healthy outdoor sports. Plenty of snow. Buy your Children's Clothing at the Continental and save money on every purchase—and get a handsome sled free.

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You will find a great array of things appropriate for men's and boys' Christmas Gifts. Nothing can be imagined more sensible or useful than clothing gifts. Buy here and save money on every purchase.

Store Open
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THE
Continental
CLOTHING HOUSE

Corner Milwaukee and Ashland Avenues

Store Open
Every Evening

GERMAN UNIONS AID SOCIALIST PARTY

(Continued From Page One)

ests and demands in parliament, if it really wants to participate in public life and to use its influence on the political and industrial field. In view of the fact that all bourgeois parties are more or less hostile to working-class interests, or at least chiefly defend the interests of those belonging to the bourgeois classes, it is impossible for those trade unions who earnestly work and fight for the betterment of the conditions under which the workers toil and live, to accept any other but the Labor or Social-Democratic party as their political mouthpiece. The Social-Democratic party in Germany, moreover, has proved from its first activity in parliamentary life that it is prepared to further the aims of the trade union workers and to support their efforts by parliamentary action.

UNIONS AND SOCIALISTS IN HARMONY

The German Central Trade Unions have not become Social-Democratic organizations by the fact that they consider the Social-Democratic party to be their political mouthpiece, nor do they want to become "Social-Democratic" organizations, for the simple reason that they hold that all workers of whatever political or religious belief should be united on the industrial trade union field. It is for this reason that the majority of their constitutions contain a rule saying that the objects of the union shall be achieved without political or religious questions ever being involved. The German Central Trade Unions have ever since their existence observed this neutral attitude toward politics. The Trade Union Congress held in June, 1872, as well as the Trade-Union Conference of 1875, voted a resolution to the effect that the trade unions should maintain political neutrality. During the period of the anti-Socialist laws, and many years afterward, the trade unions had to abstain from the discussion of politics, and especially from any negotiation with the Social-Democratic party, because they were hampered by the practice of the police authorities, based on their interpretation of the association laws.

The German Central Trade Unions and the Social-Democratic party, apart from occasional misunderstandings which did not arise from divisions of opinion on any question of principle, have always worked in complete harmony with each other, both aiming at the same objects. This has never been difficult, because, although official connections did not exist between both wings, the members of the German Central Trade Unions are mostly Social-Democrats. Those presidents of the trade unions, who are at the same time members of parliament, belong to the Social-Democratic group. During the last few years it has been found possible to negotiate directly with the executive of the Social-Democratic party on questions of interest to both, instead of using the old method of indirect connection.

The executive committee of the Social-Democratic party was invited by a resolution, adopted at the party's congress at Mannheim in 1907, to settle differences of opinions directly with the central body of the trade unions. This decision was the result of a controversy that had taken place between the trade unions and the Social-Democratic party on the question of the mass or general strike. The Trade Union Congress of 1905 had decided against the general strike. This decision, however, did not deal definitely with what has been called the "mass strike." The 1906 congress of the Social-Democratic party nevertheless voted a resolution recognizing the political mass strike as a weapon of the workers. These apparently antagonistic resolutions were the object of a controversy, which to outsiders seemed to show serious differences between the Social-Democratic party and the trade unions. A thorough discussion of this question at the party's congress in 1907, however, resulted in the above-mentioned mutual agreement to hold a conference, which satisfied both groups. Since this time several joint conferences of the executive committee of the Social-Democratic party and of the central body of the trade unions have taken place with the same good result. As a matter of fact, these methods have been very useful to both, to the Social-Democratic party as well as to the Central Trade Unions.

STRENGTH CAME THROUGH SOCIALISM

The working classes of Germany have only acquired their present importance and influence in public life since they united for independent political action through the Social-Democratic party. It is this party that gave the impulse for social legislation. Although such efforts were always rejected at their first presentation, there is no doubt that we owe our present social legislation to the constant pressure brought to bear by the Social-Democratic party. Whatever exists today in our social laws had already been demanded from parliament for years and years by the workers. From the trade union point of view, the right of association and of free speech is of no less importance than workmen's accident and insurance laws. The Social-Democratic party has always done its best to advance these demands as well. Under such conditions IT IS GENERALLY ACCEPTED AS A MATTER OF COURSE BY EVERY POLITICALLY TRAINED UNIONIST THAT THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS TO BE CONSIDERED THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

I am convinced that this attitude has been to the advantage of the trade union movement. In view of the actual position of the German trade union movement there certainly exists no doubt among advanced workmen that the co-operation of the Social-Democratic party is absolutely necessary in order to carry all demands that necessarily require legislative action.

WORKERS EDUCATE THEMSELVES

The executive committee of the Central Trade Unions (General-Kommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands) has established regular series of lectures for the training of trade unionists, in order to enable the officials and others working in the interests of the unions to acquire the very best knowledge possible for their various functions, as officials, organizers, etc. At this "trade union college" I am personally lecturing on the "History and Theories of Trade Unions." I cannot wind up my remarks better than by repeating here the conclusions of my lecture on "The Theories of the Trade Unions." They contain my ideas and conceptions on the conditions and tendencies of trade unions. They run as follows:

The trade unions must achieve their objects within the bourgeois society. Their tendencies aim to transform the absolute government of the factories into a constitutional, and, at last, a democratic system. Their activity must, therefore, indirectly advance the democracy of the political organism. The trade unions cannot officially adhere to any political party. They are, however, dependent on the co-operation of the Social-Democratic party in order to achieve their aims. THEY THEREFORE NECESSARILY HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THIS PARTY AS THEIR POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE.

Berlin, November 16, 1909.

TO PROSECUTE CITY OFFICIALS

Spokane Authorities Face Suit for Seizure of a Labor Paper

Spokane, Wash., Dec. 18.—The officers of the I. W. W. have decided to start an action against the city officials for the illegal confiscation of the issue of the Industrial Worker of December 1. The penalty for the illegal confiscation of the property of citizens is a fine of \$1,000 and imprisonment for one year. When the sentence of 113 of the free speech agitators was up recently and they were ordered released, twenty-three of them were so ill that they were unable to leave the jail hospital because of their weakened condition. Many of the men are in a very poor physical condition, because of the hardships wrought by the hunger-strike and the insanity, not to say indecent, conditions prevailing in the jail.

Thirteen agitators have been released from Fort George Wright. While on their way to the city aboard a trolley car they sang revolutionary songs enthusiastically. The articles which are appearing in the Socialist and progressive labor press throughout the country are like goals in the hides of the bigoted capitalist press of this city. The business men and the press are indeed wrought up by the stories which are being sent out from this city, as they fear that they will give the city a reputation for anything but justice.

The Spokane-Review and the Chronicle are frothing editorially daily about the way the labor-press is handling the stories of the fight here. Notwithstanding the brutal treatment which they have received nearly all of the released men are ready to continue the fight, and it will be continued.

SPOKANE ACTION CONDEMNED

Montrose Socialists Indorse Free Speech Fight in Local

At a meeting of Local Montrose, Socialist party, a resolution was passed condemning the attempt at Spokane to stifle free speech and the freedom of the press. A collection was taken to assist materially in the fight. The resolution in part was as follows: "Resolved, by Local Montrose, Socialist party, in regular meeting assembled, That we request our national secretary and the Appeal to Reason to send our comrade, Eugene V. Debs, to the assistance of our comrades of Spokane, and that each and every Socialist local in the United States be instructed to send one representative to Spokane at once as a substitute and protest in case of Comrade Debs' incarceration."

STRIKES TO BE MADE CRIMINAL

New South Wales Now Con- sidering Law to In- jure Workers

Sidney, N. S. W., Dec. 18.—New South Wales, which has for many years led in progressive legislation affecting labor and woman suffrage, is now in the throes of a reaction caused by the growth of capital and the grip which great financial powers are getting on the industries of the country and with the change comes a proposed law which will make the calling of a strike a criminal offense and the giving of aid to strikers a crime, also. The direct cause for the law is the strike of the miners, who are so powerfully organized that their bold, idle has paralyzed industry. The working men are demanding that the mines be taken out of the hands of private capital and be nationalized. The law which is proposed has as a sop to labor a clause that an employer who causes a lockout will be imprisoned.

The mines at Newcastle, in New

South Wales, have been closed all during the strike and not a ton of coal taken from them. This country has won the gain of reform measures starting as the liberal auspices under which the Australian Federation was ushered into existence, and which finally turned the federation into the present government of New South Wales, have granted woman suffrage and provided elaborate acts for the compromise of industrial disputes. So rapid has been the progress of the nation's industry under such acts that the laws have outlived their usefulness and the chances of compromise have grown fainter till with the present struggle the cry for public ownership has become intense.

Socialists to Gain

As a further step from that will come the crystallization of Socialist action which has for a long time been ready for such an emergency. The reform measures brought about by the government have, however, rather hindered the growth of a Socialist movement as such, but the need for a fundamental change in industry is so clear now that the Socialists here expect great things in the near future.

PUPILS TO HEAR SPARGO LECTURE

Socialist Will Deliver Six Economic Addresses in Milwaukee Schools

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 18.—The Social Democratic members of the Milwaukee school board have succeeded in having John Spargo of New York placed on the list of school lecturers. Comrade Spargo will give a series of six lectures in the public schools of Milwaukee. His subjects will be, "Poverty and Its Causes," "The Feeding of Children," "Child Labor," and "The Common Sense of the Milk Question." Mark another gain in having Socialists on the school board!

Alderman Melms (Social Democrat) introduced a resolution in the Milwaukee city council at its last meeting. This resolution calls attention to the fact that the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light company has not kept faith with the city in providing air-brakes and other improvements promised to the council, and therefore demands that the Milwaukee city council shall take steps toward the ownership and operation of its own street car system.

Election Prospect Bright

The members of Local Milwaukee are now making nominations for the Social Democratic city and ward tickets. These nominations will then be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. Prospects for the city election next spring look brighter, than ever before for the Socialists.

THIEVES TAKE \$1,000 IN LOOT

Another daring daylight burglary was successfully carried through when the home of Dr. W. J. Swift, 573 Arlington place, was entered by thieves, looted of silverware and jewelry to the amount of nearly \$1,000 and the furniture of the apartment badly damaged, evidencing determination on the part of the looters to vandalize as well as rob. In less than one hour, while members of the family were away from the house, the flat was ransacked. In the physician's office adjoining, Mary Schnitz, a maid, failed to hear the out-laws.

3 RESCUED BY LEAP FOR LIFE

Daring leap for life marked a fire at 2016 North Hermitage avenue. Trapped by flames John Dappler and his two sons, Edward, 6 years old, and

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Useful Gifts	Price
Neckwear	\$.25 to \$ 1.50
Gloves	1.00 to 2.50
Handkerchiefs	.10 to 1.00
Umbrellas	1.00 to 6.00
Mufflers	.50 to 3.50
Scarf Pins	.25 to 3.00
Shirts	1.00 to 2.50
Collar Bags	1.00 to 2.50
Suspenders	.25 to 2.50
Fancy Vests	1.50 to 5.00
Smoking Jackets	3.50 to 10.00
Bath Robes	2.50 to 9.00
Slippers	1.00 to 2.50
Sox	.10 to .50
Sox in boxes	1.00 to 1.50
Underwear	.50 to 3.50
Fur Caps	3.00 to 15.00
Sweater Vests	2.00 to 6.00
Fur Gloves	1.50 to 5.00
Canes	1.00 to 2.50

LARGEST STOCK OF UNION LABEL CLOTHING IN CHICAGO

Gilbert, 6 years old, jumped from third story windows. The father was hurt and taken to a hospital, but the child, the police say, escaped unscathed save for a few minor bruises. Mrs. D. E. Shanks, living on the second floor, was found unconscious in bed from smoke and was carried to the street by Sgt. Peter Lynch of the Shakespeare avenue police station. The woman found shelter in the home of a neighbor, where she was given medical attention and revived.

\$10

THE BEST CLOTHES OFFER OF THE YEAR

Uncalled for Suits and Overcoats at less than half made-to-order price. There are about 25 fine uncalled for suits and overcoats. Some are Meltons and Kerseys—made for \$25.00 to \$75.00—we cannot sell these for less than \$12.50. But you'll take one in a hurry if we can fit you.

The finest imported Kerseys, Broad-cloth and Meltons. These Overcoats are all silk lined, 48 to 52 inches long. Made to order for \$25.00 to \$75.00. If we can fit you the price is exceptionally low, only

PROTECTOR OVERCOATS

There are only 40 fine uncalled for Protector Overcoats in plain and fancy patterns. Some are Meltons and Kerseys—which were made for \$25.00 to \$75.00—we cannot sell these for less than \$12.50. But you'll take one in a hurry if we can fit you.

50 pairs of uncalled for Pants made for \$5, \$6 and \$7, sizes 29 to 35; extra size waist; your choice for

REMEMBER—These garments are all uncalled for, and every one made in our own tailor shop—done work throughout. They were left on our hands uncalled for by the customers.

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New Mixed Nuts, 1-lb. box	17c	Seeded Raisins, three 1-lb. pkgs.	25c
Pest Walnuts, 1-lb. box	18c	Currents, the best, three 1-lb. pkgs.	30c
Soft Shell Almonds, 1-lb. box	18c	Fine Canned Corn, dozen	30c
Peanuts, 1-lb. box	17c	Paris Corn, Borden & Morel's, doz.	31c
Pilgrims, 1-lb. box	18c	Good Tomatoes, dozen	30c
Brands, 1-lb. box	18c	Early June Peas, dozen	12c
4-lb. Loose Filled Pig, per box	15c	Fancy California Peaches, dozen	12c
Finest Turkish Figs, per lb.	15c	Fancy California Cherries, dozen	12c
Finest Turkish Figs, 1-lb. boxes	15c	Fancy California Egg Plums, dozen	12c
Finest California Figs, three for	15c	Finest Red Salmon, 1-lb. cans, dozen	17c
Finest Dates, three for	15c	Finest Red Salmon, 1-lb. cans, dozen	17c
Finest Christmas Mixed Candy, 5-lb. box	80c	CANNED GOODS SOLD IN 4-DOZEN LOTS OR MORE	
Cream-Ron-Ron, 5-lb. box	75c	Swift's Ham, 10 to 14 lbs.	15c
Chocolate, 5-lb. boxes	75c	Swift's Bacon	10c
Chocolate, fancy, 5-lb. boxes	75c	Finest Coffee that money can buy, 4-lb. can	11c
Finest Hand-Made Cream Chocolate, 5-lb. box	17c	Good Coffee, 7 lbs. for	11c
Sweet Florida Oranges, dozen	15c	Best Tea—any kind you want—40c lb.	11c
Finest Cranberries, 5 quarts	15c	7 lbs. for	11c
Shelled Popcorn, best, 5 lbs.	30c	ALL GOODS EQUALLY AS CHEAP AS ABOVE QUOTATIONS.	
Extra Large Peaches, 2 lbs.	30c		

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While we are pretty busy just now, we assure you that our clerks will accord you the best of attention and courteous treatment.

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Men's Overcoats, with or without the new high button military collars. All sizes and colors, at

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Each and every one of these overcoats is worth from \$3.00 to \$5.00 more. We not only save you this amount, but also give you the best-fitting overcoat you ever had.

Special for This Week

Men's \$16.50 and \$20.00 Suits at \$11.85 and \$14.85

Black, Blue and Fancy Patterns. Single or Double-Breasted Styles. Hundreds to select from at this Special Sale Price.

You'll find many Special Values in Boys' and Children's Suits and Overcoats.



THE ATTACHE CLOTHING CO.

Corner 18th St. and Blue Island Av.

Bring in the boys. We'll save you money.

CROWD JEERS BRITISH PEERS

Rioting and Disorder Mark Campaign Meetings; Suffragettes Active

London, Dec. 18.—The prominent feature of the election campaign continues to be the strong feeling displayed against the peers and the amount of disturbance and disorder to which even the meetings addressed by prominent unionists are subjected.

Austen Chamberlain, ex-chancellor of the exchequer, at a meeting of his own constituents at Bromsgrove, was compelled to resume his seat before he had half finished his speech, on account of constant and noisy interruptions.

Meeting Breaks Up in Disorder

For twenty minutes he vainly endeavored to resume, and then was obliged to desist, and the meeting broke up in disorder. Similar heckling, jeering and disorder are the common experience of the unionist peers who venture to address meetings.

Chancellor Lloyd-George addressed a great free church demonstration in Queen's hall last night, where the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. He complained that non-conformity had no free access to, or a champion in, the house of lords.

Suffragette Jumps Into Car

On arriving at the hall the chancellor's car was approached by two suffragettes. One jumped in and the other locked the door and stood on the footboard, while the car proceeded to the side entrance of the building. The woman within upbraided and shook the chancellor, who merely smiled.

The crowd resented this action and roughly handled the two suffragettes. The United Irish League of Great Britain has issued an election manifesto, practically in the terms of John Redmond's speech, in which the Irish leader called upon the party to vote for the liberals.

CALLS RAILROAD JUDAS ISCARIOT

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 18.—Comparing the Illinois Central railroad to Judas Iscariot for its display of ingratitude, and charging it with systematically demanding Illinois since 1877, Attorney General W. H. Stead made the opening argument before the Supreme court in the suit for an accounting by which the state hopes to recover \$7,000,000 or more from the company. Jacob M. Dickinson, secretary of war, represented the accused corporations. The court room was crowded with lawyers. The case is one of the gravest ever argued before the court, and in recognition of its importance an entire day was allowed to each side. Mr. Stead began with an address which covered 224 typewritten pages.

3,000 ALIENS BROUGHT IN

OCEAN LINER BREAKS ALL RECORDS FOR CARRYING STEERAGE PASSENGERS

New York, Dec. 18.—The Hamburg-American liner President Grant, famed as the "prosperity ship" because of bringing in a record number of steerage passengers, warped into her Hoboken pier with decks fairly alive with alien travelers. Altogether the vessel's steerage was just one short of 3,000, two persons having died on the trip across. This was said to be the biggest steerage load ever landed here.

In the populous steerage were many Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, Russians and comparatively few Italians and Scandinavians.

CONGRESS WILL PROBE PEONAGE

(Continued From Page One)

as was required to work out the labor fee.

Second—As to the men responsible: The men held in a state of peonage were detained by armed guards under the orders of a man named Martin Flynn, acting on a commission as a deputy sheriff of Cook county. Flynn's appointment had been secured on the request of the Corn Products Manufacturing company, an underlying company of the Corn Products Refining company. Directly over Flynn was a man named A. J. Bishop, who was under the orders of George E. Chamberlain, acting as the responsible agent of the Corn Products Refining company. Under the direction of these men 14,000 men were handled in eight months in the construction of a plant on which but 1,400 could work at a time. An inner circle, headed by Chamberlain, controlled the financial affairs of the erection of the plant, and as Chamberlain was discharged for padding payrolls and other irregularities, it appears that he had guilty

and hope to return to Chicago Sunday morning. The exact hour we can not now tell. We have to be in St. Louis Monday morning, and may only have a few hours in Chicago. We regard this information conveyed in your letter as very important, and unless it is already in the records at Washington we very much desire to have it. If it is in the records at Washington it will be available to us there. We will wire you from Fargo if we find that we will go back to Chicago. If we find that one or both of us can stop over there we desire an interview with you and Mr. Carroll. If we go that way we will stop at the Auditorium Annex. If we only stop a few hours we may not register.

"Mr. Nell is a tall man with a light beard, wears white hat and gray suit. The writer, Mr. Burnett, is a short, heavyset man, wears mustache, no beard, brown hat and dark clothes."

"Dr. Charles P. Nell, commissioner of labor, and myself are the only members of our party on this trip. Will wire from Fargo tomorrow. Very respectfully,

"JOHN L. BURNETT."

"Meet Us at Auditorium Annex"

The letter was followed by this telegram:

"Fargo, N. D., Oct. 23, 1908."

"Fred Scholl, 492 Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill."

"Meet us at Auditorium Annex at 2 p. m. tomorrow."

"JOHN L. BURNETT."

The appointed conference was held

second reading and from our familiarity with the case, made the copies which I am herewith submitting to you, certain that for the purpose of your investigation you will compare them with what Mr. Legg has, with what you may learn from Mr. Hobbs and from Lewis J. Bailey, special agent of the attorney general. Trusting that both now and during our conversation of yesterday I have made clear that these statements may be considered substantially accurate, and at least valuable to you in ascertaining the exact truth, I now submit such copies as I have now in my possession and which are in the possession of Scholl.

(These statements confine themselves to conditions within the stockade and with the efforts of men to escape. It will be taken for granted that through our first letter to you the method of employing the men, the charging of the labor fee and the names of the men responsible for conditions in the plant have been made sufficiently clear not to need further elaboration at this point.)

Forced Back and Clubbed

"August Steffens said: 'I went to work at Argo about November 2. My check number was 1290. I was put to work as a roofer. A roofer in Chicago gets about 70 cents an hour, while I was paid 16 1/2 cents. I had shipped as a laborer. I did not like the work and could not eat the food. The beef served was often black and the liver green. The bunk houses were insanitary and filled with vermin. I decided

to leave the second night, but was told by the guard at the main gate that I must work out my debt before being allowed to leave the grounds. I tried to force my way out, but was forced back and clubbed. I worked till I was out of debt, which took me four days, at the end of which I had 15 cents in my pocket to go to me. Then I was allowed to leave."

"Work Out Your Debts"

"Frederick K. Rishelhart said: 'I worked at Argo in the latter part of August. I got dysentery the second day from the food, and I made up my mind to leave. I was told to go back and wait till my debts were worked out. I went personally to the head timekeeper and to the superintendent, Mr. A. J. Bishop, and made a complaint, protesting against being held in the stockade. Both men told me I must work till I was square with the company. I did so, and on the fifth day they let me out. I had to wait till 5 o'clock that afternoon before my check was cashed, and even then 10 cents on every dollar was deducted for cashing the check. I also paid a 20-cent doctor's fee, which was taken out of my pay check. The doctor was only at the plant one hour a day, between 12 and 1 o'clock."

Fired At Three Times

"Karl Berman said: 'I worked out at Argo about the 15th of October. They wanted to put me to work in a ditch, but as the work was too damp and my shoes too thin I did not take the work. I and another man tried to leave the second night, but the guard refused to let us. We later discovered a three-foot sewer pipe, which led out of the stockade, and we tried to crawl out through it. A guard saw us and fired three shots, either at us or to frighten us. He told us to come back, and we did. I went to work the next day and remained till the next regular pay day."

Dug His Way Out

"Albert Kruger said: 'I went to work at Argo about the first week in October. I tried to get out the third day because I was sick from the food. I could not get out when I tried to leave. That same night I dug under the fence and got out that way."

"Emil Anderson said: 'On the first evening of my arrival I did not like the food and tried to get out that same night. The guard refused to let me, and so with three other men I found a place where the barbed wire had been cut, and we climbed over the fence. There was no place to wash, except a horse trough, the water in which was seldom changed. I crawled into a wagon and hid in the load and got away."

"In the Name of God, Let Us Out!"

"James O'Mara, hired as a guard, said: 'I was employed as a guard by Martin H. Flynn, who acted as chief of police at Argo. I was stationed most of the time at the gate opening on the

railroad tracks, and I had instructions not to let any one out. I knew that many men dug their way out, that we used ladders and some escaped through the sewer pipe. I sometimes disobeyed orders. Men came to me crying and begged me in the name of God to let them out. I could not help myself—I let them out. The guards were armed with revolvers and shot clubs."

Cleaned the Revolvers

"Stol Smith, in a statement to Scholl, said: 'I was employed at Argo during the months of September, October and November, first as an office boy in the office of the superintendent, Mr. A. J. Bishop, and among other duties I carried messages from Bishop to Martin H. Flynn. For the last month of my employment I worked for Martin Flynn as his office boy. It was part of my duty to keep the six revolvers clean. These revolvers were given to the guards on duty at night and turned in by them in the morning. (Note—Stol Smith was not taken before the grand jury, though he was available at a witness.)

"H. Wiehuchter, employed as a timekeeper, said: 'I was employed by Mr. George E. Chamberlain as a timekeeper for several months, ending with September, and I am willing to testify that the guard at the main gate received every morning a list of names or check numbers of the men who had come to work the night before, so that those in debt were kept track of. The board for which the laborers were charged \$4 a week was not worth more than \$1. I myself went to Mr. Chamberlain and complained against conditions."

Additional Witnesses Ready

"In addition to the statements which I have quoted Mr. Legg received the following men: Edward Hall, John Ryan, Louis Each, G. N. Pritchard, Joe Christ, William Terwilliger, Nicholas Thellon, Ben Levi, Frank C. Wickler (a foreman), F. L. Weir, John Malone, Allan Robertson, Charles C. King, James Mullen, Max Orlin, Christ Winkler, Walter Smith, John Brown (a teamster), Tim Carner, Edward Muller, Mike Smith, A. R. Werner, Jim Edwards, August Arens, Tim Shea, Charles E. Benedict, John Hughes, John Thomas, Jacob E. Krier, James Chase, Burt Brown, James Ader, Lee Mayhall, Joe Hicks, John Simpson, Fred S. Johnson and a few others whose names I have not got."

The Attorney General Acts

"In April, the latter part of I recall correctly, Lewis J. Bailey arrived from Washington, made a review of the evidence gathered and in company with Mr. Scholl took additional testimony. According to my best knowledge he made a full report on his return to Washington. With what I have submitted to you, in company with Mr. Scholl, with the complete evidence in the hands of Mr. Legg, with what Robert Hobbs and Lewis J. Bailey have reported, I think that your commission is amply supplied with data on which to conduct a full review and investigation of the Argo case."

Trust Has \$80,000,000

"The Corn Products Refining company, as you are doubtless informed, is incorporated under the laws of the state of New Jersey and is capitalized at \$80,000,000. Its president, Edward Thomas Bedford, besides being a director of the Standard Oil company of New Jersey, was until last April or March a member of the executive committee of the Standard Oil company. At a meeting of the directors of the Corn Products Refining company, prior to the building of the plant, Mr. Geo. E. Chamberlain appeared in New York and on his representations the plan of operation carried out at Argo was adopted."

"By getting the minutes of that directors' meeting it can be found to just what extent the directors of the Corn Products Refining company are responsible for the subsequent actions which took place under the supervision of Mr. Chamberlain, whom Mr. Frederick Fisher, secretary of the Corn Products Refining company, declared to me to be 'the responsible agent of the Corn Products Refining company at Argo.'

Owed Senator Lorimer \$70,000

"It can be found that during the investigation by the federal authorities that there was in course of settlement between the Corn Products Refining company and the Federal Improvement company, of which United States Senator William Lorimer is president, a bill of some \$70,000. The contract for that bill was in the form of a letter, a copy of which should be in the files of both the companies and in the law office of Lyford, Calhoun & Sheeghan in Chicago, in the Rookery building, to be exact."

"Hoping that this communication may be of service to you, trusting it will facilitate your investigation,

"We remain, respectfully,

"FRED SCHOLL."

"J. C. CARROLL."

That the action of the United States District attorneys in Chicago did not tally with Attorney General Bonaparte's opinion is proved from the fact that a special agent was sent from the department of justice in Washington. Any one who holds any one in peonage or returns any one to a condition of peonage, upon conviction is liable to a fine of from \$1,000 to \$5,000, or imprisonment in the penitentiary from one to five years, or both.

There is a closing chapter to this story. The chief legal adviser for the Corn Products Refining company in the west was, till his appointment as ambassador to China, William J. Calhoun.

TO SETTLE MORE SUGAR THEFTS

New York, Dec. 18.—The National Sugar Refining company, whose books are being raked by the government's lawyers to find how much the treasury has been defrauded in ten years of sugar underweighing, has made an offer to settle for \$600,000. A customs official familiar with the work of the prosecution said today the offer had been made by Henry L. Stiman and William T. Dennison, the government's special counsel, and that Etienne and Dennison were holding back with the idea that the completed examination of the books might show \$700,000 or more due the nation.

N. Y. Debt Is \$1,000,000,000

New York, Dec. 18.—The bonded debt of New York city has reached \$1,000,000,000, according to a report issued by the comptroller. This amount, however, includes more than \$200,000,000 held by the city sinking funds.

TRADE UNION STATISTICS

The aggregate strength of the trade unions of the world, so far as statistics can be obtained, are given in the following table published by the New York State Department of Labor:

Country	Date	Source of information	Aggregate membership
United States and Canada	1908	Estimated	2,500,000
Great Britain and Ireland	Jan. 1, 1908	Government	2,406,748
Germany (Average)	1908	Unions	2,382,401
France	Jan. 1, 1908	Government	857,109
Austria	1908	Unions	469,274
New York	March, 1907	Government	867,093
Russia	1907	Unions	246,273
Sweden	1907	Unions	186,238
Belgium	1907	Unions	181,015
Australia	1907	Government	130,330
Hungary	1907	Unions	130,193
Switzerland	1908	Unions	129,319
Denmark	1907	Unions	90,808
Netherlands	Jan. 1, 1909	Unions	57,971
Norway	1907	Unions	39,070
Spain	March, 1908	Unions	32,613
New Zealand	1908	Government	27,640
Finland	1907	Unions	25,197
Bulgaria	1907	Unions	10,000

The benefits paid to members of national unions in the United States in 1906, 1907, and 1908 were as follows:

	1906.	1907.	1908.
Death benefits	\$ 994,974.79	\$1,076,060.22	\$1,257,244.29
Sick benefits (members' wives)	37,900.00	42,075.00	\$1,390.00
Traveling benefits	683,436.61	712,336.92	\$59,541.34
Unemployment benefits	29,344.93	38,328.93	\$1,092.88
Tool insurance	5,771.00	10,926.86	\$5,871.63
Unemployed benefits	79,582.70	26,984.29	\$205,254.31
Totals	\$1,841,006.12	\$1,927,911.32	\$2,144,895.43

ARGO PLANT OCT 20 1908 190

Aug Schmitt No. 1442 has been employed on the works and is entitled to be paid for

30 Hours @ 16 1/2 per hour 495

Less Board 24 00

Supplies Will not be redeemed on the

Doct. & Fees the Commissary Department of the

R.R. Fare and Agency Fees Company's office on 120 pay day

Total Deduction 485

Net Amount 10

Master J. C. Schmitt

Timekeeper

Received payment in full as above

Sign here August, Schmitt

knowledge of the grafting of labor fees, and that men were held in peonage till the books of the company could show that the labor fees had been worked out.

The Grand Jury Silent

The failure of the grand jury to return indictments on the evidence which we have outlined to your honorable body and which we stand ready to present to you in detail, caused Attorney General Bonaparte to send Lewis J. Bailey, a special agent, to Chicago to investigate. Application at the office of the attorney general would secure that report.

Additional evidence, with which it is needless to encumber this communication, we shall be glad to communicate to your chairman at his convenience.

Respectfully,

FRED SCHOLL.

JOHN C. CARROLL.

"Matter Important"—Burnett

In reply to the above letter Fred Scholl received the following letter from John L. Burnett, congressman from Alabama and chairman of the special congressional committee on peonage. The letter reads:

"Hotel Ryan,

"St. Paul, Minn., Oct. 22, 1908.

"Mr. Fred Scholl, Chicago, Ill."

"Dear Sir: Your esteemed favor of the 17th inst. was handed to us just as we were about to leave Chicago for this place on the afternoon of the 20th. I did not write from here yesterday, because I was waiting to try to give you positive information as to whether we would return to Chicago."

"We go to Fargo from here tonight."

and an agreement made for the presentation of a report to Congressman John L. Burnett, chairman of the special congressional peonage commission, and Charles P. Nell, United States commissioner of labor. Nell was not at the conference, Burnett being alone when he reached Chicago. The report, a copy of which was sent to both Nell and Burnett, reads:

The Special Report

"Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1908.

"Hon. John L. Burnett, Chairman Special Peonage Commission.

"Dear Sir: In compliance with your request in our conversation yesterday I will herewith transmit to you a report of the work done by Frederick Scholl and myself in connection with the investigation of peonage at Argo, Ill. It is the hope of Mr. Scholl and myself that this report may be of service to your commission in checking up the things which the documents in the possession of Assistant District Attorney Chester A. Legg should contain. It is our desire that at your convenience you procure the testimony of Robert Hobbs, special agent of the department of justice, at the time of the investigation, being stationed in Chicago. Following our conversation of yesterday, I wish to remind you that the duplicates of the testimony in the possession of Mr. Scholl and myself were given to Mr. Legg. Later Mr. Scholl and I read various statements, which were also shown to Mr. Charles Toy of the American Magazine, in the presence of Mr. Legg."

Are Substantially Accurate

Mr. Scholl and I then, both from this

Republicans cannot elect a politician mayor next time, they can elect a business man well known to the masses.—Tom.

my at 1000 Tom

overcoats.

"Protector" Overcoats (button up high) at 10.00.

The "Presto" buttons up high or low; young men take to them, my prices 15.00 and 20.00.

"St. George" Kersey Overcoats and they are fit for any gentleman, my price 15.00.

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In first place if you want a bargain in an overcoat come and see this lot of overcoats. Also 200 silk lined worsted Fancy Suits at 15.00 for Saturday. 1800 fancy worsted suits to pick from at 10.00. If you want a suit I can suit you. Fast black seamless 2 for 25c Socks Saturday 6 cents. "President" 50c suspenders (one in a fancy box) 35 cents. Wilson Bros. Fancy Shirts again Saturday 79 cents. Only 3 shirts, 6 socks and a pair of suspenders to a person, for I believe in "protection" and bargains to get you to come to my store; women folks come in, the bargains for Christmas are fine. I sell holiday certificates.

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begin next Sunday morning at the Garrick Theater. It will take the form of a working class system of sociology. This exhaustive system will probably require in all about thirty lectures for its completion and will be the Workers' University's contribution to modern sociological literature. Next Sunday morning at 10:15 the meeting will open for the first lecture of the first course of ten. Do not allow weather or anything else to keep you from this grand opening of this important series.

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not allow rain or snow to keep you from the Garrick Theater next Sunday morning, when the "Workers' University" enters upon the most ambitious project of its career. Modern research has already accumulated, especially of late years, the material for a comprehensive "Science of Society," which will also be a science of life and a philosophy of action. What we need is a critical synthesis from the point of view of the wealth producer. This will be commenced in earnest next Sunday. Will you help, or does your service depend on fine weather? Now, wake up and report for duty next Sunday.

Of Course You Want

the published report of the Kennedy-Lewis debate on "Is the Marxian Theory of Value Exploded?" If it is, the sooner you know it the better. You can get six copies of "The Evolutionist," containing this great debate complete, by sending 25 cents to "The Evolutionist," 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill. Orders are piling up, so get yours in at once. Why not send in 75 cents and become a subscriber for a year? We are doing all we know for the education and emancipation of our own class; why shouldn't you help? Write at once and don't fall into the sluggard class.

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URGES SOCIALISTS TO LABOR IN HARMONY WITH TRADE UNIONS

(Continued From Page Two)

pute, but places where we have the guarantee of no partiality whatever on the employers' side in the event of strikes and disputes as they occur. We are reaching a stage of state insurance against unemployment. However bad a man's state may be when he is at work, the state of a man who has to tramp from city to city and workshop to workshop is always the worst. That unemployment question is now the greatest social subject with which the community can deal. Our ministers in parliament have come to the point of definitely promising that, in the next session, state and national insurance will be provided to insure against unemployment. I cannot go to details, but can tell you that a small contribution of the worker, supplemented by a contribution from the employer and a third contribution from the state, and out of the great fund that will annually accumulate, the man will receive weekly support during the periods when they are compelled to remain idle. The hope I have in respect to this particular law is that it will teach our country to deal, not superficially and not partially, with this economic evil. It is surely better to provide means for giving men the certainty of work in which they shall be able to make wealth to maintain themselves, than to give men money to remain idle.

Unions and Politics

These measures, all of them, are directly traceable, in one degree or another, to this great army of working class forces to which I have alluded. In our country now the men are looked upon as enemies of the workers who would seek to divide, or in any sense sow the seeds of division among the Socialists and trades unions, who have so long worked in helpful harmony in our land. The cry has been often raised, of course, that trades unions should have nothing to do with politics. We did not bring politics into the trades unions in our country, but we brought the trades unions into parliamentary action. That parliamentary action has not lessened industrial activity. It has not diminished our pride in the trades unions; our ardor for the cause of combination in the workshop is no less. Our trades unionism is not thrown overboard because we have taken upon our ship the instrument of parliamentary action.

Mr. Gompers expressed the position, the real foundation upon which this great alliance rests in Britain, when he said we must be partisan for the principle and not for the party; we must manifest the fact that we have political power; and that we intend to use it; otherwise our ballot will become an irrelevant weapon. Our members and our friends cannot expect that the officers of the federation can have

press either upon the political parties or upon congress the demands of the workers for justice and right unless these workers themselves have sufficient interest in the use of their political power to make it clear that there is a potent force behind their chosen officers and representatives.

Wasting Votes

It is by repeating that advice from the platforms of our country that we finally brought our trades unionists to the point of agreeing that the ballot should be used as well as the trade union contributions, and that it is not by fighting the masters in the industrial field and then electing them to dominate the destinies of the workers. The advice given by your president on Monday, I am sure, will shape itself according to your opportunities. You may have to go a different road than we, but whatever the road, whatever be the practical method your circumstances compel you to choose, choose it. There is little value in the vote, if it is wasted election after election.

Let me, in conclusion, speak of what is on our side of the water the principal topic. This is our house of lords, a body which our labor party looks upon as a dangerous relic of ancient days and our political faith in regard to that institution is that it is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished. We know its strength, but we are fully prepared—nay, not merely prepared, but most anxious—that the issue of our forthcoming fight should be not merely the question whether we shall take some small portion of the growing value which the country gives to land, but we want to abolish this body which makes a mockery of the votes the people give on election day.

Poverty Unnecessary

A second question is free trade. In a spot like this I cannot, of course, discuss such a subject, but if there were time it would be only proper to tell you that the trades unionists of our country, with substantial unanimity, and that the labor party of our country, with absolute unanimity, are of the opinion that our free trade system is essential for a country like Britain. We, rightly or wrongly, see in certain new protective countries some of the evils that juggling of the tariff so often raises. We have extended and prospered in all directions, and made wealth in wonderful degree.

There is no need in any civilized country now for people to be poor through lack of wealth. The people suffer impoverishment, not because there is too little, but because there is too much, and that too much has been covered by the few. Poverty is not an infliction of nature. Nature has not shown any shortage in supplying the civil nations of the world, with

those bountiful means for making whatever mankind requires; but our free-trade system is not a system we are content with absolutely. We do not want to stand still, and yet it would be dangerous to go back upon it. We want to make use of all the means we have at our disposal to more equitably distribute among the people of the country the great, the bountiful supply of wealth our free trade system has enabled us to raise.

Problem of Unemployed

The greatest subject we have to deal with is unemployment. We claim that men have the inalienable right to live in a free and civilized community, but that right is robbed of substance when we are deprived of opportunities to work. We now claim that when private employers cannot find work for men who are willing to labor they should not be kept out of work altogether. The mere failure of private employers to fully meet their function of providing work for the worker is not a sufficient reason for compelling that worker to starve. The worker has a wife and family; he has citizen rights as well as the employers of labor have. We feel that organization, directorship and the efficiency of national management can be used to make wealth out of the waste which idleness always represents. A country does not become poorer because it helps men and keeps them in work. A country becomes poorer to the extent that men are forced to be idle. Our claim, therefore, is for an assurance, not merely a chance, but a certainty of work by which to live instead of the mere chance of employment with which men have previously had to be content. We know that is a great claim and is not likely to be implanted in the laws of our country in a day; but great and good and big things have long to be fought for, and whatever may take a leading place in the opinion of our country, we are confident at no time will this right to work take any second place.

Poverty a Crime

Although you have many varieties of nationalities and opinion, you are happy to find that you appear never to approach a question from any point of national narrowness, and that you are rising above that narrow concept of patriotism and nationality that at times has done harm even to the cause of labor. Whatever country a man may be drawn from, there is after all that human claim for which organized labor must stand. Organized labor cannot afford to be suspicious. Organized labor will be driven, if it does not so willingly, to greater resources of unity and can it display at the present time. Our cause is not for a narrow class, it is for mankind. Do not be content to live longer under the idea that poverty is not a crime. Poverty is the greatest crime man can commit, and the sufferings imposed upon the poor are the heaviest penalties society metes out to any of its classes. Poverty is a thing to be despised and abhorred. It means stunted growth and lack of opportunities for our children. If there are to be poor, it ought not to be the class that makes the wealth. The poor we shall have always with us. If that is true, eternally true, let it be true of those who claim idleness as a privilege; not those who are willing to work for whatever measure of wealth they claim to enjoy.

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THE TASK BEFORE THE SOCIALIST PARTY

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

While the Socialist movement of this country has unquestionably made substantial progress within the last few years, as compared with the accomplishments of earlier times, it has, in the whole, barely moved the steps of infancy. The movement is only in the making; its main work is still before it.

The first practical task of American Socialism is to win the support of the American people. Whether the Socialist program will eventually be realized by means of political conquest, economic struggle, industrial organization, general public enlightenment or through the instrumentality of all of these factors combined, it is quite obvious that its realization in whole, and even in part, requires the concerted action of a large portion of the inhabitants of the country. The limited group of idealists, constituted as special custodians of the simple pure philosophy of scientific Socialism, jealously protecting that sacred possession from the profane intrusion of the gentiles, and maintaining an attitude of "splendid isolation" from the rest of the world, will not bring about Socialism. Socialism, to be successful, must first of all descend to the working masses, and the Socialists must carry it to them.

Socialism in the United States is today in the anomalous position of being a working class movement minus the working class, and our main efforts must be to remove that anomaly. Our efforts to enlist the support of the working class must necessarily be directed in the first place to the organized portion of it. Not because the organized workers are more deserving of attention, but because they are easier of conversion. The organized workers of the country number over two millions. Consciously or unconsciously they are already organized as a class; they are engaged in active, every-day struggle against capital; they comprise the more intelligent part of the working class, and they can be more readily located and approached. And whatever may be said to the contrary, our party has never made sustained and rational efforts to win the friendship of these organized workmen. Here and there and now and then we have struck a same attitude toward the economic movement of the workers, but too often we have been lacking in patience, consistency and good sense in our dealings with it.

Much of our time and energies in the past have been wasted on the effort to "capture" the trade union movement. In a few instances we have been led to the folly of attempting to reorganize it, going to the extent of creating rival organizations, and at times we have been interfering and meddling with their internal affairs. We have often tried to coax, cajole and browbeat the trade unions into Socialism, but we have made but little systematic effort to educate their members in the Socialist philosophy. We have made that policy a matter of all. We must discard our trade union politics for trade union propaganda; we must ignore the trade union leaders and address ourselves to the rank and file of the movement. The Socialists within the trade unions must bestow greater attention on their unions, and the Socialist party must be ever alert to champion the cause of organized labor on all occasions, unreservedly and aggressively. But the propaganda among the organized workers does not exhaust the immediate task of American Socialism. The working class must constitute the foundation and backbone of the Socialist movement, but it cannot and need not be its sole support. The workers alone, especially the workers in the narrower sense of the term, are neither numerous nor strong enough to successfully accomplish the Socialist revolution; they need the co-operation of persons from other classes, and that co-operation can be obtained.

A large portion of our farmers, professionals and other members of the "middle classes" are directly and materially interested in the realization of the Socialist program, and many persons of all classes are sympathetically inclined toward Socialism for its ethical and ideal aspects. They should all be brought into our movement. We address ourselves primarily to the workmen, not because they are a class of superior intelligence or virtue, but because our appeal touches more directly their material interest, and we are, therefore, more likely to succeed with them. It is a question of conservation of energy, not of principle, and if any farmer, intellectual or even capitalist, overcomes the barriers of his economic class interests, training, environment, etc., and comes to us adopting our program and methods in good faith and without reservation, he is as important an acquisition to us as any workman.

In this country, as in all other countries, there are numerous persons, not of the working class, whose standard of ethics is above the average, and who have a high regard for the principles of liberty, fairness and justice, even if only in the bourgeois conception of the terms. The capitalist parties and institutions repel them by their vulgarity and corruption. In all countries of the world the Socialist movement is not only the champion of labor, but also the defender, frequently the sole defender, of all civil rights and liberties and of popular justice. It is one of the most potent factors in the movements for universal peace, unrestricted adult suffrage, democratic government and other general humanitarian movements, and even in the United States our party has already had occasion to prove itself the champion of our civil rights and liberties, as shown in the instances of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, Fourer, Rudowicz and De Lara, and by its numerous fights for free speech and assembly.

This function of the Socialist movement should receive greater attention and extension than heretofore. Whenever an event of public importance occurs, whenever a movement of social significance arises, whenever a large battle of labor is fought, whenever the constitutional liberties of the people are threatened or violated, the Socialists should be the first to take a public stand; hold demonstrations, issue proclamations, circulate petitions, take part in public hearings, endorse, defend, support, condemn, as occasion may require, but always be alive, always be on the spot. Our motto must be "Nil humanum me alienum est"—"Nothing human is alien to us." The progressive portion of the population must learn to expect and to hear from the Socialists the first word on all questions of public interest. And this work must always be carried on on a large scale. To enthrone or to indignant ourselves without our own circles serves no good purpose; we must carry our enthusiasm or indignation to the masses.

There is a large program, and it can hardly be carried out by our organized movement with its present quantitative

and qualitative strength. But it is a program that must be carried out, and if our present strength is inadequate for it, our strength must be speedily augmented.

The number of Socialist voters in this country is about half a million. Adding the non-voters to it—the women, aliens and persons who sometimes vote for various reasons—we may safely assume that there are at least a million of avowed Socialists in the United States. Of these less than fifty thousand, or about 5 per cent, are organized. The large bulk of American Socialists are outside of the Socialist party. It is hardly fair to assume that the fault lies altogether with the Socialists, and not at all with our country. Large numbers of the unorganized Socialists have at one time or another been members of the party, and thousands of them come to us and leave us again every year. The Socialist party, somehow, has not learned to attract and to hold even the avowed Socialists. And the reason for this deplorable fact is quite obvious.

The newly converted Socialist comes into the party full of enthusiasm, eager to help the cause and to learn more about Socialism. He gets neither work nor instruction, but a lot of dry routine and personal wrangle. If our movement had been active, aggressive and successful, our workers would be busy, enthusiastic and harmonious; they would have neither occasion, time nor inclination for mutual recriminations and backbiting. But an atmosphere of inactivity and discouragement naturally breeds ill feeling, suspicion, jealousy and friction. Hence our jolly organized workers are "proletarians" and "intellectuals," etc. The Socialists of this country furthermore are afflicted with an unusual degree of ignorance of the philosophy and history of our movement. The average American Socialist is, in this respect considerably behind the average Socialist of Europe.

For us the international movement of Socialism means very little; we know little about its methods and take no advantage of its experience. We are prone to consider the Socialist movement as a purely American problem, to be solved by new, ingenious methods. Hence our amazing and amusing "schools" within the movement, the "possibilists" and "impossibilists," the "opportunist" and "inopportunist," the "industrial workerists" and the "pure and simple," the "ultra-proletarians" and "Christian Socialists," and the other combinations of Socialism with the most marvelous notions.

Our movement must emancipate itself from these idiosyncrasies, and must definitely adopt the well established, sane, tried and triumphant principles and methods of international Marxian Socialism.

Thus the immediate and all important work before us is that of propaganda, organization and education. All other Socialist activities are subordinate to this task, and are useful, useful or even harmful in the measure as they further or retard that work. The Socialist party, as the instrument of action of American Socialism, is primarily charged with the task of so organizing and co-ordinating the efforts of the individual Socialists, as to accomplish these objects, and its mode of operation and form of organization must be adjusted to this task. The Socialist party has today a nucleus of about fifty thousand members, and every one of them can do some useful work in the propaganda of Socialism. Working planlessly and incoherently, or not working at all, we are only a negligible quantity in the population of this country; organized for systematic and constant activity we could become a tremendous power.

And there is where our organization has heretofore failed. Instead of systematically marshalling the collective energy of all Socialists, organizing it for most effective action, and directing it into the most fertile and promising fields, the Socialist party has been conducting an aimless and planless propaganda addressed to the four winds, in the hope that some of its seed may chance to strike fertile ground. We justly criticize the anarchy and wastefulness of the modern system of production, but we are not more methodical or economical in our own work. The Socialist party must be reorganized on a plan which will eliminate the tremendous waste of time and effort involved in unproductive routine work and planless agitation, and direct the energies of the organized Socialists to the legitimate work of Socialism.

Let us take the every day activity of our local organization in New York as an example. Here we have an organization of two thousand members or more. They are all more or less busy. They constitute about thirty organized subdivisions; each of these subdivisions has its officers and committee members, bookkeeping, correspondence, votes, etc.; then we have a central committee, composed of one hundred to one hundred and fifty delegates, with another host of officers, committees and subcommittees, and finally we have a city executive committee similarly organized. Our assembly district organizations receive reports from the central committee, and make recommendations to the same; the central committee, which in turn refers it to the executive committee for action, and the latter reports back again to the central committee for approval, rejection or general discussion. To expedite matters we sometimes take referendum votes, and to enlighten the situation we adopt an occasional resolution of censure and condemnation. We are so busy with ourselves that we have no time for Socialist propaganda among outsiders. We take notice of the great social occurrences only after proper motions "relating thereto" have passed through all proper committees, and the world at large has in the meanwhile forgotten about them. Then we either attempt to remind the public that something has happened some time ago, or we don't. We are strangled by red tape. Our party machinery is devised to paralyze rather than to stimulate action.

There is but one remedy for this crying evil—a radical reorganization of our party machinery. Instead of maintaining thirty small organizations with wasteful activities and no strength, let us have a half dozen of them, organized for real work and with sufficient number of members to carry it out. The German speaking comrades of New York advocate reorganization of the party on the basis of congressional districts, and I believe, the idea is a good one. Our plan of reorganization in assembly district or ward branches is copied from the old political parties, organized solely for the purpose of capturing office and patronage; it has little or no sense for us, except for the requirements of actual campaigns, when we may organize temporary assembly district or ward committees.

Our next step in the reorganization of the local party machinery would

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STUDY COURSE IN SOCIALISM

Authorized by the National Executive Committee

LESSON VII.—THE ECONOMICS OF CAPITALISM: d.

The Theory of Economic Crises.—The process of capitalist development does not go on smoothly and steadily, but by a series of alternating phases—periods of prosperity, marked chiefly by accumulation of capital; periods of industrial depression (economic crises, hard times), marked chiefly by concentration of capitalist ownership.

These crises are peculiar to the capitalist system, and differ widely from periods of general suffering due to crop failures, insect plagues, epidemic diseases, or devastating wars, which have occurred in all ages. Their regularity in time and character shows that they are normal results of causes inherent in the capitalist system. Attempts to explain crises by "lack of confidence," "rash speculation," or plots of financiers do not explain their periodicity. Capitalists cannot cause a crisis unless conditions are ripe for it nor prevent one when they are.

The question whether crises are due to overproduction or to underconsumption is a mere dispute about words, for the two phrases mean the same thing. We must understand why production periodically outruns consumption, or why consumption periodically lags behind production.

It must be borne in mind: (a) That production is controlled by competing capitalists, whose motive is to realize surplus-value by the sale of goods produced for them; (b) that the capitalists' share of the value produced tends to increase and the workers' share to diminish with the accumulation of capital and improvement of methods of production; (c) that prices of goods rise with increase of demand or diminution of supply and fall with diminution of demand or increase of supply.

We now take up the workings of the capitalist system at the beginning of a period of prosperity and follow them out.

1. Prosperity.—Demand is brisk and prices high enough to give the capitalists a large surplus. The productive plant is running at full capacity. Comparatively few workers are unemployed, many work overtime, a part are able to save something from their wages, generally depositing it in savings banks, through which it is transformed into capital.

Of the goods produced, the workers buy an amount limited by the proportion which their total wages bear to the total value of the goods produced. The rest must be purchased by the capitalists, either in the form of articles for consumption or as machinery, etc., to be added to the productive plant.

If the existing ratio could be maintained, this sort of prosperity might continue indefinitely, but it cannot.

Encouraged by quick sales and large returns, owners of mines, mills, etc., speed up machinery and enlarge and improve plant as fast as they can, each seeking to increase his gains regardless of ultimate and general effects; any who fail to do so are overpowered by more enterprising competitors. To a great extent means and industrial capitalists expand their capital on credit, anticipating future returns.

But the increase of the productive plant increases the product more than it increases wages—i. e., reduces the workers' proportional share of value produced; speeding machinery does the same in an even higher degree. As production expands to a period of prosperity, the workers' purchasing power does not grow in proportion to the growing supply of goods, and the workers' purchasing power constitutes a large part of the effective demand for goods. Supply tends to outrun demand. This is not wholly counteracted by the capitalists' increased purchasing power; their purchases for consumption are limited by their comparatively small number and by the desire of each of them, stimulated by high returns, to reinvest as much as possible of his income—i. e., to turn it into additional capital. This again aggravates the tendency of supply to outrun demand.

2. The Crisis.—After several years of prosperity and expansion, comes a time when goods are pouring into the market faster than they can be sold. Prices begin to fall and profits shrink. Merchants and manufacturers who have expanded largely on credit are unable to meet their obligations. Their failure to pay drags down others, and large numbers of banks, commercial houses, and industrial enterprises go into bankruptcy. Many mines, mills, and factories shut down or reduce force. This checks the increase in the supply of goods, but in still larger measure it reduces effective demand—(a) by cutting off wages of disemployed workers; (b) by reducing wages of those still employed, who cannot resist wage-cut when many are unemployed; (c) by causing others to cut down expenditures in fear of want.

In consequence of declining purchasing power, prices continue to fall, in due course compelling capitalists to curtail production still more; or, what comes to the same thing, they curtail production to prevent the fall of prices. In either case, unemployment increases and wages decline, purchasing power is further diminished, which leads to further curtailment, and so on. This reciprocal action continues through several years of hard times.

3. Recovery.—Depression can end and prosperity return only by demand being readjusted to supply, disposing of the surplus of unsold goods. This may come through opening of new foreign markets, or through destructive war; lacking this, it comes at last normally. As prosperity has caused depression, depression in turn causes a revival of prosperity. It is this cause of recovery we must examine. How is the surplus disposed of and the glut cured? Is the question we must answer.

In order to live through the hard times, workmen and also many small business men, professionals, and farmers have to spend all they had saved and even run into debt. Savings bank deposits are withdrawn, stocks and bonds held by small investors sold at a loss, farms and houses mortgaged or those already mortgaged are lost. The savings of the workmen and a large part of the wealth of the middle classes pass into the hands of the capitalists who sur-

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Men's Suits and Overcoats, guaranteed strictly all wool, hand tailored. We sold them earlier in the season at \$18 & \$20. Sale price 9.75
Suits and Overcoats equal to the product of high-class custom tailors at a great variety of them, all worth \$30. Sale price 14.69

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The Socialist Party and the Unions

So far as the Socialist party is concerned, the relations between these two wings of the army of labor have been decided by the highest authorities in the world of Socialism.

The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy.

This is not the only time that this question has been decided by a Socialist body. The same question was upon the order of business of the International Socialist congress at Stuttgart in 1907.

The unions and the party have an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Socialists of practically every country. They do not depend for their authority upon official adoption.

WHAT IS NEEDED TODAY IS NOT THE ADOPTION OF MORE RESOLUTIONS, BUT THE TRANSLATION OF THESE RESOLUTIONS INTO ACTION.

The union and the party are organized for different purposes. Each is an instrument created by the working class for specific work.

The union is organized for bargaining at the shop-door. It is formed for the purpose of strengthening the resistance power of the workers in the sale of their labor power.

On the other hand, the Socialist party is not fitted to do the work of the unions. Its membership must necessarily include many who are not members of unions.

So long as these differences are kept in mind there is no conflict. It is only when Socialists seek to use the political organization as a means of managing the economic organization, or when the unions seek to interfere in the political field that conflict results.

What, then, should be the relation between the unions and the Socialist party? It cannot be one of isolation. Their aims are the same; their work overlaps too frequently for absolute separation.

The Socialist party must necessarily give aid to every effort of organized labor to better the condition of its members. No other party can do this.

The Socialist party and the Socialist press and the Socialist speakers are not called upon to settle union questions.

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BUILD UP THE UNIONS

I believe it is the duty of every working man to join a union to which he is eligible and to attend all of the local meetings and give all the assistance that he can in every way.

A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE TRADES UNION AND THE POLITICAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

BY JOSEPH PROBSTLE

The necessity of a closer co-operation of the economic and the political organization of the working class becomes more urgent every day.

The economic organization, or our trades union movement, is fulfilling its mission and will continue to do so in the future.

It is the mission of the labor class political party to conduct this educational campaign. If the Socialist party is to become the labor class party in America, it must adapt itself to existing conditions and change its tactics.

The past must have taught the most sanguine, pure and simple trades organization that their occasional acquisition of better conditions are, with the exception of the reduction of hours, only temporary benefits.

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SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA IN TRADES UNIONS

BY JOHN M. COLLINS

(John Collins is one of the two special national organizers for the Socialist party whose work is especially among trade unionists.)

In going through the machinists' unions for several months I must say I had very fine success.

When I started out from Chicago the weather was very warm and kept the members from the meetings, and I was somewhat discouraged in the first three or four lodges I went to.

As I went along, however, the meetings got better and better. I found plenty of sympathizers in most of the unions and a good number of members who were afraid of me because I was a Socialist.

So I claimed as a reason that the Socialists had made attack on the unions all over the country, and naturally these men, who know nothing about our doctrines except what they hear from our enemies or from the capitalist press, feel a little suspicious.

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM

BY B. BERLYN

It seems that one of the hardest problems confronting the Socialist movement is how to bring about a proper conjunction of these two expressions of the labor movement in the United States.

Many of the leading writers and speakers of the party have often solved the problem to their own satisfaction. They have said we must capture the leaders.

The Socialist might as well recognize that in those industries, where the trust has not yet made its appearance, something can be gained by the union but its very gains will help the development of the trust and the open shop and no other alternative than the political class organization for its complete enfranchisement by the working class is possible.

In the mean time let the Socialists in the various unions do their duty, not by dilating on the theories of the co-operative commonwealth, but on the significance of the political acts of the capitalist class.

The Socialist party should always be with the struggling wage workers and by its action win recognition as the political expression of working class interests.

While our power may be limited so far as we may obtain a voice in legislation, we should advocate: First, the shorter working day; second, old-age pensions; third, employers' liabilities; abolition of child labor, equal political rights and protection for women, sanitary housing and more along that line.

It will be seen that the Socialists have their work before them and that is to give political response to the economic demands of the working class and, realizing fully that the working class must ultimately challenge the capitalist class for the possession of the public powers so that it may emancipate itself from the thrall of capitalism.

I see a possibility of co-operation between the Socialist party of America and the labor organizations, but we must realize first of all that our movement is evolutionary, and not revolutionary, and without the educated masses a gain of our object would only be temporary.

Remember, you comrades who are outside of the labor organizations, that the labor organizations will manage the machinery of production and distribution in the co-operative commonwealth, and remember, you fellow unionists, that you will remain wage slaves as long as you do not avail yourselves of your political power and strike at the heart of the system.

At a recent meeting of the Chicago branch of the Socialist party, the following resolutions were adopted:

ALL CHICAGO, O. Are invited to attend an Open Meeting to be held TUESDAY EVENING, NOV. 16, 1909, at Douglas C. Hall, Corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets.

Refreshments will be served in the upper hall. The principal speaker for the evening will be Mr. J. M. Collins of Chicago. You are invited to attend.

I just want to say that it is my firm conviction that the Socialist machinists should get into the unions and help the boys along. The union men will come our way after a while if we do our work in the proper manner, and it will help me and other organizers to do better propaganda work.

A FIGHT AND SOME THEORY

BY J. MAHLON BARNES

Early in the spring of 1905 there was a general strike of the teamsters in the city of Chicago. The teamsters were out neither for wages nor hours. In fact they had no grievance of their own.

The master class, then as now, by favor of the workers, held political and governmental powers, and Montgomery Ward had no trouble in getting the police to make a rough house situation for the Garment Workers' pickets and strikers.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, by a referendum vote of all affiliated unions, decided to make the garment workers' issue their own, and selected the Teamsters' union to take the firing line in a sympathetic strike.

To Charles Dold, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Cornelius Shea, then national president of the Teamsters' union, was entrusted the conduct of the workers' forces.

The strongest employers' association ever formed in an American city immediately sprang into existence, backed by millions of capital, with Mr. J. W. Job as director.

Thousands of deputy sheriffs and hundreds of special policemen were sworn in at the instance of the employers. The striking teamsters offered to supply Mayor Dunne or Sheriff Barrett from their own ranks any number of watchmen to protect property and preserve order.

The union men discovered the trap, refused to fall into it, and were given short shift by the officials, their proffered services being declined.

The same afternoon most of the millionaire employers of Chicago sat at a banquet table in the Union League club, and, amidst laughter, jokes and hilarity, were sworn in as deputy sheriffs and provided with a badge and a revolver of the most modern and expensive make.

From the first the police were used as guides for the imported scab drivers in making their deliveries about the city. Each wagon contained at least one policeman, some as many as twelve. Frequently the wagon contained nothing but this human freight and was driven about the city simply for the purpose of inciting trouble.

As may be imagined, the newspapers with one voice denounced the anarchy of the teamsters, ignored the terrorism of the armed scabs, applauded murder committed by special policemen and deputies—all in the name of law and order.

Bernard Wygant, general agent of the Wells-Fargo Express company, advocating a policy for the employers, said: "There must be a certain number of people killed before this thing ends, and the sooner they are killed the better."

If I had my way I would have brought in a crowd of cowboys from Oklahoma and the Indian Territory and put them on our wagons with shotguns and orders to do business." This was repeated in every paper and discounted by none.

Dold and Shea countered for the workers by the issuance of a daily publication exposing the lies of the capitalist press and with assurance that the teamsters were peaceable and that everything was being done to prevent the spread of the strike to other and related industries, and especially as to their opposition, unless as a last resort, to have affected the freight handlers, who were logically next in line to be involved.

However, thousands of men in the building trades did voluntarily lay down their tools for weeks, some of them for months, the moment a scab team driver delivered even so much as a stick of building material.

The declaration of the strike managers to confine the strike if possible to teamsters only brought upon the scene a large, self-appointed and cock-sure committee of saviors of the labor movement, some working in groups, others as individuals, but everywhere in evidence, or offering their advice and services free, gratis—for nothing—for the proper conduct of the fight along scientific lines.

These insisted that the strategic and most effective means, heretofore overlooked, or ignored as a policy, must be employed instantly. The wisecracks wanted additional divisions of the workers involved from minute to minute, beginning exactly with the freight handlers; then the yardmen and switchmen, then all divisions of railway employees, the capmakers, the sugar refiners, the prune sorters and the marshmallow makers—all to take their places in proper order in the strike line.

Because Dold and Shea did not execute this well prepared plan (scheme dream) they were berated and denounced as misleaders and false to their trust, and were under suspicion as to being fixed by the employers.

We are now far enough removed from the scene to tell the facts. Dold and Shea, in doing what they did not involve the freight handlers, were just doing some plain, also artistic, lying in the interest of the working class and to befoul the bosses. They knew, as did every one who was at all familiar with the real situation—which bare the theorists above named—that not one in five of the freight handlers of Chicago were then in any organization, and that they could not have been pulled out on strike with boat hooks.

The team drivers were finally beaten, going down hand in hand with the garment workers. But be it remembered that the bosses with their millions, the newspapers with their lies and the plug-uglies of all Christendom did not and could not defeat these empty handed stalwarts. Just one thing did, and that was the power of the state in the hands of the boss class, which made the police club active, placed blackjacks and shotguns with the strike breakers, carbines with the deputies and up-to-date shooting irons in the hands of both millionaires and thugs.

However, the bosses' organization got its experience at an extravagant price and went out of business. Mr. Job, who was king of Chicago for months, is no longer heard from, his usefulness and his occupation being gone.

Notwithstanding the result and the fact that serious internal trouble immediately following the strike divided the union, the teamsters are now more strongly organized than on that winter's day nearly five years ago when these big, rough but warm hearted fellows took up the cause of the men and women garment workers on the basis that their horses needed rest more than Chicago needed another sweatshop.

Socialist Propaganda in Trades Unions

BY DAN A. WHITE

(Dan A. White is one of the special organizers for the Socialist party who is working especially among trade unionists.)

After a few months' work among the locals of the Molders' unions, if I have been impressed with any particular thing it is the lack of understanding of the Socialist movement, its aims and purposes on the part of the members of the party.

We may seem surprised at this in view of all the work of agitation we have been doing among the workers. One would think that some of the agitation would have filtered through to the molders in the same proportion that it has to other craft members, but it seems that it has not.

This may be accounted for by the laborious nature of the work, work that precludes the study of problems outside of their immediate material interest.

It is not because of lack of intelligence, for it is safe to say that the molders average in intelligence with the members of other crafts.

In visiting the locals I found them eager to hear Socialism discussed, and when no special effort was made to get a large attendance a second visit was asked for and promises made that every endeavor would be made to get all the members present.

Dates were already made that prevented return engagements at the time, but assurances were given that upon notification they would get up special meetings so that all might hear.

The experience has been that every courtesy has been extended; the regular business of the unions was carried through with dispatch or suspended if not important, that the speaker might not talk to dwindling audiences.