

THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST

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SOCIALISTS NO TO AID MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN

Party Members in New York Not to Act With "Suffragettes"

TO AROUSE ALL WHO TOIL

Votes for Women Part of Great Plan for Social Progress

New York, Dec. 23.—At a conference of the Socialist women of New York, at the East Eighty-fourth street labor temple, after more than five hours' discussion, a resolution was adopted declaring against co-operation with the existing suffragist organization and in favor of continuing an independent propaganda among the women of the working class.

It was held that while Socialists were the original advocates of universal and absolute unreserved suffrage, an irreconcilable conflict of interests and ideals between the bourgeois women in the suffrage movement and the working women of the Socialist party made impossible any satisfactory and continuous co-operation on a large scale between the two opposing elements.

Part of Social Question
The suffrage question, said the Socialist women, was only part of the whole social problem, and while, as a matter of course, enthusiastic and determined advocates of woman suffrage, they held that the general propaganda of Socialism should not be subordinated or compromised by this minor issue.

Over two hundred persons attended the conference, including many non-Socialist suffragists and a number of Socialist men. All women who wished to take part in the discussion were given the privilege of the floor, but only women who are members of the Socialist party were allowed to vote, as the purpose of the meeting, was to define the attitude of Socialist women on this question.

Text of Resolutions
The conference was held under the auspices of the Women's Committee of Local New York, Socialist party, and the resolutions adopted are as follows:

"Whereas, We, the Socialist women of New York, have before us a two-fold mission, first, to work for the economic liberation of the working class, and second, to work for the political liberation of our sex; and

"Whereas, We believe that today the two classes in society are divided by even sharper lines than the two sexes in society; and

"Whereas, This belief would undoubtedly bring us in frequent conflict with the organized suffrage movement, thus hampering us in that most important portion of our work to which the bourgeois suffrage movement is, by its very nature, antagonistic; therefore, be it

Resolved, That while we naturally are in sympathy with any body working for woman suffrage, yet we consider that the arousing of class consciousness constitutes our most important propaganda among our proletarian sisters; be it further

Resolved, That the work of Socialist women for the suffrage must be carried on along separate and independent lines, through and by the economic and political organization of the working class."

Boy Workers Starving
FOUR FOUND IN LUMBER CAMP IN DESTITUTE CONDITION AND FREEZING

Newark, N. J., Dec. 22.—The New Jersey Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has taken possession of four boys, children of Archie Johnson, a tree chopper of West Caldwell, in Essex county.

Superintendent Jared W. Kimball, the society's agent in Newark, took the children from the custody of their parents. They range in age from three to thirteen years. None of the boys has ever attended school. They were almost famished from cold and hunger when Kimball found them in a lumber camp on the west slope of the Orange Mountains between West Caldwell and Little Falls.

BOOKING AGENCY WAR IS RESUMED

Vaudeville Actors Start Fight for Living Wages; Theaters Breed Disease

Action against the "unfair" booking agents of Chicago has been carried to the Chicago Federation of Labor by the Associated Vaudeville Artists' union, Local No. 4, in an effort to bring all the booking agencies into line, as a result of the victory gained by the strike in September.

The fight is directed against the booking agency of Frank Q. Doyle, 92 La Salle street, in an effort to make him agree, not to book any attractions under the minimum wage scale of \$25 per week for a person or \$50 a week for a team of two. The matter was taken up at a meeting of the union, and the action immediately forwarded to the executive board of the federation of labor.

Fight Interests Many
Although most of the booking agencies have already signed agreements with the union, there are a few still holding out, pending the result of the fight on the Doyle agency. The federation of labor has agreed to support the actors in their fight.

Although the vaudeville actors won their recent strike and are getting wages higher than ever before, they are still a very unhappy crowd. A "Merry Christmas" is almost taken as an insult by them.

The people are spending their money for Christmas presents and have very little time, money or inclination to attend a show. The result is that only about half of the performers are earning anything that looks like living wages at present. Most of them are happy when they can get a booking for even a short time.

The older members of the profession know that there is little doing from the first of December until about the middle of January, and make their preparations accordingly. The young actors, however, hardly ever have a bank account, and is having a hard time making both ends meet.

Road Shows Prosperity
Life on the road is proving a greater success this year than last. By Christmas in 1908 about 350 companies had returned to Chicago practically broke, whereas this year the number has been cut to barely half a hundred.

The sick list of the union this year, more than ever before, numbers many performers suffering from throat and lung troubles, due to the unhealthful conditions encountered at the various theaters. Part of the fight of the union has been to secure better accommodations, but it is recognized that this struggle will have to be carried a great deal farther to obtain desired results.

When a performer comes off the stage after an act only to meet a gust of wind, or run into a draft, it is inevitable that a severe cold should follow.

White Slavers Sent to Prison

Men Who Drove Girls Into Streets to Sell Themselves Convicted

New York, Dec. 23.—Edna Leonard, seventeen years old, and Sarah Einstein, eighteen, charged two young men in the west side police court with living off the proceeds of their earnings on the street.

The prisoners gave the names of Paul Goldberg, twenty-two years old, and Michael Morano, eighteen years old. The police say Morano's home is in Bensonhurst and that Goldberg comes from the East Side.

After hearing the case, Magistrate Mease said:

"The evidence is overwhelmingly clear as to your guilt, and I am going to send you to the workhouse for six months. I sincerely regret that this is the maximum punishment that I can inflict, as it is altogether too inadequate for the crime. The filthy, abominable, detestable crime of having girls earn money on the street and to live off the proceeds of their earnings merits a much greater punishment."

Held for Guardian
Sarah Einstein is held in \$100 bail until a proper guardian appears. Edna Leonard was paroled in the custody of Miss McQuade, probationary officer.

The girls were led into evil life by a man named Maxey Gardner. Sarah Einstein was a thirteen-year-old. When the strike started he persuaded her to take up an apartment with two of his "friends." He took her in the house where the Leonard girl was staying and introduced them. The three then visited a moving picture show in Rivington street, and met Goldberg and Morano.

Goldberg and Morano, according to the girls, took them to a flat in West Sixty-sixth street and ordered them to go out and make money. Detectives McGowan and Baxter, who had been watching the house for some time, forced their way in when Morano and Goldberg were there and arrested all four.

Beaten and Kicked
Edna Leonard said she and Sarah Einstein did not return with enough money and they were punched, kicked and sent out for more. Gardner, she said, also called at the flat and beat them. Sarah Einstein had a black eye when she appeared in court.

SALVATION ARMY AND VOLUNTEERS WAR OVER CASH

Rival Armies Picket Street in Mad Scramble for People's Nickels

VILIFY EACH OTHER'S AIMS

Charges of Unchristian Greed Fly Thick and Fast While Poor Suffer

"Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's."
A Christmas row over street corner receipts has stirred up the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America. Each asserts it has prior rights to the street crossings and greater claim to the contributions.

Charges of avarice and commercialism were exchanged freely today. The Salvation Army accuses the Volunteers of America, with contracting with an agency to conduct its Christmas collection campaign. The arrangement with the agency, the officers of the army assert, is on a commission basis.

"A large percentage of the receipts that the street corner 'Santa Claus' collect for the Volunteers goes to a contractor who receives a percentage for the collection," asserted Brigadier Smeeton of the Salvation Army. "That is why they have two and three men where we have one. The contractors make a scientific business of it, and can afford to send out an army of scoundrels. The Volunteer officers turn over the collection to an agency because they are avaricious and greedy."

"Not all those who cry, 'Lord! Lord!'"

The Volunteers of America took possession of the corners down town before the first of December. Selecting the points of vantage, they dressed up some thirty men in the garb of Santa Claus and assigned them to positions on the street corners.

The first Saturday, in December, about a week after the Volunteers' placards bearing "Christmas Dinner for the Poor" waved in the air, the Salvation Army began to place turbaned lassies near to the Volunteers' men. This started loud "war cries" from the Volunteers.

"We took possession of the corners first," argued Major Merryweather, "and we have a right to them. The Salvation Army sent out their girls and placed them along side of our men. They collect money continuously and never seem to have enough of it. Frequently the Salvation Army turns over needy people to us for relief."

"When I found them invading our territory, I let them know that I would place two men to every one of their girls to get the collections on both sides of the streets. And you bet the Salvation Army did the same thing with the girls who collect for it."

"Blessed are the Poor, for They shall inherit the earth."

The Salvation Army accuses the Volunteers, in their greed for big profits, of employing disreputable characters. The men who are dressed as Santa Claus, they say, are drunkards, pickpockets and a motley array of the inmates of the Municipal Lodging house. They are employed because they work for the small fee of \$1.35 per day, say the Salvation Army officials.

In disparaging words, one of the Salvation Army soldiers berated the "soldiers" of the opposing camp as men who would lower the standard of the Salvation Army.

"If we would engage such men," said the warrior bold, "people would think the Salvation Army is an army of bums. You will find them in saloons and cheap lodging houses evenings. We wouldn't engage them."

"As ye have done unto the least of these, my brethren—"

The Salvation Army street corner workers are members of the army training school, receiving their education preliminary to entering the field as "officers."

"We are placing our own, and reliable people," stated Adjutant Isaacs. "If we hired men, we probably would find ourselves in embarrassing situations. One of the Santa Clauses seems to have been frozen by the cold, and he thought that some fire water would warm him up. But he took too much, with the result that he fell asleep. When a crossing policeman woke him up there was a fight and a ride to the police station."

Contractor Asphyxiated
BY GAS IN BATHROOM
E. A. Haasz, a teaming contractor, was found dead in the bathroom of his home, 1023 Center street, from gas asphyxiation.

The tragedy was discovered by M. A. Mary Russell, mother-in-law of the victim, who was awakened by the odor of gas. She investigated and found that the gas was escaping from the bathroom.

Haasz was found unconscious on the floor. A physician was summoned, who declared that he was past aid.

Whether the death was accidental or whether he attempted to commit suicide, the police were unable to determine.

"OUR LOATHSOME CONTEMPORARY"

The Daily Grind

CHRISTMAS IS COMING!
DAILY GRIND REPORTER MAKES STARTLING DISCOVERY, WHICH WITH OUR USUAL ENTERPRISE WE PRINT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THIS ISSUE

THE REPORTER OF THE GRIND, WHO HAS BEEN WATCHING THE ACTIONS OF SOME PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEHAVED SUSPICIOUSLY FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, MADE A SENSATIONAL DISCOVERY LAST NIGHT. A SUSPECT HAVING SENT A PLOT AMONG THESE FUSSY INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE DASHING MADLY ABOUT THE STREET (CARRYING MYSTERIOUS PACKAGES, THE REPORTER TRAILED ONE TO HIS LAIR AND AFTER THE SUSPECT HAD SECRETED THE STUFF AROUND THE ROOM AND RETIRED, THE REPORTER IN AND EXAMINED A PACKAGE. IT CONTAINED: 1 PAIR OF SKATES, 1 DRUM, 1 PAIR OF SLIPPERS, 1 HORN, 6 PICTURE POST CARDS WITH SNOW SCENES.

THERE CAN BE NO BETTER PROOF, EXCLAIMED THE REPORTER, THEY CAN'T FOOL THE DAILY GRIND AT CHRISTMAS IS COMING!

HOLIDAY SLUSH!
OH! DON'T FEEL BLUE LITTLE ONE: IF SANTA DON'T BRING A SINGLE TOY YOU CAN'T EXPECT THE DEAR OLD MAN TO KNOW THE NAME OF EVERY BOY

GIVE LITTLE ALONZO THE HOOK! WE ARE NEXT TO THAT "POOR" GAG! SANTA DON'T FORGET THE RICH KIDS

EACH CHILD WHO HAS BROUGHT A PENNY IN EVERY SUNDAY ALL THE YEAR WILL COME FORWARD AND RECEIVE A HANDSOME GIFT 3¢ WORTH OF JAW BREAKERS AND AN ORANGE

POOR WILL BE GIVEN DINNER ON CHRISTMAS! CHARITY FEED SHOULD SATISFY THEIR HUNGER UNTIL NEXT YEAR

WHAT THEY WILL GET

OF COURSE IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GIVE TO ALL THE POOR BUT THOSE WHO DON'T RECEIVE A BASKET THIS TIME WILL BE REMEMBERED NEXT YEAR.

ANNOUNCEMENT
OUR FRIENDS TELL US WE ARE SHOWING BAD TASTE IN ISSUING OUR CHRISTMAS NUMBER SO NEAR CHRISTMAS. THEY SAY WE SHOULD HAVE EMULATED OUR CONTEMPORARIES AND PUBLISHED OUR CHRISTMAS NUMBER TWO OR 3 MONTHS AGO. BUT THE DAILY GRIND IS DIFFERENT THAN THE OTHER PAPERS, AND ANYHOW WE DIDN'T THINK OF IT BEFORE.

IT WAS THE NIGHT BEFORE XMAS NO CHRISTMAS NUMBER WOULD BE COMPLETE WITHOUT THE ABOVE.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

SANTA & CO. NORTH POLE

FOR FATHER: A BOX OF EL POPO STINKO DORAS (SCAB MAKE)

FOR BIG SISTER: ADVICE TO THE LOVE LORN

FOR BROTHER: STEAM ENGINE WARRANTED TO BLOW HIM UP AT FIRST OPERATION OR MONEY REFUNDED ONLY 49¢

FOR LITTLE SIS: CARPET SLIPPERS

FOR AMATEUR SANTAS: ASBESTOS WHOKERS

FOR BABY: AUTOMATIC REVOLVER MAKES LOTS OF NOISE WILL AMUSE ANY CHILD

ABE LINCOLN'S SON SHOWN UP AS A CAD

Big Rail-Splitter's Small Offspring Sneers at Toiler's "Ignorance"

BY A TEAMSTER
"God must love the common people. He made so many of them."—Abraham Lincoln.

The other day I took a package of books, congressional records, I think, up to Robert T. Lincoln at the offices of the Pullman Palace Car company. Outside of his office there were signs saying:

"Office of the President, Employees Must Be Polite."

A porter in uniform and wearing a smile to show how proud he felt, stepped up to me and said:

"Take your hat off when you talk to him."

"I don't take it off to men of my own class," I said, "and I don't take it off to any other man."

Mr. Lincoln heard us talking and told us to come in and we did.

"With malice toward none and charity toward all."

"Never mind," said Mr. Lincoln to the porter. "He is too ignorant to take off his hat. All teamsters are ignorant."

"I don't take off my hat to men of my own class, and not to any other man," I said, "and if teamsters are ignorant it's because they haven't had the wealth and time to get a good schooling, so as to learn to take off their hats to gentlemen like you."

"You are getting too smart," said Mr. Lincoln.

"A minute ago you said I was too ignorant and now you say I am too smart."

Mr. Lincoln got so mad I thought he would eat the package I had delivered to him.

On my way out the porter was more friendly, thinking I had been shown my place, and I said:

"He ain't a relation of Abraham Lincoln, is he?"

"Don't you know?" said the porter, most politely, "he's Abe Lincoln's son."

I gave it up.

WAYMAN HALTS INDICTMENTS OF CITY GRAFTERS

Harry Smith, Busse's Private Secretary, May Be Among Those Hit

CONSPIRED TO DEFRAUD

True Bills May Strike 'Shale Rock' Contractors and Public Officials

State's Attorney Wayman has again delayed the indictment of the city hall grafters. He now announces that he may let the matter wait till the convening of the January grand jury. Up to noon yesterday he had worked the city into a fever of expectancy and all the newspapers expecting indictments hourly printed stories that indictments had been voted and conjectured broadly as to the persons hit by the grand jury action. The afternoon papers had for the most part gone to press before Wayman hinted that the graft, quib by the grand jury has been delayed.

The December grand jury will adjourn tomorrow afternoon and expect that time great things are expected. Those who are practically sure to be hit today are officials of coal companies who sold inferior grade coal to the city on the pretense that it was what the specifications called for. Such a man is Harry Smith, Mayor Busse's personal private secretary.

Socialist Opens Battle

On June 23 the Daily Socialist started Chicago with the flaring headline, "Chicago Ruled by Band of Criminals: Busse at Head of Most Notorious Clique that Ever Plundered a City." Under that head the criminal wastefulness of the Busse regime was shown, the conditions in the red light district of the south side were described, as were the actions of policemen in that district. Later issues of the Daily Socialist exposed the coal graft in connection with the taxes of the State street department stores.

Appendicitis—Whatever That Is

But it was on June 23 that Mayor Busse was stricken with "appendicitis," whatever that is. On June 30 the Daily Socialist continued its attack and on the morning of July 1 the staff of the paper appeared before the grand jury. Mr. Wayman, the state's attorney, was as usual diplomatic and suave, as is a thunderstorm. He shouted questions to the members of the staff, who were under prior pledges of secrecy in disclosing the source of their information. The newspapers gloated over what they felt to be the Daily Socialist's desperate plight. Busse thundered that he would have the staff indicted for criminal libel. Wayman would not act on Busse's request. "Let Mr. Busse come before the grand jury himself," said Wayman, and Busse never came. Busse appealed to United States District Attorney Sims to have the paper shut out of the mails. Sims refused.

The Daily Socialist, through Arthur Burrage, Howell of the Chicago Law and Order League, rescued a white slave from a Twenty-second street resort.

Police Aid White Slavers

The police, in the presence of a Daily Socialist reporter, who was unknown to them, submitted the girl to an unmerciful third degree, trying to force her back into the dive. That same afternoon John J. Whelan, inspector at the Harrison street police station, defied Municipal Judge Newcomer and refused to produce the girl in court. The girl has never been seen since she went to the Harrison street police station.

The expose begun by the Daily Socialist started in May, when stories were printed showing how the Busse regime was spending each year millions of dollars in excess of the money used by former administrations. The graft by the whole of the Busse administration up to that date was placed at \$2,000,000, that being the excess which had been consumed, in what ways the vast increases in the number of city employees forming the Busse machine at the city hall showed to some extent while further light was thrown out by the snip contracts given to the members of the inside ring of contractors.

The city hall was shown to be a den of thieves, and each day's story asked, "What have you done with the money, Mr. Busse?"

THIEVES LOOT FLAT AND STORE

Two burglaries within a few doors of each other were reported to the police by O. H. Meyer, 2335 North Clark street, and members of the grocery firm of Minter & Lecky, 2342 North Clark street.

The burglar entered the Meyer flat by climbing a rear porch to the second story. He entered the room where Meyer and his wife were sleeping, took 250 from Meyer's clothing and then ransacked the silver chest. Meyer was aroused just as the thief was escaping through a window.

It is thought the same thief tried open the door of the grocery store and stole 60 cents, a basket of fruit and four cakes of maple sugar.

Sad Christmas for Sitatunga
Kampala, Uganda, Dec. 23.—Col. Roosevelt and Kerani were out early today hunting the sitatunga, a rare antelope.

THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST

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 NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER (ALL DEPARTMENTS) FRANKLIN 1105

By carrier in city of Chicago—
 Daily, per month, \$6. Order by
 postal card or telephone, Franklin
 1105. Daily by mail in advance—
 Outside Chicago: One year, \$51;
 six months, \$26; four months,
 \$17; three months, \$12; two
 months, \$8 cents.

The publication of a signed article does not mean endorsement by the Daily Socialist of
 opinions expressed therein. Inclose postage for return of unused manuscripts.

Steel Trust Philanthropy

Shortly after the United States Steel company was organized it
 announced a plan by which it proposed to sell its highly watered
 stock to its employees on a sort of easy payment system. This gen-
 erous plan was to give the workers an opportunity to share in the
 profits of the monster trust. It was also aptly designed to allay the
 storm of criticism that was being directed at the frenzied finance that
 had marked the organization of the concern.

Many and great were the blessings that were to flow to the vast
 army of laborers who were toiling in the steel mills. This philan-
 thropic distribution of stock was to make them all partners in the
 greatest of corporations. It was to unite capital and labor, to abolish
 the class struggle, to give a sample of the industrial millennium.

Soon wages began to fall, and especially in those very numerous
 grades of labor where wages were too low to permit the purchase of
 stock. Other abuses crept in until the steel mills became the infernos
 of the labor world, with twenty-four hour shifts, and regular twelve-
 hour days, amid murderous machinery. Profits rose higher and
 higher, until even the watered stock that had been sold to employees
 began to pay dividends; the conditions of the workers grew worse
 and worse. The union was driven from the industry and the workers
 left defenseless to face the most powerful aggregation of profit-gath-
 ering capital on earth.

When organized labor at last awoke to the fact that if it per-
 mitted itself to be excluded from this most basic of industries it was
 abandoning the most strategic point in the whole field of industrial
 warfare, it was to discover that the steel trust had entrenched itself
 behind this so-called profit-sharing scheme, not in order to improve
 the condition of the workers, but the better to fight all efforts for
 such improvement.

In the words of a leading financial paper: "The steel corporation
 has planned for the past few years for just such a contingency as it
 now confronts. It has interested thousands of skilled mechanics as
 stockholders, and counts upon their loyalty as partners in the busi-
 ness to stand by the corporation in the event of a general strike."

The Socialists predicted this outcome when the stock was first
 distributed. They called attention to the skillful bribery upon which
 the plot was based. Like all "welfare schemes," it was but an effort
 to divide the workers, bribe those most capable of fighting, prevent
 the formation of class consciousness, and thereby extend exploitation.

All of which is recommended to those who have been willingly,
 or otherwise, blind to the reason why the Civic Federation maintains
 a "welfare department."

Profit

There is something almost refreshingly cold-blooded and frank
 about the report of the United States Immigration commission on the
 "white slave" trade. It does not claim that "white slavery" is caused
 by natural depravity, human weakness, lack of moral training, or any
 of the other popular explanations of defects in our social system. It
 states clearly, without equivocation, that "to the motive of business
 profits is due beyond question the influence which creates and up-
 holds this traffic."

That is some progress at least. It is a little satisfaction to have a
 correct diagnosis of the case, even if the same old quack remedies are
 prescribed.

When a modern physician declares that pus in a wound is due to
 infection and not to "humors in the blood" we do not expect him to
 prescribe a poultice.

Unfortunately, social doctors have not yet reached that stage of
 consistency. While the United States Immigration commission re-
 ported to congress that profit is the cause of the white slave trade it
 has never occurred to any member of either the committee or of con-
 gress that, if this is true, then the proper way to combat it is to take
 the profit out of it.

Over the Limit at Spokane

A few days ago it was predicted in these columns that the idiotic
 city administration at Spokane would be driven to action that would
 give victory to those who are fighting for free speech. It was pointed
 out that the attempt to enforce a tyrannical law always led to further
 and further invasions of fundamental rights until so wide a circle was
 aroused that the tyrant was overthrown.

The action of the Spokane authorities in raiding the headquarters
 of the I. W. W. and destroying its furniture means that this limit has
 been exceeded. If the fighters for free speech will maintain for a very
 little longer the same peaceful attitude that they have maintained up
 to the present time the reaction will begin and will sweep the little
 would-be tyrants of Spokane into oblivion.

THE TRUCK HORSE

BY GEORGE E. BOWEN

Stop! In the name of mercy, Halt! For the love of life.
 This is your show of progress! Something like this your strife!
 Loudly you damn the Russian, fiercely you curse the Turk—
 You of the Christian churches, whose prayers are your hardest work.
 Battered and blind and broken—where is your rule of gold?
 Not to your heart has spoken the grief that the good has told?
 Then are you wood or iron? Cruelty is your name?
 Are your tears of stone that have never known the depth of your careless shame?
 Fasten you with a harness, torture your mouth with steel.
 Fashion your whip of fire—still shall you live to feel.
 Double the load, no matter, money is more than pride.
 Then, if the purse grows fatter, what is a horse's hide?
 Cobble and rail and asphalt, bridges to gain—or die.
 O that a horse's pleading gave you its victim's cry.
 O that your haughty hurry one of its piteous knew—
 Of the hopeless strain that woe! not complain in the happy—
 Stop! In the name of mercy, Halt! For the love of life.
 What is the price of profit? What is the heart of strife?
 Brute of the lowest order, bow to the other's need.
 Know what it is to suffer, see that the slave is freed.

THE POWER BEHIND THE REPUBLIC

BY CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

As soon as you look under the surface of government,
 or of almost anything else, you will find that the sub-
 stance of the thing—if it be of any permanent interest
 is close to business. So far as government is concerned
 that is not merely controlled by business; it is business;
 and about other matters—if they be worth while—business
 always has the last word.

For instance, a free and enlightened press.
 One summer, many years ago, we had in New York a
 season of strange and not very edifying panic about
 Asiatic cholera. In Europe the disease had long been
 widespread; its progress and fatalities had been truly
 alarming; after a time almost every European
 steamer arriving at port reported cases of cholera among
 her passengers. Possibly, then, the panic was not so won-
 derful; certainly it was very genuine.

It passed, and by the populace was forgotten; not by
 business, however, which never forgets. A few years
 later I was the city editor of a New York newspaper, and
 one day there came into my office the health officer of
 the port, an old and dear friend. He sat down somewhat
 ill at ease, and said he had come to tell me something.
 There was a steamer that day arrived with cholera on
 board. I said I knew that. He said:

"I have come to suggest that you print nothing
 about it."

I asked why, being unforgottenly astonished at such a
 request from such a source. He said:

"Well, the business men of New York have been con-
 sidering this thing and it is bad for business, so they
 have decided that they don't want anything printed about it."

I remember I said something to the effect that my
 function was to print whatever interested or concerned
 the people of New York, that the arrival of a cholera
 ship was a matter of most legitimate and vital interest to
 them, and so far as I was concerned, there would be
 no suppression of the facts. He said:

"I'm sorry. We've been friends for years. I shall have
 to refuse your reporters any information about that ship."

Three-quarters of an hour later the business manager
 of the paper came upstairs from the den of inquiry that
 he called his office, and entered the purer atmosphere of
 the editorial department. He brought with him an order
 extracted from the head man of the institution, that we
 forget the presence of the cholera ship. So we forgot it.
 Likewise every other newspaper forgot it. Business had
 but to nod, and lo! not a word along the line!

Now the health officer was a functionary of the State;
 he had nothing to do with business; business neither
 chose him nor could dismiss him; he was in no way re-
 sponsible to the business men of the city, but had been ap-
 pointed by the State of New York to guard all its citi-
 zens against the importation of disease. Yet at a mo-
 ment's notice, business in New York City reached out its
 hand and touched the politician, and they sealed the
 health officer's mouth, good man though he was; and
 reached out the other and silenced every newspaper in
 New York supposedly keen and eager for every important
 development.

The printing of news about cholera was bad for busi-
 ness; hence business decided off hand that there should
 be no printing of cholera news. At that time the manner
 of the thing was new and created some astonishment
 among us; it is now familiar and occurs without comment,
 not only in New York but elsewhere. I have known the
 same thing to happen more than once in Chicago; I have
 been assured that the histories of bubonic plague and of
 earthquakes in San Francisco are adorned with many simi-
 lar incidents, and have reason to believe that the true
 origin of the "reassuring" news printed after the panic
 of November, 1907, would be fairly interesting reading if
 one could come by it.

Without discussing whether the printing of doctored
 news or the suppressing of inauspicious tidings be or be
 not for the country's welfare, it seems to me that the
 fact that so far as business is concerned, the freedom
 of the press is a mere mythical. There is no such thing
 as the most potent censor in the world. No news-
 paper of standing would venture to print any matter con-
 demned by business, nor fail to print any matter, though
 sometimes very ill-founded, that business required to have
 printed.

THE INTELLECTUALS

BY A. R. COOPER

What means this strange, raucous,
 stultifying cry so often heard of late
 in the Socialist papers against the role
 of intellectualism in the great cause
 of the toiling masses? Is it not an ex-
 pression of heathenish feeling against
 the very force that is most essential
 for the success of this, or any high,
 human movement?

It is like saying the cause has no
 need of light, science and ideas, and
 this, too, in full face of the fact that
 there never can be and never has been
 human advancement except by means
 of conquests of the mind.

The ruling classes owe their supre-
 macy quite as much to the power of edu-
 cation as to the possession of wealth.
 In fact, they have always sought to
 retain the monopoly of both these ad-
 vantages. You never hear of the rul-
 ers . . . ning against the intellectuals; in
 fact, they are the brains, the master
 spirits, the richest asset of the upper
 classes.

They are courted and rewarded with
 loyal care as the mainstay and sup-
 port of every ruling power, and are em-
 ployed especially to keep the masses in
 subjection by bending their thoughts
 and will in opposition to their real in-
 terests.

Wherever we find the masses hug-
 ging their chains, as where until now
 most recent days have they not always
 done, it is the teachings of the up-
 per class intellectualism, the hypnotism
 responsible for the mighty medicine
 men of capitalism, the lineal descend-
 ants of those ancient priests and oracles
 who have ever striven to keep the
 many in the bondage of superstition
 and ignorance. Just as it is the pov-
 erty of the poor that is their destruc-
 tion, so the beginning of their improve-
 ment has always come with the break-
 ing of their ignorance.

They are indeed the brains, the multi-
 millionaires themselves, but merely
 able and trusted employees—highly paid
 no doubt, but always selected because
 gifted intellectually for the positions
 to which they are assigned.

Seldom, or never, do they make the
 mistake of placing on the firing line
 a stupid and easy-going member of
 their own order. All this, of course, is
 commonplace enough and there is much
 besides to say in the same line. But
 now that things are being said against
 the intellectuals, it is well to remind
 ourselves of who it is that is being run
 down.

Now, unlike the intellectuals of the
 past, these intellectuals of the pres-
 ent are much less men of con-
 viction and faith, men of "admiration,
 hope and love," but rather Hesians
 or climbers for social and pecuniary
 eminence, men who work with energy
 and skill, seeking only that they re-
 ceive all they can get of pay and fash-
 ionable honors. But hosts of them, in
 their heart of hearts, are in fullest sym-
 pathy with the classes they outwardly
 oppose.

But the intellectuals of the proletar-
 iat are a different sort. These believe
 in their cause, desire its success, and
 turn aside from the leaves and fishes
 to help it along. It is these who have
 done so large a part to make the So-
 cialist movement the power it is in the
 world.

It is these indeed who have always
 been on the side of every upward
 movement of civilization. Socrates was
 of their number and all his many dis-
 ciples.

The Gracchi of Rome would now be
 called intellectual. The peasant of Gal-
 ilee was of their cut, and how many
 there were of them who wrought in
 the dark of the middle ages, who are
 far enough from knowing. Two of
 them, Wickliff and Roger Bacon, make
 noble pages in the history of England.
 Huss, Luther, Zwingli, Hutton and
 many of the lesser lights of the Pro-
 testant Reformation were of the num-
 ber of the intellectuals.

We have a right to claim Cromwell,
 Hampden, Pym, Milton, Bunyan, and
 a long more important characters in the
 revolution of the seventeenth century
 as being intellectuals of the stoutest
 kind. They were also greatly in evi-
 dence in the struggle for American in-
 dependence. Franklin, Paine, Hamil-
 ton, Jefferson, and not a few more fa-

Since, in the present civilization most governments
 must, in their ostensible functions, appear to be moulded
 by public opinion, and public opinion is shaped by the
 press, we here come upon one great lever by which busi-
 ness, the only real power, manipulates the machine. It
 has, of course, many others that sometimes coordinate
 with the efforts of the press and sometimes work quite
 independently. Thus, for instance, in these days business
 usually selects a great part of the national cabinet and
 all of the nation's judges. Mr. Morgan, representing
 the iron and steel part of business, may select the Sec-
 retary of State, Mr. Harriman's successor, representing
 the railroad part of business, may pick out the Attorney-
 General. Mr. Ryan, representing the traction and light-
 ing interests, may choose the Secretary of War; the
 gentlemen who control the great oil industry may choose
 the Secretary of the Treasury; and by these means a
 cabinet is assured that will not be hostile to the welfare
 of the great exponents of business. If, for example, con-
 ditions require that much national money be released in
 Wall Street, the Secretary of the Treasury can be de-
 pended upon to release it; and if conditions require that a
 great corporation be not prosecuted for an unavoidable
 accident, the Secretary of the Attorney-General can be de-
 pended upon not to prosecute it. If conditions require that
 one man appointed to be minister to China shall be re-
 called and another man sent in his place, the Secretary
 of State can be trusted to comply with conditions.

I like the Pennsylvania story, dull as it is, because it
 is so perfect and typical and seems in a way to offer sup-
 port to my contention that what we want now is frank
 acknowledgment of the existing facts and certain formal
 changes to meet them. For almost forty years there
 has been no government of Pennsylvania, outside of the
 Pennsylvania Railroad. The matchless organization of
 that great institution has supplied every form of govern-
 ment necessary to the conduct of the material essentials
 of modern society. It has not merely controlled the Gov-
 ernment, it has been the Government, and all branches
 thereof. It once carried its performance of governmental
 functions so far that its leading spirits sat as the State
 Legislature and balloted for United States Senator. A
 very superficial but common view of these matters
 ascribes the railroad's possession of sovereign powers to
 the evil designs of the men in control of the railroad,
 and by the few persons who object to corporation gov-
 ernment such men are much condemned. In point of fact
 they are not really blame-worthy for what has happened.
 With any other men in control, I care not who, reformers,
 but honest, strenuous regulators, or what not, the re-
 sult would have been identical. The Pennsylvania Rail-
 road seized the Government of Pennsylvania not because
 the managers of the railroad were bad men but because
 the necessities of business imperatively demanded such
 seizure. That was all. No choice was allowed. The de-
 velopment of the railroad property took certain lines.
 No one selected those lines for it. Conditions and cir-
 cumstances of business drove it along. These conditions
 imperatively demanded control of the State Government.
 Thereupon control followed, and it would have followed
 if all the strenuous gentlemen between here and South
 Africa had roared and protested against it.

To bring against any man or any class of men any
 measure of reproach because of conditions widespread
 and evolutionary seems the last achievement of folly. No
 man and no men can help these things; no man and no
 men are justly to be held in the least disesteem because
 of them. Talk about the dominance of materialism
 and the dollar hunt in America as if these resulted from
 individual delinquency is the veriest book and we have
 had enough of it with overmeasure. Certain conditions
 produce certain results. The whole thing is evolutionary.
 At the present stage of evolution business, not repre-
 sented by any group but by a vast, incalculable force, requires certain
 things. It is irresistible; therefore it has what it needs.
 Individuals have nothing to do with it; no man could have
 accelerated or retarded the development of the situa-
 tion any more than he could accelerate or retard a gla-
 cier. Let us be fair. The so-called "malefactors of great
 wealth" are no more responsible for existing conditions
 than they are for the Lower Silurian. Why fulminate
 against evolution?

In our country, for instance, there
 would hardly be any Socialist party
 when voting time comes if it were not
 for the intellectuals. These are the vot-
 ers who stick by the party. They do
 not think it throwing away their votes
 because they may not win today.

Still less are they so stupid that they
 can be deceived or bought into voting
 for the support of the party of their
 oppressors. One thing these intellec-
 tuals never forget, and that is the cause
 of the laboring masses. It is indeed
 for them the foremost of all causes.

They never miss a chance wherever
 they are, to serve these interests ac-
 cording to their best opportunities and
 power. Even beyond the laborers them-
 selves these intellectuals believe that
 poverty can be made to cease, and civi-
 lization becomes the common blessing
 of all.

By all means let us drop this dark
 and ugly talk against those true chil-
 dren of light, the earnest, gifted and
 disinterested intellectuals, brotherhood
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A pamphlet has been issued by Thomas F. Kennedy called "The Penn-
 sylvania Infernal Regions." It is a powerful, stirring description of hell.

Describing the life of the unorganized miners in the region south of Union-
 town, he says, "Another Dante writing another 'Inferno' would have no occasion
 to tax his wit inventing."

Just let him go live in the Connellsville coke regions; distill his life into coke;
 go there stripped of all means of living; excepting only by the sale of his labor
 power—that is, his life—which would be expended in digging coal or drawing
 coke, or in some work incidental thereto; weave the rest of life's web in a shabby,
 hideously ugly warren, in a row of warrens, in a row of rows of warrens compos-
 ing the company camp; AND IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS LABOR POWER draw
 from the "Pluck" gum boots, lamp oil, flour, salt, pork, powder, pit shoes and
 pick handles.

Kennedy tells in detail how the men are exploited, oppressed and robbed;
 not only in the pay envelope, but also by Company stores and Company landlords.
 And, as if such actual slavery were not enough, the companies even steal a
 little more on the side.

The trouble in most coal mining districts arises from what is called the
 "hump."

The "hump" is the coal that can be piled on the car above the level of the
 sides. The men are paid by the bushel of coal mined.
 Cars filled level with the sides represent so many bushels, the "hump" is
 additional and most of the trouble in the mining districts is due to the attempt
 on the part of the bosses to steal these extra bushels.

Kennedy says, "I never met a single miner in the regions, no matter how
 timid and cowardly, but what was willing to swear by all that is sacred that the
 miners had to dig five to get paid for four bushels of coal."

He says further, "Every pound of coal on every 'hump' on every car that
 comes out of every mine in these infernal regions is brazen, bare-faced robbery."

And this is the cause of bitter battles. Strikes and riots occur to prevent
 men like the holy George F. Baer from stealing these additional bushels of coal.
 The men do not consider that they are being robbed in their pay envelope or
 robbed at the company's stores or robbed by the company's landlords.

They somehow consider those wrongs a part of the irremedial custom of the
 world, and they suffer them usually without revolt.

When the system robs them they do not understand, and in the main they are
 content. But they all understand petty thievery.

They all know that when the company stoops to petty larceny it becomes
 contemptible. They all know that the "hump" is sheer robbery.

Curiously enough, it is always just such little oppressions that cause wars.
 If capitalists would only be content with their legalized robberies things might
 go well with them for a long time yet, but they are not content. They want the
 "hump!"

Greed fastens its eyes on that "hump" and pushes and pushes and pushes
 the men to the point of desperation and mad revolt.

All working men should read this powerful little pamphlet. It is a picture
 of actual life in the mines—that is to say, a really telling description of hell.

The story of the "hump" is but one of many equally telling. It is a high
 type of Socialist propaganda, worthy of systematic use among miners.



Co-operation as Socialist Propaganda

Capitalism was brought into this
 world by the natural law of evolution;
 it did not come all of a sudden, as pow-
 erful and complete as it is now. So-
 cialism cannot and will not be inaugu-
 rated in any other way, but in a simi-
 lar manner to the coming of capital-
 ism. There are any number of people
 who never could or never would ac-
 cept, or understand a new idea, unless
 they were taught by practical object
 lessons. Such object lessons as the Bel-
 gian, Austrian and Italian Socialists
 are giving to the world will teach the
 majority the fundamental principles of
 the co-operative commonwealth quicker
 within one or two years than many
 years of learned speech making and
 many tons of literature.

Would it be wisdom to follow the
 lines of least resistance in order to
 reach the coveted goal, the grand co-
 operative commonwealth? Instead of
 making a membership in the Socialist
 party a continuous drain on the already
 meager pocket books of the wealth pro-
 ducing class, let us make it a source of
 income; a source of benefits; a source
 of pleasure; a source of protection.

We have no right to call each other
 "comrade" unless we are ready to bend
 all our energies to establish social con-
 ditions which will make it possible for
 us to live up to the true principles of
 comradeship. The spirit of fraternali-
 sm cannot and will not prevail among
 the Socialists of this country, so long
 as we do not try to break away from
 this dog eat dog system which means
 everybody hustles for himself and the
 devil takes the hindmost. We profess to
 believe in the co-operative common-
 wealth; let us prove it by our acts that
 we mean it.

I know the answer that some of you
 who read this will give before you
 read it. It will be about like this:
 Although co-operative business enter-
 prises are quite successful in European
 countries, we cannot do it in this coun-
 try, because the capitalists won't let
 us do it. I have heard this answer
 so often that it has become a continual
 refrain in my ears. But you fellows
 will consider that such answer is far
 from being sensible, manly and cour-
 ageous, simply because you have made
 no concerted effort and given it no fair
 and earnest trial. Do you suppose that
 the Belgian Socialists would control
 nearly the whole bakery business in
 Belgium, if they had said "the capital-
 ists won't let us do it"? Do you sup-
 pose that they met with no opposition
 at all? The Belgian Socialist did not
 say "the capitalists won't let us do it,"
 before they tried it.

In Wilshire's Magazine, November
 issue, you will find an article entitled:
 "How Italian Workmen Beat the Glass
 Trust"; by Odon Por, which every So-
 cialist should read carefully. It proves
 conclusively that the workers cannot be
 defeated by any human power on earth,
 when they really make up their minds
 to co-operate with all their hearts and
 souls. The capitalists can only then
 exploit and oppress the wealth produc-
 ers, when they keep them in ignorance
 and consequently fighting each other.

Comrade Kaplan's suggestion to call
 a national convention of Socialists who
 believe in co-operative business as well
 as political action, is the best