

The emancipation of the Working Class must be accomplished by the workers themselves.

445 PEARL STREET, NEW YORK.

# The Call

Devoted to the Interests of the Working People.

The Weather.

Partly cloudy today. Sunday rain or snow; moderate winds becoming easterly.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1909.

## U. S. REPORTS ON WHITE SLAVERY

### Commission Tells Congress Existing Conditions Are a National Disgrace.

### TENS OF THOUSANDS IMPORTED YEARLY

Government Investigation Corroborates Worst Charges Regarding Traffic in Women.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—The most startling and most revolting phase of the immigration question is the characterization given today to white slavery in its report on the subject submitted to Congress by the Immigration Commission. The Commissioners declare that the business "has assumed large proportions and has been doing no evil an influence upon our country" that they felt impelled to make it the subject of a thorough investigation.

After a reference to the information gathered the Commissioners say: "This statement of conditions may seem strong. The more detailed statements of the facts, with evidence upon which they are made, will show that the picture is not painted in too dark colors, and will make evident the necessity of remedial legislation to check traffic, which perhaps more than anything else is a disgrace to American civilization."

### Recommend Legislation.

Order to stamp out the evil, if made, the commission recommends that agents be stationed at the principal foreign ports or on ships to search for possible victims of the traffic, and that a more thorough investigation be made at landing ports in this country.

The commission also recommends that immigration laws be changed to allow women of ill repute be deported at any time, instead of three years, as at present; that women should serve prison terms for deportation; that there should be a penalty for perjury, and that aliens should be required to prove the time and place of their landing when they are held in deportation proceedings.

The investigation, which was begun in November, 1907, and was conducted by a special agent with many assistants, covered the cities of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Salt Lake City, Ogden, Denver, Boston, Buffalo and New Orleans.

The commission consulted as sources of information keepers of disorderly houses, women who were managing them, business men who had practiced in them and former inmates of houses, as well as women who had been brought into the United States under false pretenses for immoral purposes.

The commission took pains to verify the information of its agents by placing the work of one agent against that of another and by testing the reports, and through arrests of suspects and trials and by documentary material. The commission asks for authority to continue its investigation.

The commission is composed of three Senators and three Representatives, with Senator Dillingham (Rep., N. H.) as chairman. Their report is a printed pamphlet of sixty pages. To illustrate the horrors of the traffic the commission in a score of cases are given in full. Letters signed in raiding that the cold-blooded greed in which men look upon the traffic are printed as an appendix to the report.

### Lured by Promises.

While a majority of the women are lured by the commission to have had improper lives abroad, evidence has been obtained of large numbers of innocent girls lured to this country by promises of employment or of marriage and consigned to lives of slavery. They are held in subjection by debt, threats of arrest, exposure of their disgrace to their parents and employers, if they seek honest work, physical violence and death.

There is much co-operation among the slave owners, but the commission has made that a great corporation controls the traffic between this country and Europe. They do report the existence of two organizations of slaveholders, one of French and the other of Jewish, but they do not identify them.

The traffic is on such a business basis that agents of the commission were able to report the price of French girl slaves at Chicago and Omaha at from \$500 to \$1,000; Japanese girls at Seattle, for Eastern shipment, \$400 for one or \$300 each for several, and Chinese girls at Seattle, from \$2,000 to \$3,000 each. In regard to action in co-operation with foreign countries the commission says:

"Coming to the difference between (Continued on page 2.)"

## WANT NO LABOR PARTY

### Keystone Union Men Won't Launch Political Organization.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Dec. 10.—The State Federation of Labor today rejected the resolution for the launching of a new political party to carry the candidates of labor.

## ELIZABETH G. FLYNN GETS 3 MOS. IN JAIL

### I. W. W. Agitator Convicted of "Conspiracy" in Free Speech Fight in Spokane.

(Special to The Call.) SPOKANE, Wash., Dec. 10.—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the well known agitator and organizer of the I. W. W. who was arrested while walking on the street on December 1 and charged with "conspiracy to violate the laws of Spokane," was convicted by a jury of business men late last night and sentenced to serve three months in the county jail. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is the wife of John J. Jones, a miner, of Missoula, Mont.

The court room was jammed all day by I. W. W. men and women and citizens, who came to witness the trial of the youthful defendant. The conviction and imprisonment of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has aroused the indignation of the I. W. W. men to a high pitch and has caused a denunciation of the police and city officials in general among trade unionists, Socialists and fair minded citizens.

The chief witnesses against Miss Flynn were the secretary of Chief of Police Sullivan, the chief himself and John Lee, secretary to Mayor Pratt. Lee testified that he had heard Miss Flynn say: "If Jesus Christ were still alive he would be arrested for making a speech in Spokane!"

He also testified that Miss Flynn had declared: "The resolutions we have received have been very encouraging, but you can't fill jails with resolutions."

### Miss Flynn in Fight One Month.

Miss Flynn came to this city from Missoula, Mont., four weeks ago to edit the Industrial Worker, the local organ of the I. W. W., while James Wilson and A. E. Cousins, the regular editors, and E. J. Foote, the temporary editor, were in jail on the charge of conspiracy.

Miss Flynn aroused the ire of Chief of Police Sullivan by her editorials in the Industrial Worker and also by her speeches to the men gathered in the headquarters of the I. W. W. On December 1, the day she was arrested, the Industrial Worker appeared with the following editorial from her pen:

"You slaves!  
"You rebellious slaves!  
"You who produce and have not!  
"You have learned to sneer at your master's ethics, religion, morality!  
"You who have learned to hate!  
"You who have nothing but the spirit of revolt and a deep hatred for oppression and your oppressors!  
"Arouse, you rebels! Get into the fight!  
"The struggle is on! Your fellow workers are at the front, fighting your fight!  
"Others are on the road!  
"But we need you!  
"Come to Spokane!"

Such utterances as this caused the Chief of Police and the Mayor much worry, and it is believed they got their heads together and decided that Miss Flynn must be jailed before the city was crowded with fellows willing to go to jail to break the ordinance suppressing free speech.

### Officials Take Child Away From Mother.

The authorities have taken the little son of James P. Thompson, one of the I. W. W. men now in jail on the charge of conspiracy, away from his wife because she took the child to the headquarters of the I. W. W. and to the courtroom to hear the disposition of the cases against the fighters for free speech. They charge that Mrs. Thompson is unfit to have charge of the upbringing of her own child, and as proof of her incompetency they offer nothing more than this flimsy evidence. The chances are that they will succeed in taking the child away from its mother, and send it to some institution.

The police raided the headquarters of the I. W. W. on Tuesday and arrested five more I. W. W. men on the charge of conspiracy. Chief Sullivan still seems to labor under the delusion that if the speakers and writers are all corralled the fight will be won.

More than 350 men are still in jail, twenty-five of whom are held on the charge of conspiracy. The Supreme Court has denied the application for writs of habeas corpus in all conspiracy cases, but the fight is not over. In fact, the news that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who is very popular among the miners, has been jailed will bring in many recruits to continue the battle for the right of free speech.

(Continued on page 2.)

## RAP LABOR DEPT. AT LIABILITY HEARING

### Speakers Before Commission Charge Indifference and Inefficiency Against State Officials.

Both the Public Service Commission and the Department of Labor came in for criticism yesterday at the hearing of the Liability Commission, which met again at the City Hall to take testimony and to receive suggestions, advice and recommendations on the workings and amending of the present liability law. The hearing adjourned early yesterday and will have another sitting in the city at some future day, at which the insurance side of the question will be discussed.

The first criticism of the Department of Factory and Labor came from Benjamin R. Buffett, representative of the Housewives' Union, Lodge 48. He said that the building laws and factory regulations are so flagrantly violated that it is understood that a workman runs his own risk when assuming the performance of his work. This, he said, has an unfavorable effect on litigation. He said:

"The laws are so flagrantly violated and the fact is so well known that whenever a case comes up it is easy for the defense to prove that the injured workman had taken his own risk when he started work."

"The inspectors are merely officials for the Building Department to see that the building is put up as prescribed," continued Buffett. "He does not see that the law is enforced. Sometimes they file a violation, when they see fit. The fault lies in the Building Department, as it is their business to inspect."

### Labor Department at Fault.

Professor Seager, of Columbia University, who is on the commission, corrected the speaker and said that the fault lies with the Department of Labor, as that department has the right to inspect and to enforce the law.

"Why don't you send complaints?" asked Senator Wainwright. "We have tried that, but it does no good, and then, too, it is not altogether the inspector's fault. What you will have an inspector who is not afraid of his job, you will then be able to do something, but not until then."

The witness urged the commission to do away with the fellow-servant clause and with contributory negligence. He said that his District Council represented over 5,000 men, out of which 130 were killed and 463 were injured within the last five years.

"But don't think that these were all the accidents in our trade. There are three times that number who do not belong to the union, of which we have no statistics."

Other charges were made against the same department by Miss Corallo Worresheffer, who appeared to speak on the conditions in the laundries, in which she herself had worked. She had investigated fifteen of these places and came to call the attention of the commission to the intolerable conditions that prevail in some of them.

Some girls, mostly young children, she said, are forced to stand up from 7 in the morning to as late as midnight, on some days. The machines are not guarded and those that are do not offer ample protection from injury, said Miss Worresheffer.

### Sixty-Hour Law Violated.

"The sixty-hour-a-week law is flagrantly violated," she said. "The inspectors seldom come around to investigate these places."

"Why don't you bring the matter to the attention of the department?" asked the chairman. "I have done so again and again and only once did I see an inspector come around and this was on my request."

"Girls have to stand up from early morning until late at night, sometimes as late as midnight. There is no reason why all girls should stand up. Ironers or starchers are forced by their work to stand up, but it is not so with the others. There is no reason why seats should not be provided."

Again she was told that the factory inspector has the right to enforce the provision of seats and she was advised to write to the factory inspector.

Commissioner of Labor John Williams was present at the early part of the hearing, but went away after spoke Buffett and Miss Worresheffer spoke.

## NINETY TAILORS STRIKE

### Walkout of Stein & Blair's Shop—Demand Recognition of Union.

Ninety members of the International Garment Workers' Union, employed by Stein & Blair, of 8-10 West 36th street, are on strike because the firm tried to discharge some men who had previously joined the Tailors' Union. The union demands recognition and that union labor not be discriminated against. The strike committee advises all workers to stay away from the above place.

## ICE TRUST FINED; APPEALS AT ONCE

### Jury Finds American Company Guilty of Restraining Trade—May Pay \$5,000.

The jury that has been hearing the case against the American Ice Company under the Dannelly anti-monopoly law before Supreme Court Justice Wheeler for the past two months, brought in a verdict of guilty on two counts of the indictment late yesterday afternoon. Justice Wheeler at once fined the corporation \$5,000, but granted a stay of execution pending the appeal which will be taken to the highest court.

The case went to the jury at 1:20 o'clock, at which time the court concluded his charge, which had taken up most of the afternoon session of the trial. He was about to follow the custom at Buffalo, where he first discharged the jury and permitting them to retire for their verdict this morning, when he was informed that it is customary here to send the case to the jury as soon as the case is ready, no matter what the hour of the day.

When the jury returned to the courtroom at 5:55 o'clock, the feeling prevailed that they had found a verdict of guilty, especially as the members followed the statements of the special prosecutor very closely on his summing up. As soon as the foreman reported the verdict of guilty on two counts John B. Stanchfield, of counsel for the ice company, moved for an arrest of judgment, on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of evidence. While Stanchfield was still standing the court announced the fine of \$5,000.

The two counts of the indictment upon which the jury found the verdict were the first and third. The first charged the defendant with "doing an act pursuant to and in and toward and for the consummation of an arrangement whereby competition" in the production and sale of ice "was and might be restrained and prevented," and then sets forth certain contracts, agreements and other acts by the defendant in support of that charge.

The third count charged an attempt to make and enter into an arrangement whereby a monopoly in the production and sale of ice might be consummated and the doing of acts for the consummation thereof. The second count, which the jury threw out, differed from the first only in making the "arrangement" date from the incorporation of the company.

## SEAMEN ADJOURN

### To Aid in Checkmating Steel Trust, Officers Elected.

At yesterday's session of the International Seamen's Union of America, officers for the ensuing year were elected, without any changes, however, from those of the past year. The officers are: A. Furuseth, president; C. J. Harrington, first vice president; Victor A. Olander, second vice president; Edward Stack, third vice president; H. P. Griffin, fourth vice president; P. B. Gill, fifth vice president; George C. Bodine, sixth vice president; Thomas A. Hanson, seventh vice president; J. M. Secord, eighth vice president; Walter MacArthur, editor Coast Seamen's Journal, and William H. Frazier, secretary-treasurer.

President Furuseth and Victor Olander were chosen as delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. As delegates to the convention of the International Transport Workers' Federation, which meets in Copenhagen, Denmark, next August, President Furuseth and George Bodine were elected.

Victor Olander was chosen to attend the big meeting in Pittsburgh next Monday, at which the affiliated unions will voice their protest against the tactics of the Steel Trust, and consider ways and means for checkmating it in its efforts to crush organized labor.

A resolution was passed, thanking the local entertaining committee. A vote of thanks was accorded to the C. F. U. and to Herman Robinson, organizer for the A. F. of L., for their efforts to make the Cooper Union meeting a success, as well as to Samuel Gompers for coming from Washington to preside.

The convention adjourned at 11:40 sine die, with three cheers for the international seamen's movement of the world. The next convention will be held in Detroit, although San Francisco made a strong bid for it.

(Continued on page 2.)

## PETER E. BURROWES DIES IN HOSPITAL

### Veteran Socialist Propagandist and Essayist Succumbs to Chronic Complaints.

Peter E. Burrowes, the well known Socialist essayist, lecturer and propagandist, died Thursday in the Smith Infirmary at New Brighton, Staten Island, to which he had been removed on Sunday from Lehner's Hotel at Stapleton.

He succumbed to a complication of heart, liver and kidney troubles, from which he had suffered for a number of years. The body has been removed to an undertaker's establishment and will later be cremated at Freshpond, L. I. Funeral ceremonies befitting his services to the Socialist cause and the universal love and respect in which he was held by his comrades will be arranged.

His wife, Jane, died about eight years ago and he leaves no children or known relatives.

Peter Edward Burrowes was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1844, the natural son of a famous Irish patriot. In his childhood he suffered great hardships as a waif, and had few educational advantages in his youth.

He was at one time a worker in the London City Mission. In 1885 he came to the United States as the literary associate of Frank Smith in the reorganization of the Salvation Army, and afterwards became one of the editors of the War Cry.

He was by nature ardently religious, and in his earlier life changed his belief no less than nine times, being successively Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Dabryite, Salvationist, Methodist, Unitarian, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and he has said that while in Egypt, where he spent eighteen months, he was "very much inclined to become a Mohammedan."

His religion, however, was always of the true mystic type which conceives of religion as an emotional sense of the individual's relation to the universe, and in later years, after he had become a Socialist, he gave up all theological dogma and lost even the belief in personal immortality. Socialism became his religion and he believed that the individual was immortal in the race instead of by personal continuance.

He emphasized the spiritual side of Socialism, upon a revolutionary, proletarian basis, without gush or sentimentality; and he laid special stress upon the social source of the human soul and intellect as well as of material achievements.

His devotion to Socialism was complete; he lived entirely within and for the movement, and it was life itself to him. His beautiful spirit, quiet dignity, and untrifling faith endeared him to all who met him, and he was one of the most beloved veterans in the Socialist movement. Advancing years, partial blindness, and increasing physical ailments did not lessen the ardor of his spirit, nor dim the brightness of his intellect. He seemed to grow more youthful in spirit and richer in mind with each succeeding year. He was a happy and, at his best, an eloquent speaker, and his conversation in private had the same brilliance, variety, imagination and individual favor that characterized his writings.

His principal work was his "Revolutionary Essays" (1902), a book in which a remarkable interweaving of elementary Socialist propaganda and original philosophical thought is accomplished with great beauty and charm of style, the whole being enveloped in an atmosphere of pure poetry through which the flash of epigram coruscates like lightning through a purple haze. It is the work of a stylist who had something to say, and it is doubtful if any Socialist writer in the English language has surpassed its best passages for pure literary quality.

This book, especially in the essay entitled "What is Truth?" is remarkable for its independent promulgation of the philosophical viewpoint which has since become popular as "pragmatism." It is pragmatist in its content.

(Continued on page 2.)

## ARBITRATORS OF WAIST STRIKE IN A DEADLOCK

### U. S. Officials to Mediate Between Illinois Central R. R. and Operators.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 10.—In an effort to avoid a threatened strike on the Illinois Central Railroad and two other railroads under its control, Chairman Knapp, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and Commissioner of Labor Neill will go to Chicago and act as mediators between the representatives of the operators and the railroad.

Chairman Knapp and Commissioner Neill officiate under the terms of the Erdman act, which provides for mediation in controversies on railroads which interrupt or threaten to interrupt interstate traffic. The mediators have been informed that while the situation between the railroads and the operators is not as yet serious, it is an emergency case.

The trouble grows out of the demands made by the operators through First Vice President Newman, of the Order of Railway Telegraphers, in August last for increased pay, to have telephone operators who "work" trains by telephone, classified as telegraph operators and receive the same pay and for certain changes in working conditions. General Manager Harrison, of the Illinois Central, submitted a counter proposition which, however, the representatives of the operators declined to accept.

### U. S. MARKING TIME

Was Vessels Watch Zelaya, but That's All—Peace Follows On.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—The cruiser Des Moines, in command of Commander Shipley, is now at Bluefields, Nicaragua, where the headquarters of the provisional government under Juan P. Estrada is located. No dispatches on the Nicaraguan crisis were given out at the State Department today.

The United States is now awaiting the result of the impending battle between the Zelaya troops and the insurgent forces before taking action other than that necessary to protect American interests. The gunboats Albany and Yorktown have sailed from Acapulco for Corinto, where they will join the gunboat Vicksburg. They should arrive at Corinto early next week.

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua, Dec. 10.—General Estrada was dumfounded today when he learned that the object of the conference of Zelaya envoys with General Fornes Diaz, representing the insurgent leader, was to demand the surrender of the insurgent army.

When Diaz heard the demand for the surrender of the insurgents, he immediately declared that Vasquez was the one who should surrender, declaring that the insurgent position at Coma was impregnable and that the United States was supporting General Estrada. The conference continued today.

## TRAIN KILLS YOUTH

Track walkers found a body yesterday which was later identified as that of George Bulger, nineteen years old, of 730 Connolly avenue, Jersey City, lying alongside the Esopus Railroad tracks at the foot of Bloeker street. The body was badly mangled and had apparently been run over by a train.

## LEAN DAYS FOR THE CALL

In yesterday's edition of The Call, part of a letter written by Comrade Sarah Prenskey, of Rochester, was published. In this letter she suggests holding a fair for the benefit of our paper, while at the same time each local throughout the East should be urged to hold some affair the object of which is to raise money for The Call.

The writer then mentions the great success resulting from a fair held by the Catholic Church in Rochester, the proceeds of which were fifty thousand dollars, and this a purely local affair. This fair was held for the purpose of raising money to build an old ladies' home.

Just at present, Comrades, we do not intend to discuss the advisability of holding the big fair suggested by our Rochester Comrade. We cannot. Why not? We must raise the necessary money to meet obligations which we are facing RIGHT NOW. "Get up entertainments, dances, etc., for the benefit of The Call," says one correspondent. We cannot. "How to get money at once"—that one thing absorbs all of our time and energy.

Our first mail yesterday morning brought in the magnificent sum of sixteen dollars for the German Mark Fund. Among all of the Socialists and sympathizers, and Near-Socialists, and Straight Voters, Good Wishers and Radicals of all sorts in this trust-organ nation, only a few individuals and two organizations cared enough for the welfare of The Call to send in a copper cent.

Yet The Call is expected to educate and enlighten the workers.

(Continued on page 2.)







AFTER MILK HEADS MET, PRICE JUMPED

President Beakes Admits Seeing Borden Official Before Rise to Nine Cents Per Quart. Charles H. C. Beakes, president of the Consolidated Milk Exchange, now under investigation on the ground that it constitutes a monopoly in the Milk Trust, admitted on the witness stand before Referee William G. Brown in the Attorney General's office yesterday that just before the general rise in the price to 9 cents a quart he had had a conference with one of the officials of the Borden Company.

times held at 6 Harrison street and sometimes on Warren street, Jersey City. "Did the board of directors of the exchange recommend to the members what the price of milk should be?" asked the Attorney General. "No," answered Beakes, who also said that the conditions were constantly changing, and that values of today might not be the value of tomorrow or the day after.

FEDERAL AX FALLS

And Off Goes Head of Colorado Insurgent Republican. DENVER, Col., Dec. 10.—The official head of Harry Tarbell, chief collier at the United States mint, is the first in Colorado to fall under the Taft-Guillotine for pernicious political activity. Today President Taft relieved him of the office and appointed A. J. Baldwin, his assistant, to succeed him. Tarbell's downfall is attributed solely to the part he took in preparing a circular letter last summer asking government employes for contributions to maintain an organization of "Young Turks," who refused to obey old time party leaders here. State Chairman Vivian and other prominent Republicans, including another Federal officer, are said to have been ordered prosecuted by Attorney General Wickersham for signing the circular.

\$7,500 FOR AN ARM.

For the loss of his right arm, Louis Erikson obtained a verdict for \$7,500 damages against the Central Brewing Company of Manhattan before Justice Garretson in the Flushing Supreme Court yesterday. Erikson was employed by the brewery and lost his arm about a year ago by being run over by an automobile truck he was repairing. Justice Garretson denied a motion to set aside the verdict on the ground that it was excessive.

BROOKLYN ADVERTISERS

CLEARFIELD BUTTER AND EGG COMPANY NEW LAID LONG ISLAND EGGS. We make a specialty of procuring strictly FRESH EGGS FOR INVALIDS AND SICK CHILDREN. We also handle extra fine Western Eggs for ordinary household use.

1694 Broadway, Cor. Decatur St. WAGONS WILL CALL TWICE A WEEK AT YOUR HOUSE. TELEPHONE 419, EAST NEW YORK.

PEISER'S 1136 FLATBUSH AVE., Opp. CLARENDON RD. Dry Goods, Ladies' and Children's Furnishings, Shirt Waists and Underwear a Specialty.

WE DELIVER MILK AT YOUR DOOR. COURTEOUS TREATMENT. PROMPT SERVICE. MILK is a food, and is nourishing; it is a flesh builder; it gives strength and vigor.

MAYER'S 219 Onderdonk Ave., cor. Ralph St. HENNE'S BUSY DAY GOODS STORE. A full line of Holiday Gifts is now on sale.

FREE FOR THE HOLIDAYS. An Imported Rustic Dvancer at the STANDARD WINE & LIQUOR WAREHOUSE. 225 Knickerbocker, near Dekalb Ave.

Joseph B. Davis Brooklyn's Leading Tailor 1036 Broadway. Full Dress and Tuxedo Suits to Hire.

HENRY HELLER CLOTHIER AND TAILOR 271 Hamburg Ave., cor. Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. SPECIAL SALE OF MEN'S SUITS AND OVERCOATS. MEN'S WINTER OVERCOATS AT \$12.50.

ARONSON BROS. & FIERST Dry and Dress Goods. We Advertise No Special Bargains and Offer No Bait, but Guarantee Satisfaction.

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PETER E. BURROWES DIES IN HOSPITAL

(Continued from Page 1.) Burrowes was a very prolific and copious writer and was a constant contributor to the Socialist press, in the old files of which much of his best work is buried. He was a member of the old Socialist Labor party before the split which led to the organization of the Socialist party, and at that time his writings were published in The People; afterwards in the Worker, the Comrade, the International Socialist Review, and other Socialist journals.

U. S. REPORTS ON WHITE SLAVERY

(Continued from page 1.) European and American views, co-operation for the suppression of the white slave traffic can be expected from most European nations only along certain lines. "Most European countries are rigid in their regulations regarding the procuring of minor girls or of any women by fraud and deceit. Women who are of age, however, and who enter the business of their own accord are not interfered with."

CABINET TO BE SHORTLIVED.

Italian Socialists and Radicals Will Overthrow New Ministry. ROME, Dec. 10.—Baron Sonnino has succeeded in forming a cabinet composed of representatives of three parties, but it is expected to be short-lived, as the Socialists, Radicals and Republicans oppose it because Baron Sonnino refused to initiate an anticlerical policy.

FAGAN'S WINE OF TAR A Remedy of the Pine Tar Order, but far Superior to any on the Market.

THOS. F. E. FAGAN Manufacturing Chemist BROOKLYN, N. Y. This Ad. will be renewed and enlarged if readers of The Call who were afflicted with a cough and found relief by using Wine of Tar will mail the trade mark found on the box to 2075 Fulton street.

PUT UP TO GAYNOR.

Congressman Bennet Asks Him What About White Slavery Now. Congressman William S. Bennet has written to Mayor-elect William J. Gaynor pointing out that the United States Immigration Commission has been investigating the "white slave" traffic and offering to Judge Gaynor access to the material which has been gathered by the commission.

GIRL SUES ZELAYA'S SON. Dr. Anabel Zelaya, second son of President Zelaya of Nicaragua, and a graduate of Columbia University, was in Justice Bloch's part of the Supreme Court yesterday to answer "ready" for trial in an action against him by Lawyer P. A. McManus, on behalf of Miss Elizabeth Juliet Hero, a Greek girl—who she says he courted her, won her heart, and then jilted her. Miss Hero is the daughter of Mrs. Catina Troel, of 23 West 137th street.

CONGRESS MAY PROBE. Investigation of Sugar Frauds Demanded in House. WASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—A resolution providing for an inquiry into the sugar frauds in the customs service in New York was introduced in the House today by Representative Sabath, a Democratic member from Illinois. The Sabath resolution authorizes the creation of a committee of seven to look into the customs service in New York.

ACCUSED SUGAR MEN DENY EVERYTHING

Remarkable Collection of Far-Fetched Explanations Brought Out in Their Defense. Judge James L. Martin yesterday overruled motions of the defense to dismiss the indictments against Spitzer, Bendernagel, Coyle, Boyle, Kehoe and Hennessey, charged with conspiracy to defraud the United States government by underweighing sugar cargoes at the Havemeyer & Elder refinery, at Williamsburg. Henry F. Cochrane outlined the case for the defense. He explained the situation at the refinery, pointing out that the refinery used 900,000 tons of sugar a year, running twenty-four hours a day. All this must be brought over the docks in eight hour days, so that there was extraordinary activity.

CLEANERS WINNING

Five Bosses Give In to the Demands of the Union. The 500 striking window cleaners who are fighting for more wages, shorter work day and recognition of the union were jubilant yesterday when the news reached them that five bosses had given in to their demands. Thirty men will return to work this morning at union wages.

B-Schellenberg & Sons 89 to 105 Myrtle Avenue, near Bridge Street 'L' Station, Brooklyn. Your Xmas Gifts Can Be Economically Chosen Here Men's Black Kersey Overcoats, \$10. Values \$18.50.

BEING OUT OF THE HIGH RENT DISTRICT, WE SAVE YOU MONEY. B-Schellenberg & Sons 89 to 105 Myrtle Avenue, near Bridge Street 'L' Station, Brooklyn. Your Xmas Gifts Can Be Economically Chosen Here Men's Black Kersey Overcoats, \$10. Values \$18.50.

YOUNG MEN'S SUITS, \$9.75. Values \$13.50. Newest novelty effects and an extensive showing. Fabrics that will delight the most exacting young man.

Taft and Knox Denounced. MEXICO CITY, Dec. 10.—Fifty members of the various colonies of the Central American republics here met last night at a private residence, and at a late hour adopted resolutions denouncing President Taft, Secretary Knox and the action of the United States toward Nicaragua.

OP-RATORS TO STRIKE

Early Vote of Big Four Telegraphers in Favor of Fight. CINCINNATI, Ohio, Dec. 10.—Ninety-nine per cent of the telegraph operators of the Big Four Railway, who have already sent in their ballots on the question of a strike for higher wages if their demand is not granted, vote in favor of a strike. In Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo and Dayton, the vote was practically unanimous. The telegraphers demand a 20 per cent increase. They also want telephone operators, interlocking towermen and station agents placed on their schedule. The increased cost of living is given as the reason for the imperative demand in wage increase.

CLEANERS WINNING

Five Bosses Give In to the Demands of the Union. The 500 striking window cleaners who are fighting for more wages, shorter work day and recognition of the union were jubilant yesterday when the news reached them that five bosses had given in to their demands. Thirty men will return to work this morning at union wages.

B-Schellenberg & Sons 89 to 105 Myrtle Avenue, near Bridge Street 'L' Station, Brooklyn. Your Xmas Gifts Can Be Economically Chosen Here Men's Black Kersey Overcoats, \$10. Values \$18.50.

BEING OUT OF THE HIGH RENT DISTRICT, WE SAVE YOU MONEY. B-Schellenberg & Sons 89 to 105 Myrtle Avenue, near Bridge Street 'L' Station, Brooklyn. Your Xmas Gifts Can Be Economically Chosen Here Men's Black Kersey Overcoats, \$10. Values \$18.50.

YOUNG MEN'S SUITS, \$9.75. Values \$13.50. Newest novelty effects and an extensive showing. Fabrics that will delight the most exacting young man.

Taft and Knox Denounced. MEXICO CITY, Dec. 10.—Fifty members of the various colonies of the Central American republics here met last night at a private residence, and at a late hour adopted resolutions denouncing President Taft, Secretary Knox and the action of the United States toward Nicaragua.

S. CASSELL'S UNION HAT STORE 88 Brighton Street, cor. Ludlow. RELIABILITY IS WHAT COUNTS. In making your selections Christmas presents, it may be said to remind our readers who want jewelry, watches or diamonds, the reliability of the firm to deal with an important factor. Households in existence for about fifty years are enjoying a good reputation sure to serve their clients well.

Call Advertisers' Directory. CONVENIENT FOR THE READER. PROFITABLE FOR THE ADVERTISER. Rates for The Call Advertisers' Directory—One line for three consecutive months, daily and Sunday, 50¢; each additional line at the same rate. Payable in advance. Make payments directly to The New York Call, 442 Pearl Street, New York.

MANHATTAN. BROOKLYN. ATTORNEY AT LAW. BOOKS, STATIONERY, ETC. BOOTS AND SHOES. CIGAR MANUFACTURERS. CLOTHING AND FURNISHINGS. DAIRY RESTAURANT. DAIRY LUNCH ROOM. DIAMONDS, WATCHES & JEWELRY. FURNISHINGS, ETC. GENTS' FURNISHINGS. GROCERIES. GENTLEMEN'S HATS. HATS. LUNCH ROOM. LAUNDRIES. LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S TAILORING. LAW BLANKS & TYPEWRITING SUPPLIES. MERCHANT TAILORS. PHOTOGRAPHY. PAINTER AND DECORATOR. RESTAURANTS. MACFADDEN'S PHYSICAL CULTURE RESTAURANTS. TRUNKS AND BAGS. TEAS AND COFFEES. WATCHMAKER AND JEWELER. BRONX. ATTORNEY AT LAW. BREAD AND CAKE BAKERY. BOOTS AND SHOES. CIGARS. CLOAKS AND SUITS. DRUGGISTS. FURNISHINGS AND HATS. INSTRUCTION. LADIES TAILOR & DRESSMAKER. LADIES' & GENTS' FURNISHINGS. MILLS AND DRESS GOODS. BAKERY. BUTCHERS. TAILOR—New Haven, Conn. CHEARS & TOBACCO. UNION LABEL BOTTLES.







Socialist News of the Day

Tonight's Meetings.

MANHATTAN AND BRONX. Business. General Committee—243 East 84th Street.

ENTERTAINMENT TONIGHT.

The Polish branch has arranged an entertainment and concert to take place tonight at the headquarters of the club.

BROOKLYN.

Business. Kings County Central Committee—Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue.

A meeting of the Brooklyn lecture committee will be held at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum tonight at 7 o'clock.

The Young Socialists of America will hold a special business meeting tonight at the Brooklyn Educational Club, 185 Tompkins avenue.

QUEENS COUNTY.

Meeting of the county committee at Lobelens Hall, Cypress avenue and 86th street, Ridgewood.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

35th and 32d Wards Branch—Kew-Forest Hall, 2523 West York. Campaign Committee—Headquarters, 1305 Arch street, 4 p. m.

HARLEM FORUM.

The phenomenal success of the Harlem Forum is attracting considerable attention. Last Sunday evening Frank John delivered a lecture dealing with aspects of American history that are not usually taught in the public schools.

On Thursday evening J. C. Frost held a class under the auspices of the Forum, on public speaking, and it promises to become a very attractive feature.

On next Wednesday evening the Forum will institute a series of mid-week lectures in addition to Sunday evening lectures now carried on.

LYRIC HALL 42d STREET AND SIXTH AVENUE

Sunday, December 12, 1909

AT 11 A. M.

ROBERT W. BRUERE

General Agent New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor,

WILL LECTURE ON

"WHAT POVERTY MEANS"

ADMISSION, 10 CENTS.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK

THE 20TH ANNUAL BALL OF THE NEW YORK GROUP OF THE Russian Socialist Democratic League

WILL TAKE PLACE ON NEW YEAR'S EVE, FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 31, 1909. AT MURRAY HILL LYCEUM, 30TH ST., COR. 32d AVE. TICKETS, 50 CENTS. HAT CHECK, 10 CENTS.

Church of the Ascension

FIFTH AVENUE AND TENTH STREET.

MR. ALEXANDER IRVINE

At 8 P. M. will speak on

The Strike of the Ladies' Shirtwaist Makers.

At the conference in the Chapel at 9 P. M. the speakers will be Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Miss Elizabeth Dutcher, Miss Violet Pike, Mrs. Leroy Scott and Miss Fannie Zincher on "The Shirtwaist Strike."

ELORE FAIR

TO BE HELD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE Hungarian Socialist Paper "ELORE" on Saturday, December 11th, and Sunday, December 12th, at LABOR TEMPLE, 243 East 84th Street.

state organizer. It is important that every delegate to the state committee be present.

Delegates will meet on Sunday, December 12, at 10 a. m. in Lipton's Hall, 126 Market street, Newark (next door to former meeting place).

PITTSBURG, PA.

The county committee yesterday decided to take Debs for a meeting in Pittsburgh in February. The condition on which the party gets him this time is that it sell 1,000 Appeal sub cards at twenty-five cents each.

LECTURE BY MOTHER JONES.

"Barbarous Mexico" will be the subject of Mother Jones' lecture tomorrow at People's Forum, Hart's Hall, Gates avenue, near Broadway, under the auspices of Local Kings County.

The radicals of Greater New York should not miss this excellent opportunity to hear Mother Jones before she returns to the Mexican border.

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Pursuant with a decision passed at the last meeting of the executive committee of Local Kings County, the subdivision organizers are requested to hustle through their district and secure at least three (more if possible) members to volunteer for agitation work in the Seventh Senatorial district.

Owing to the short time the organizers and all others who are willing to work are requested not to hesitate, but to send their names to Party Headquarters, 949 Willoughby avenue.

VIAG TO LECTURE.

"The Significance of Co-operation" will be the subject of a lecture by Peter Viag, formerly of the "Maison de Peuple of Brussels, Belgium, at the Socialist Educational Club, Graham, corner Engert avenue, Brooklyn, tomorrow afternoon, at 3 o'clock sharp.

JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.

As the next state committee meeting will deal with very important matters, including the question of a

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH.

Another effort to give the working class hope and expression has blossomed forth under the above title at Minneapolis. The publishers are Frank and Anna Finsterbach, formerly of Chicago.

LOUISIANA.

The state secretary of Louisiana in reporting for the movement in his state says that:

"This is the biggest month's work in the history of the movement in Louisiana. Thirteen locals organized with a total membership of 241. Eleven of these locals were organized by Holman, who has organized fifteen locals, with a membership of 264, since starting on his tour.

FRANCE.

The Socialist group in the French parliament has decisively rejected measures of additional taxation, amounting to 200 million francs, by which the Minister of Finance and the budget committee seek to meet the new budget of 1910, amounting to more than four billions.

The Socialists headed by Jean Jaures maintain that the measures only aggravate the condition of the masses and serve as pretext to do away with fiscal and social reforms, as advocated by them.

They oppose steadfastly an increase in the tax on alcohol which is already extreme, in place of the government ownership of this product.

In rejecting the entire set of measures they took a decided stand as to their action in the coming debate and vote. Jaures assured his adherents that at the critical hour of voting there will be no possibility of confusion or indeterminateness.

DENMARK.

P. Knudsen, secretary of the Social-Democratic party in Denmark, was elected Mayor of Copenhagen at the last balloting of the councilmen. He received 18 votes; 2 more than his opponent.

CANADA.

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A. F. of L. Leaders Will Meet in Pittsburgh to Attack Steel Trust.

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"It would be hard to forecast just what action will be taken by the council," he declared, "but the Federation leaders are aware of the strike conditions among the tinplate workers of the Steel Corporation, and these strikes will be an issue in the conference next week."

It was also pointed out that embodied in the resolution adopted by the Federation at its convention in Toronto denouncing the Steel Corporation as the greatest foe to organized labor, is a clause calling for the furtherance of all strikes now in progress among employees of the Steel Corporation.

LECTURE ON POVERTY

Robert W. Bruere to Speak at Lyric Hall Tomorrow Morning.

A large crowd is expected to attend the lecture of Robert W. Bruere, on "What Poverty Means," at the Lyric Hall, 42d street, tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

Bruere was formerly general agent of the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. He is well able to speak on his subject, and an interesting lecture is assured.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

East Side Equal Rights League, Chrystie street, near Houston street. Edward King, "City Government—Why Strikers Are Clubbed and Picked Arrested." This is the first lecture of a course on "Up to Date Civics." Dance after the lecture. Nominal charge for admittance.

DIRECT PRIMARY HEARING.

Robert Binkhead, secretary of the City Club, was the principal witness yesterday before the joint committee of the Senate and Assembly to investigate the action of direct primary laws which is meeting in the Appellate Division Court rooms, at 25th street and Madison avenue. His opinion was that the direct primary scheme was a vast improvement over the present method of naming candidates.

SWEDISH SMOKER.

At Municipal Hall, Brooklyn, Tonight for Benefit of Strikers.

The Swedish Lodge, No. 323, 1 A. of M., will hold a smoker and entertainment tonight at Municipal Hall, Third avenue and 39th street, Brooklyn, at 8:30 o'clock for the benefit of the locked out workmen of Sweden. Tickets, 25 cents.

Advertisement for East Side Socialist Forum at Terracelyceum, featuring a Sunday afternoon lecture by Robert W. Bruere on "What Poverty Means" at 2:30 PM.



GAYLORD WILSHIRE Editor Wilshire's Magazine and Noted Lecturer

Advertisement for "Concentration" Grand Musical Program under the direction of Max Dolin, featuring a December 10, 1909 concert.

CHRISTMAS OFFERING

Never before have LEVY BROS. stock been as generous in assortment, as high in quality, as modern in style and as expressive of good value.

Included in this Xmas offering are the finest garments LEVY BROS. make, and which, at original LOW prices, were exceptional values.

There are suits and overcoats of almost every fabric, including many special styles.

The overcoats include the entire range of overcoats built for comfort, style and utility. All garments are strictly union made and bear the union label.

AMONG THE VALUES ARE

OVERCOATS former price \$20 and \$22 NOW \$16

OVERCOATS AND SUITS former price \$16 and \$18 NOW \$13

OVERCOATS AND SUITS former price \$14 and \$12 NOW \$10

LEVY BROTHERS

Uptown Store: 2260 Third Ave. Near 123d St.



Downtown Store: 53 Canal St.

LEAN DAYS FOR THE CALL

(Continued from Page 1.)

to stand by them in their battles with their employers, to act as the champion of the miserable and oppressed! Sixteen dollars in the first mail! Think of it! The writer is reminded of an incident related in one of E. P. Roe's novels.

Touched by the suffering of this family, the young man drew a one dollar bill out of his hip pocket and handed it to the father—saying in a voice choked with emotion—"Here, my poor man. Take this dollar and buy food, fuel and clothing for yourself and your starving family."

That is about the way in which many of our Comrades regard The Call. They are sorry for it. They don't want it to die. They do rush to the rescue when we say that we positively cannot get the paper out unless a stated sum is raised on a certain day.

We have been making a sort of inaudible roll call—that is, we have been looking through the list of names of those who, in the past, have supported The Call. Many on these lists have not been heard from for months.

Surely, Comrades, if money can be raised among the unconverted, for old ladies' homes, charity bazaars, orphan asylums, etc., those of us who realize the futility of these makeshifts ought to be able to raise, COLLECTIVELY, enough money to maintain our paper.

The Call will never grow fat—in fact, it is even now suffering from arrested development, owing to lack of food.

Herman Greenblatt, recording secretary of the Young Socialists of America, sends in a collection of \$2.12, which collection was taken up for the benefit of The Call at a lecture given by Comrade Joseph Mofson on "John Brown's Revolutionary Spirit."

Local Passaic sends in a donation of \$5, with good wishes. (Many other locals should wake up. Small contributions from each member will soon fill one of The Call collection lists.)

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Table listing names of donors and amounts for the Christmas offering, including Frank Lape, Uniontown, and others.

DAILY RECEIPTS

Table showing daily receipts for The Call, listing dates from Wednesday, Nov. 10 to Friday, Dec. 10, with corresponding amounts.

Grand total \$2,265.

SOMETHING NEW EVERY TIME AT

Advertisement for L. Kupfershmid's Hat and Gent's Furnishing Store, located at 110 Delancey, Cor. Essex Street.

WILL THE VOTE FREE WOMAN? EMMA GOLDMAN

WILL LECTURE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE Sunday, December 12, 1909, 2:30 P. M. AT LYRIC HALL, 725 SIXTH AVE., NEAR 42D ST. Questions and Discussions. Admission 50c and 15c.

THIS COUPON IS WORTH ONE DOLLAR

Coupon form for The New York Call, with fields for Name, Address, and Remarks, and a list of names and amounts for the December 10, 1909 collection.







Socialist News of the Day

Tonight's Meetings.

MANHATTAN AND BRONX. Business. Central Committee—243 East 84th Street.

AMERICAN BRANCH—330 Third Avenue.

ENTERTAINMENT TONIGHT. The Polish branch has arranged an entertainment and concert to take place tonight at the headquarters of the branch, 243 East 10th Street.

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A meeting of the Brooklyn lecture committee will be held at Brooklyn Lyceum tonight at 7 o'clock.

QUEENS COUNTY. Meeting of the county committee at Queens Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Ridgewood.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. Meeting of the county committee at the Lyceum, 2523 West York Street.

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reception. Each member has the privilege of inviting two friends as guests. A good musical program will be provided, which will be followed by a dance. Light refreshments.

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It was also pointed out that embodied in the resolution adopted by the Federation at its convention in Toronto denouncing the Steel Corporation is a clause calling for the furtherance of all strikes now in progress among employees of the Steel Corporation.

Seven hundred and eighty-six dues stamps were sold last month, breaking the record last October as well as the record in the history of the party.

There will be a general membership meeting Sunday afternoon, December 19, at the 4th Ward Branch headquarters, Allegheny, for election of officers and the transaction of any other business.

J. W. Stanton will speak at Home-wood headquarters, 7181 Frankfort avenue, Friday, December 10, at 8 p. m. Admission free.

George T. McConnell, financial secretary of Local Pittsburgh, makes the following financial statement for the month ending November 30:

Receipts: Balance on hand November 1, \$204.58; Sunday meeting collections, \$26.12; Mills lecture, \$30.10; rent for use of headquarters, \$9.50; literature sales, \$11.25; William Adams, expense money returned, \$10; miscellaneous receipts, \$7.58; June boat excursion, \$1; dues stamps sold, \$117.90; August boat excursion, \$5; Debts meeting, \$1.55; organizer's fund, \$32; sick and death benefit fund, \$75; sundry receipts from branches, \$7; total receipts, \$548.35.

Expenditures: Organizer's salary to November 23, \$60; clerk's salary to October 27, \$12; office supplies, \$4.35; Sunday meeting expenses, \$37.50; Propaganda literature, etc., \$6.80; Mills lecture expenses, \$14.80; postage, \$6.57; miscellaneous expenses, \$7.25; stationery, \$3.90; car fare, \$6; literature purchased, \$55.28; advance to organizer for expenses, \$10; dues stamps purchased, \$60 at 12 cents, \$96; office furnishing fund, \$2; branch record books, \$12.50; sundry branches for Brown's services, \$16.50; total, \$251.38. Balance on hand November 30, \$196.96.

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FAST SIDE SOCIALIST FORUM TERRACE LYCEUM 42nd St. & 4th Ave. SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES AT 2:30 P. M. Questions, Discussions, Musical Program. ADMISSION 10c MONTHLY APM\* CARD 25c. LECTURES BEGINS MONDAY DECEMBER 13th THIS WEEK.

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AMONG THE VALUES ARE OVERCOATS former price \$20 and \$22 NOW \$16 OVERCOATS AND SUITS former price \$16 and \$18 NOW \$13 OVERCOATS AND SUITS former price \$14 and \$12 NOW \$10 LEVY BROTHERS Uptown Store: 2260 Third Ave. Near 123d St. Downtown Store: 53 Canal St.

LEAN DAYS FOR THE CALL

to stand by them in their battles with their employers, to act as the champion of the miserable and oppressed! Sixteen dollars in the first mail! Think of it! The writer is reminded of an incident related in one of E. P. Roe's novels. Time 1871, just previous to the great Chicago fire—place, slum district of Chicago—and the hero, a young man with philanthropic mind, is visiting a poor family, composed of a father (drunkard), mother and nine children. Said family is in a starving condition, insufficient clothing and inadequate shelter from the bleak winds that always blow when philanthropists visit poor people.

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That is about the way in which many of our Comrades regard The Call. They are sorry for it. They don't want it to die. They do rush to the rescue when we say that we positively cannot get the paper out unless a stated sum is raised on a certain day. When our appeal for assistance becomes so piercing that the Comrades begin to call up the office and ask in awe-struck tones: "Will The Call come out tomorrow?" Then a good many of us get busy and send in a liberal donation, and so bridge over present difficulties, but these lean, miserable days, when only a few dollars come in to lighten the burden—these are the days that hamper and impoverish our paper.

We have been making a sort of inaudible roll call—that is, we have been looking through the list of names of those who, in the past, have supported The Call. Many on these lists have not been heard from for months. The life of The Call depends upon the efforts of these Comrades, combined with the work done by our recruits, veterans and "regulars."

Surely, Comrades, if money can be raised among the unemployed, for old ladies' homes, charity bazaars, orphan asylums, etc., those of us who realize the futility of these makeshifts ought to be able to raise, COLLECTIVELY, enough money to maintain our paper. Do you remember what Robert Blatchford says, relating to the non-support of radical publications by the workers? "Does the labor journalist wallow in the wages of the worker?" he asks. "Not a wallow. You leave that to the worker. He has money for beer, he has money for betting, he has money for the parson, he has money for missionaries, but he does not like his champions to get fat and lazy, and he takes precious good care that they don't."

The Call will never grow fat—in fact, it is even now suffering from arrested development, owing to lack of food. These sixteen dollar a day donations are telling on its strength.

Herman Greenblatt, recording secretary of the Young Socialists of America, sends in a collection of \$2.12, which collection was taken up for the benefit of The Call at a lecture given by Comrade Joseph Mofson on "John Brown's Revolutionary Spirit." (The Young Socialists are hustling for The Call, and it behooves some of their elders to become imbued with some of the enthusiasm of the younger ones.)

G. L. Hoff, Uniontown, Pa., sends in a collection of \$9 and says: "This is the best I can do at present, but will try to send in another before long."

William Vois, of New York, sends in \$1, with the brief but encouraging message: "The Call suits me." Hugo Ufert sends his dollar, and, as he says often, we infer that his sentiments are the same.

Local Passaic sends in a donation of \$5, with good wishes. (Many other locals should wake up. Small contributions from each member will soon fill one of The Call collection lists.)

William Kuhnert, Isidore Caesar, Arthur Caesar, Moses Caesar and "A Friend" send in \$2.

Piano and Organ Makers' Union, No. 14, sends in a collection of \$6.50. Brotherhood Painters, No. 489, New York, sends in a contribution of \$5.

L. B. Boudin, New York, sends in a collection of \$25 from the following: Philip Liebman, \$10; S. Zechnowitz, \$10; and Joseph Balaban, \$5.

Comrade Boudin says: "I am continuing this work and hope to raise some more before long."

The work that is being done with these collection lists is but the smallest fraction of what could be accomplished if our Comrades would try earnestly and energetically to circulate them and return them to The Call, instead of keeping them as souvenirs.

DECEMBER 10, 1909. Collected by Herman Greenblatt—Young Socialists of America—\$2.12 Collected by L. B. Boudin—\$25.00 Philip L. Liebman—\$10.00

WILL THE VOTE FREE WOMAN? EMMA GOLDMAN WILL LECTURE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE Sunday, December 12, 1909, 2:30 P. M. AT LYRIC HALL, 725 SIXTH AVE., NEAR 40th ST. Questions and Discussions. Admission 25c and 15c.

THIS COUPON IS WORTH ONE DOLLAR This Coupon is worth one dollar to THE NEW YORK CALL if you write your name and address on the blank lines below, take a dollar bill, pin it to this coupon and send it to your paper today. Remember, worth one dollar to THE CALL if you use it today together with that dollar bill you meant to send long ago. If 200 other readers will send us this coupon together with a dollar bill besides you—that will be a Thousand Dollars in one day. That would be a great help to your paper. NOW ACT. HIT A GERMAN MARK!

Name..... Address..... Remarks.....

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LYRIC HALL 42d STREET AND SIXTH AVENUE Sunday, December 12, 1909 AT 11 A. M.

ROBERT W. BRUERE

General Agent New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, WILL LECTURE ON "WHAT POVERTY MEANS"

ADMISSION, 10 CENTS. UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK

THE 20TH ANNUAL BALL OF THE NEW YORK GROUP OF THE Russian Socialist Democratic League

WILL TAKE PLACE ON NEW YEAR'S EVE, FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 31, 1909 AT MURRAY HILL LYCEUM, 32th ST., COR. 5th AVE. TICKETS, 50 CENTS. HAT CHECK, 10 CENTS.

Church of the Ascension FIFTH AVENUE AND TENTH STREET.

MR. ALEXANDER IRVINE

At 8 P. M. will speak on The Strike of the Ladies' Shirtwaist Makers.

At the conference in the Chapel at 9 P. M. the speakers will be Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Miss Elizabeth Dutcher, Miss Violet Pike, Mrs. Leroy Scott and Miss Fannie Zincher on "The Shirtwaist Strike."

ELORE FAIR

TO BE HELD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE Hungarian Socialist Paper "ELORE" on Saturday, December 11th, and Sunday, December 12th, at LABOR TEMPLE, 243 East 84th Street.

GRAND PERFORMANCE, DANCING MUSIC, ROYAL GIPSY BAND. SATURDAY, DEC. 11, the Fair begins at 7 P. M. SUNDAY, DEC. 12, the Fair begins at 2 P. M. Concert in the afternoon. Dance music in the evening. Played by the Gipsy Band. ADMISSION, 10 CENTS.

The following Societies, among others, are participating: "Liberty" Hungarian Women's Singing Society, "Elo" Dramatic Society, N. Y. First Amateur Musical Association, "Revolution" Amateur Musical Association.



GAYLORD WILSHIRE Editor Wilshire's Magazine and Noted Lecturer

"Concentration" GRAND MUSICAL PROGRAM Under the Direction of MAX DOLIN

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STUDY COURSE IN SOCIALISM

Lesson VI.—The Economics of Capitalism: 5.

The Expansion of Capitalism.—Capitalism expands, not only by the accumulation of capital in those industries and those countries in which the capitalist system already prevails, but also by the extension of the system to other industries and to other countries.

Capitalism in its mature form first appeared in the cotton and woolen manufacture in England. But the use of machinery in those industries created a large demand for machinery and for coal. Coal mining, iron mining, and the making of machinery succeeded into the same course of development. Increased production of machinery and coal facilitated the introduction of similar methods into the manufacture of other textiles, other metal goods, and many other commodities. Part of the surplus value derived from industries already capitalized was all the time being invested (either directly by its owners, or oftener through loans from the banks in which capitalists kept their money) in establishing capitalist enterprises in other industries. As soon as capital was turned to any industry and stimulated the invention of machinery for conducting it, the old hand trade was doomed; it might linger for years, but the superior production of the machine production eventually drove it out.

In other countries where social conditions were more or less prepared for it (Western Europe and the United States) the example of England stimulated and English competition, compelled the rise of capitalism as a native growth; even in these countries, however, native capital was largely reinforced by English capitalists investing there a part of their income. Later capitalism spread somewhat less rapidly and by somewhat different methods to Mexico, South America, Japan, Russia, etc., and is now establishing itself in Turkey, China, India and other parts of Asia, and in Africa.

The entrance of capitalism into a new land is generally marked by several stages. First, the country is opened to commerce by being a market for manufactured goods from capitalist countries and supplying them with raw materials and with its own peculiar products. Then by conquest or by bribing or bullying native rulers, capitalists get grants of land, mines, concessions for building railways, and exclusive commercial privileges. Finally they introduce capitalist industry into the country, employing native workers at low wages. Such industry, once established, tends to crowd out native handicraft and gradually develop the characteristic features of capitalist society, the ownership remaining largely in the hands of the financiers of older capitalist countries.

Not is capitalism confined to manufacture, mining, transportation, commerce and finance, though in these branches it first develops. Later it invades the field of agriculture, as will be seen hereafter. Thus capitalism tends to spread to all departments of economic life in all countries, establishing virtually similar social conditions throughout the world, the whole system dominated by the great capitalists of the most advanced countries.

Concentration of Ownership and Control.—The ownership of this accumulating and expanding capital tends to become concentrated in fewer hands, and its control to become still more concentrated.

Concentration is a normal outcome of competition, which in turn develops. It is often promoted by special legislative favors—protective tariffs, land grants, monopolistic franchises, etc.—and by illegal methods on the part of the capitalists. But even without these it would come about somewhat more slowly, through the workings of competition.

An already stated, larger capitalists have the advantage in competition. In any industry, as a rule, a large capital gives a higher return to the owner than a small one (up to a limit set by the technical and social conditions of the time); large enterprises can undersell small ones and still have a sufficient surplus to increase their plant and gain a still increasing advantage. The large enterprises continue to grow and absorb a greater share of the trade. The smaller ones are forced to two alternatives—either separately they must leave the field, becoming bankrupt or selling out to large competitors; or several of them must combine to form one large enterprise. Business combinations thus forced by fear of failure, combinations of large enterprises are formed for the purpose of increasing the advantage already gained. In place of the maxim of early capitalism, "Competition is the life of trade," we now have the principle recognized, even by bourgeois economists that "wherever combination becomes possible, competition becomes impossible."

Mark Deville or Hyndman, as before.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW.

- 1. What is the distinction between constant capital and variable capital? How do their proportions change in the course of capitalist development? Why cannot wages for any considerable time increase equally with the increasing product of labor? 2. How is the statement that capitalists receive larger share of the product now than formerly consistent with the fact that the rate of interest on capital is falling? 3. What are the two principal differences between a partnership and a joint stock company? What is the advantage of the joint stock form of organization, from the point of view of the development of capitalism? 4. What is the difference between stocks and bonds?

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There must be a reorganization of the S. P. That is almost unanimously agreed upon. It must be reorganized into a working class party, fighting every battle of the workers, all the time, and using every weapon. I do not like the English policy, but I say frankly it is better than the present S. P. It is doing something. It is rousing the antagonism of the capitalists, it is forcing them to fight back. It is vitalizing the class struggle, and I have full faith that our revolutionary action, without regard to programs or platforms or even designing political leaders. Here we are dead, repeaters of phrases, and neither politically nor industrially are we feared by the capitalists.

I am sure, from my experience at Toronto, that the trade unionists are as much at sea as we are, and that a sane revolutionary position would bring them to us almost en masse. You represent an element and a point of view that is needed, greatly needed. You are almost the only person who does represent such a position that

could carry weight in a council of war with Socialists and trade unionists. For this reason I am tremendously anxious that you should give us your help in this crisis. I know your antipathy to Hunter, and perhaps to Spargo and Hillquit. At the same time they also represent an element that is needed, and greatly needed. Above all else we MUST have the union men. No one has denounced the defects of the A. F. of L. more than I, but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer representing the working class than the S. F. and unless we are able to so shape our policy and our organization as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers, we will have failed of our mission.

I think that there are several lines of possible immediate change in the S. P. First, its machinery must be simplified. I think this scarcely needs discussion with you. Your practical sense will tell you that. Second, the appeal of the party must be made more directly to the union men. We have appealed through soap-box theorists, ignorant of everything, and have wondered why we reached only the ignorant among the workers. We must send out men who are themselves union men, who go directly and specifically to the men of their trade and who preach the class struggle as union men understand it with the Socialist explanation.

Third, we must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians who are seeking to raise rebellion against every person whom they cannot use for their purposes. The present Ex. Com. is more than willing to surrender their position if real workmen are to take their places. They do not propose to those who have never worked save with their jaws and who are tearing down every organization to which they belong.

This statement is somewhat incoherent. I have written it amid a mass of interruptions and can only hope to have dimly conveyed some of the things for which I am working. I shall await your reply giving me your idea of the future and hope that you will bring it in person. If not let us have it as great a length as possible. There are preparations under way to bring about an internal revolution, and we will need all the brains at our disposal to steer through the shoals before us.

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At the end of the letter to me Mr. Simons says: "We must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians who are seeking to raise rebellion (!) against every person they cannot use for their purposes. The present executive committee is more than willing to surrender their positions if real workmen are to take their places. They do not propose to surrender to those who have worked save with their jaws and are tearing down every organization to which they belong."

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"No one has denounced the defects of the American Federation of Labor more than I," says Simons, "but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer representing the working class than the Socialist party, and unless we are able to shape our policy and our organization so as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers, we will have failed of our mission."

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But why this sudden passion for the American Federation of Labor? Is it because there is an element in the federation that is coming our way? Mr. Simons says no; he was in Toronto and so ought to know. On the contrary, Simons' reason for wanting us to go to the American Federation of Labor is because the American Federation of Labor is not coming to us. He uses as an argument the "intense hatred against the Socialist party" that he found at Toronto, and he adds that "fully one-half of the delegates were ex-members of the Socialist party or the Socialist Labor party."

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It is not a question of philosophy with which we are confronted, but of facts. To meet this situation we must clean out this bunch of petty politicians. I wish you were here that I could show you the evidence of their work in nearly every state in the country. Now, unfortunately, they have seen fit in some places to throw in their lot with the I. W. W., although in others they are its most bitter enemies. So there will be an effort to involve this question.

Personally, I have great sympathy with industrial unionism, but not as a panacea. I think that its most deadly enemy is the man who talks about it as a means of getting the co-operative commonwealth. We are not organizing unions in the future or in the past, but NOW, and for the purpose of fighting the class struggle. I believe that there have been most ridiculous exaggerations of the work of the I. W. W. in Pennsylvania and of the French syndicalists. In fact, I know this to be the case. At the same time there should be a place in the Socialist party for those who wish to work through "direct action."

There must be a reorganization of the S. P. That is almost unanimously agreed upon. It must be reorganized into a working class party, fighting every battle of the workers, all the time, and using every weapon. I do not like the English policy, but I say frankly it is better than the present S. P. It is doing something. It is rousing the antagonism of the capitalists, it is forcing them to fight back. It is vitalizing the class struggle, and I have full faith that our revolutionary action, without regard to programs or platforms or even designing political leaders. Here we are dead, repeaters of phrases, and neither politically nor industrially are we feared by the capitalists.

I am sure, from my experience at Toronto, that the trade unionists are as much at sea as we are, and that a sane revolutionary position would bring them to us almost en masse. You represent an element and a point of view that is needed, greatly needed. You are almost the only person who does represent such a position that

could carry weight in a council of war with Socialists and trade unionists. For this reason I am tremendously anxious that you should give us your help in this crisis. I know your antipathy to Hunter, and perhaps to Spargo and Hillquit. At the same time they also represent an element that is needed, and greatly needed. Above all else we MUST have the union men. No one has denounced the defects of the A. F. of L. more than I, but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer representing the working class than the S. F. and unless we are able to so shape our policy and our organization as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers, we will have failed of our mission.

I think that there are several lines of possible immediate change in the S. P. First, its machinery must be simplified. I think this scarcely needs discussion with you. Your practical sense will tell you that. Second, the appeal of the party must be made more directly to the union men. We have appealed through soap-box theorists, ignorant of everything, and have wondered why we reached only the ignorant among the workers. We must send out men who are themselves union men, who go directly and specifically to the men of their trade and who preach the class struggle as union men understand it with the Socialist explanation.

Third, we must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians who are seeking to raise rebellion against every person whom they cannot use for their purposes. The present Ex. Com. is more than willing to surrender their position if real workmen are to take their places. They do not propose to surrender to those who have worked save with their jaws and are tearing down every organization to which they belong."

This statement is somewhat incoherent. I have written it amid a mass of interruptions and can only hope to have dimly conveyed some of the things for which I am working. I shall await your reply giving me your idea of the future and hope that you will bring it in person. If not let us have it as great a length as possible. There are preparations under way to bring about an internal revolution, and we will need all the brains at our disposal to steer through the shoals before us.

Yours fraternally,  
A. M. SIMONS.

WALLING ON SIMONS' LETTER.

Editor of The Call:

A. M. Simons in a letter to The Call refers to a private letter of his which was read before the New York Central Committee. The letter was addressed to me and I felt at liberty to refer to it in whole or in part to a number of prominent Socialists on account of the momentous and wholly impersonal nature of its contents. I did not intend to give it out for publication, but since Mr. Simons publicly questions my right to use it as I did, both in self-defense and for the sake of the Cause, I feel impelled to give your readers its principal contents, together with my reasons for considering them so important as to disclose them to others even under the certainty of losing Mr. Simons' friendship, which I have always valued as highly as that of any Socialist I have ever known.

At the end of the letter to me Mr. Simons says: "We must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians who are seeking to raise rebellion (!) against every person they cannot use for their purposes. The present executive committee is more than willing to surrender their positions if real workmen are to take their places. They do not propose to surrender to those who have worked save with their jaws and are tearing down every organization to which they belong."

Mr. Simons states that the party is divided into two parts: "On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like myself, Spargo, Hunter and Hillquit; on the other side a bunch of never-works, demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable 'Lumpen-Proletariat.'"

I do not believe that the purpose of this fight proposed by Simons and his friends is by any means exclusively that of promoting the political fortune of any of them. On the contrary, some if not all of them certainly feel that they have a sacred mission to perform—that of converting the present Socialist party into a "Labor" party, or a branch of a "Labor" party like the British Independent Labor party.

"No one has denounced the defects of the American Federation of Labor more than I," says Simons, "but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer representing the working class than the Socialist party, and unless we are able to shape our policy and our organization so as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers, we will have failed of our mission."

No member of the Socialist party, as far as I know, has ever gone so far as to say in public that the American Federation of Labor, as at present constituted, comes nearer to representing the working class than the Socialist party!

But why this sudden passion for the American Federation of Labor? Is it because there is an element in the federation that is coming our way? Mr. Simons says no; he was in Toronto and so ought to know. On the contrary, Simons' reason for wanting us to go to the American Federation of Labor is because the American Federation of Labor is not coming to us. He uses as an argument the "intense hatred against the Socialist party" that he found at Toronto, and he adds that "fully one-half of the delegates were ex-members of the Socialist party or the Socialist Labor party."

From these two facts, the blindness of the American Federation of Labor majority to the mission of the Socialist party, and the numerous renegades to be found among them, Mr. Simons concludes that the political situation is for the moment hopeless in the American Federation of Labor, as far as Socialism is concerned, but that this "is the most terrible indictment that could be drawn of our meth-

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Next Sunday's Call Will contain many things YOU will want to read. Among them are: EARLY FRENCH SOCIALISM. One of the first Socialist articles written by Frederick Engels. A picture and sketch of Charles H. Morrill, the Socialist member of the Massachusetts Legislature. THE DESPAIR OF TOLSTOI. By Paul Wallace Hanna. WHAT PRAGMATISM IS. By Thomas M. Shackelford. THE GREAT GOSKY SERIAL. "A Confession." FLASH LIGHTS on the Civic Federation. Banquet. By Samuel A. Stedel. STRIKES FOR BODILE AND STRIKES FOR BROTHERHOOD. By Horace Traubel. THE MAN. A striking allegory, by Maxim Gorky. CHAL. An Armenian story, by Arvetis Aharonou. JENNY. A comedy, by Ashley Dulce. THE TASK BEFORE THE SOCIALIST PARTY. By Morris Hillquit. NIETSCHE ON WOMEN. By Wilhelm Carl Becker. THE SHIRT WAIST MAKERS' STRIKE. By Grace Potter. A DRAMATIC REVIEW. By Courtney Lemon. WOMAN'S SPHERE. Edited by Anita C. Block. FOR YOUNG FOLKS. Including another charming story by Lucy Cross Jenkins. SOCIALIST AND LABOR NEWS OF THE WORLD. COMMENT AND DISCUSSION. "Not the Biggest Sunday Paper, But the Best."

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# Woman's Sphere

Edited by ANITA C. BLOCK

RENAISSANCE.

By ADA FOSTER MURRAY.

White are the ashes of old faiths' dead fruit:  
The tree is withered, and the heedless throng  
Has trampled down the fallen leafage long.  
Yet mightier growths shall blossom from the root.  
O master of the clarion and the lute—  
The soft-voiced madrigal and battle song—  
With one clear blast, imperious and strong,  
Arouse the spirit, gorman now and mute:  
Again the east burns with prophetic fire;  
Lone watchers on the soul's high tower may see  
The beauty of strange visions, the desire  
Of the deep earth since it began to be.  
And catch the strains of pagan flute and lyre  
Exalted to a finer ecstasy.

—Scribner's.

# THE COMEDY OF CAPITALISM

A Continuous Performance.

By C. W. ERVIN.

The increasing economic stress to which the middle class is being subjected is shown by the steady growth of "Pawnshops for Respectables," trading under the name of "Loan Societies." We are not wasting our sympathy on the class. We think we know it as intimately as one can know his own flesh and blood and we never knew it to become "hysterical" over the stress to which the working class has ALWAYS been subjected.

The manner in which this erstwhile smug and self-sufficient class is being "skinned" is a subject for grim laughter. Having been separated from a large portion of the fruits of its "thrift and abstinence," some of our "semi-philanthropists" are now going after its personal belongings, using the name of the Nazarene to accomplish their purpose with greater ease.

A recently organized corporation, the "Loan Society of Philadelphia," heads its advertisement thus: "A Semi-Philanthropic Institution, Organized and Conducted by Christian Men." A booklet which this society has issued for the purpose of selling stock to the sons of Mary shows how the sons of Martha can easily and profitably be separated from the few belongings yet remaining to them. Incidentally it destroys one of our most cherished ideals.

A battalion of portly Pecksniffs have been telling us for years that the troubles of the majority were the result of lack of "thrift." "Be thrifty and want will never find you," etc. Listen to these "Christian Men": "Thousands of thrifty people NEED money." It will now be in order to drape with mourning clothes the statue of the Apostle of Thrift—Benjamin Franklin.

The investor is assured: "While we do not forget the philanthropic aims of the society, neither do we forget that the money invested must make money."

And again: "We will only loan money to respectable people." What touching abstinence!

The investor is then shown the security of the stock of this society in comparison with "dirt-edged" railroad or electric bonds. As a "clinch" he is handed a paper headed "History of the Provident Loan Society of New York." This also contains a list of the "Prominent stockholders and directors" of that "skinnery," where

the hides of the middle class are tanned into cash.

When we inquired of the Christian shlyok, who handed this out, as to the value of the Provident stock, he replied in almost an awesome whisper, "It is so valuable that it rarely comes on the market." What investor could withstand such tempting bait?

At the bottom of the sheet on which the names of the members of the Holy Guild of Gold Brickers of the city of New York is printed, appears this statement: "The Loan Society of Philadelphia is established on the same PRINCIPALS." We wonder if the proofreader who passed this curious error was something of a wag.

We cannot imagine a member of that race who have been the financial "uncles" of all races and creeds, gazing upon this transaction in "low finance" with envious eyes and exclaiming, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

This Christian society at the "Sign of the Three Balls" issues another booklet—"The Borrower." We don't know what would happen if the borrower would get hold of the other booklet, "For the Investor." The borrower is told that the prejudice against borrowing "on jewelry and gems" is because of "the methods of mercenary, unscrupulous men who have made a living by taking advantage of the necessity of others."

These booklets are a composite masterpiece of capitalistic smugness, hypocrisy and unctiousness. We are not enough of a craftsman with the pen to do them justice. Compared with this institution "The Anglo-Bengalee Disinterested Loan Company" described by Dickens was a worthy charity.

Not a newspaper in Philadelphia has printed a line against this shearing of the midding lambs. Could it be possible that the amount of money spent in advertising is responsible for this silence? These "Christian men" know their business. The investors could be taken good care of. They could make trouble. But when they are through with a borrower they need have no fear from that quarter.

Everything that they do to this individual is strictly according to law. And the Christ in whose name they are conducting this legalized robbery uttered His most scathing denunciations against hypocrites of a similar type in His day and generation.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 6.)

make a success of the enterprise. Yet I found that in every case there were some who would continue with opposition of the most bitter and hateful kind, and would do everything in their power to make a failure of the enterprise.

So much bitterness, jealousy and suspicion did I find, that ultimately I made up my mind that I would never again have anything to do in a business way with Socialist organizations. That does not mean, of course, that I am giving up working for Socialism, because I can always use my pen for the cause, and always shall do it. But another person, who had not that recourse—who was obliged to do practical work or nothing—might readily have given up all efforts to be of service. In fact, if I wished to name names in this letter I could tell of a dozen men and women who went into the Socialism movement prepared to give all their time and energy to the work, and who withdrew in disgust because of just that spirit of narrowness and jealousy.

Let me give an illustration. Recently, while staying in a country, I was invited by a large institution, a semi-public nature to be in a business way with Socialist organizations. That does not mean, of course, that I am giving up working for Socialism, because I can always use my pen for the cause, and always shall do it. But another person, who had not that recourse—who was obliged to do practical work or nothing—might readily have given up all efforts to be of service. In fact, if I wished to name names in this letter I could tell of a dozen men and women who went into the Socialism movement prepared to give all their time and energy to the work, and who withdrew in disgust because of just that spirit of narrowness and jealousy.

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I have quote this particular case, rather than a dozen others in my experience, because it illustrates another weakness which we must manage to get over—that of making a fetish out of "orthodoxy." We have found out the truth ourselves, and we have got our stand, and we can afford to wait, and all those on the outside of the fence can take their own good time in coming to us. We know that they shall have to come some day or other, and in the meantime all we have to do is to tell them what fools and ignoramus they are. Indeed, we do not always stop there; we sometimes say that they are knaves as well as fools, and exercise our ingenuity in attributing base motives to them. I know all about this particular fault, because I have to work all the time to check it in myself. It is just as easy for me to become bitter and hateful as it is for any other of the comrades to whom I am presuming to offer my advice. And yet, every now and then, something happens to make me remember the time before I became a Socialist. I was just as disinterested then as I am now, and I was working just as hard for human welfare; I simply had not had my eyes opened, that was all. I wanted some one to come along in a patient and friendly way, not gloating over the fact that he knew it and I did not, but recognizing the fact that this was a world in which everybody has new things to learn, and willing to discuss the

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step that he takes in the affairs of the party, is taken for the purpose of advancing Socialism and never for the purpose of satisfying some feeling of personal wrong. And when he has done this, let him proceed, without bitterness, but with firmness and sincerity, to oppose the spirit of faction in the party and put the trouble-makers in a position where they can no longer hinder the growth of Socialism. When this has been done it will be possible to transact the business affairs of the party without waste of time and energy, and without most of our meetings degenerating into personal squabbles. It will be possible to bring back into our movement those thousands and tens of thousands of members who have dropped off in disgust, and it will be possible to preserve the enthusiasm and devotion which new converts bring to our cause.

It seems to me, by the way, that every local should keep a card index of all the members who ever have belonged to the organization, and that they should never be permitted to withdraw from any cause save that of death. They should be followed up and kept in touch with the work. We should plead with them, and convince them that if there are things in the party which they disapprove of, the thing to do is not to withdraw in disgust, but to stay and do what they can to make things go right.

I am continually hearing from people the argument that Socialists are that Mr. Hearst has newspapers, and that they are this, that and the other uncomfortable thing. I never make but one reply—"The reason they are this is because people like you, who realize the possibility of better things don't pitch in and help to make things go right." That is the spirit in which every one must push the work of Socialist organization; and he must not suggest the reforming of anybody else until he has made certain that he has reformed himself.

This new spirit will show itself in the same way in our dealings with the unconverted. Let us go into the homes of the people who are serving our best to show them the cause of their misery. Let us study each man or woman as a separate case, sympathetically and intelligently, trying to determine what particular prejudice we must avoid awakening and what particular susceptibilities we may appeal to. If a man is a devout member of the Catholic or of the Baptist church, let us not tell him that he is the victim of bigotry and priestcraft, and that his religious teachers are in business for nothing but to pick his pockets; let us, on the contrary, take the faith of his religion as a starting point, and show him what that profession, and show him what that organization should do in order to follow out those ideals. If a man is a low out of the union, let us not tell him that he is wasting his time in the organization and that all his leaders are scoundrels and grafters. What is the use, for instance, of attacking Gompers, at a time when Gompers himself is an object of attack by the capitalists? Why not say to the union man, "Look at what Gompers' methods do to politics in the union" has done to Gompers himself? I do not mean by this that we should surrender our point of view to the trades union members. We must stand by our broader vision of industrial cooperation, and we can do this without stooping to personalities, and without antagonizing those upon whom we are dependent for success. Above every-

thing else, it seems to me, Socialists must realize that we are dependent upon the people we are trying to convert. Until we can convert them, we can accomplish nothing whatever. Until we can convert them it does us no good to be Socialists, and it matters not how well instructed and orthodox and proletarian Socialists we may be.

UPTON SINCLAIR.  
Fairhope, Ala., Nov. 29, 1909.

### UNITY OF FINAL AIM AND IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

Editor of The Call:  
If the party followed the advice of the letters written to The Call, our future campaigns would be conducted as lecture courses in economic determinism and class struggle. Also, the party would pitch economic determinism and class struggle into the waste-paper basket, and talk cheap gas. Cut out immediate demands, and cut out everything but immediate demands. It seems to me, Comrades, that we are at last face to face with a crisis of fatal importance to the future of the Socialist movement in America. It is a question of "To be or not to be." Are we going to continue or are we going to quit?

Now, to talk about our lost votes coming back to us better educated than ever is mere fatuous poppycock. Talk of our going blindly on in the good old way is mere fatuous poppycock. The situation is this: We must look ourselves squarely in the eye (it such a confrontation is possible) and ask ourselves if there is any chance for the existence of the Socialist party in politics. One Comrade advises us to quit. Another is greatly encouraged. A third says, in substance, let cheap gas go to the demolition bowwows and talk Marx all the time.

And this last hits the mark. If we want to build up what Spargo so well calls a Marxian cult, then let's do it. But in doing so we thereby quit politics, and become an organization like the Single Taxers—perfectly convinced of the justice of our cause, yet doing nothing to propagate it.

Socialism is not dead. It is alive—a living, throbbing reality! It is spreading like wildfire, and we know it. And yet the votes don't come. Why? Because "votes" is a political question, and we haven't learned by experience to connect the growth of Socialism, which is a gloriously inspiring fact, with cheap gas, 9-cent milk, school houses and politics. Now, really isn't that so? Now, I think that the whole matter, fairly and squarely stated, is this: Socialism and all of the constructive and destructive philosophy that goes with it, is right, absolutely. The world is coming to see it in a manner that fills us with joy. The second part of the proposition is this: Capitalism has bred untold evils; and politics is a particular vile. There must be a working class party to fight the evils and the rotten connection between the latter, and the truth, and the inevitability of Socialism? If there is, we must make it appear. If there isn't, let's quit and go into a movement solely for clean working class politics, with Marx left out. We owe that to our conscience.

To those that sneer at cheap gas as an issue, let us say, solemnly, that the real issue with a starving man is the immediate good. He is hungry—and we say that all politics is rotten. (He knows that.) He is cold. We offer him a future co-operative commonwealth. Then comes Hearst the demagogue, the turncoat, the insincere, and says: "I fought your fight. I gave you cheap gas. I killed the trusts," and we wonder that we lose to him. Let us give cheap gas—and show that the cheap gas is a part and parcel of that future co-operative commonwealth that was so little alluring a moment ago! Not cheap gas per se, but cheap gas, first, and cheap gas as a part of Socialism, second.

WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM.  
Washington, D. C., Nov. 11, 1909.

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# The Call



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## THE MILK INVESTIGATION.

The day before yesterday an inquiry of direct interest to every inhabitant of this city was begun, to ascertain if a trust controls the price of milk, which was recently raised one cent a quart.

The investigation was started in compliance with a petition by the State Attorney General, stating that in his belief the price of milk is controlled by a trust composed of various corporations and dealers in milk. The petition recites that in 1891 the Milk Exchange, Limited, was deprived of its charter and the company dissolved by an order of the Court of Appeals after it was shown that that corporation violated the law. But six months later practically the same members formed the Consolidated Milk Exchange, with a New Jersey charter, and since that time have done business according to the same illegal methods. The Attorney General further declares that for more than a year the Consolidated Milk Exchange has had a monopoly of the milk supply of this city.

This action of the Attorney General seems to have been a direct outcome of a report submitted by a "special committee on the rise of the price of milk" to the board of trade of the Twenty-eighth Ward of Brooklyn.

According to this report there was no justification whatever for the increase of price. The milk companies alleged that there has been an increase in the cost of production. But the committee found that the increase in cost of production is no more than normal during the winter season and that this increase is more than offset, in the case of the big companies with their modern plants, by the improved methods of producing and utilizing the milk supply, the production of butter from excess supplies of milk, and the friendly connections of the companies with the railroads. And in any case, the normal increased cost of production during the winter season is compensated for by the normal decrease during the warm season.

The committee arrived at the conclusion that the increase of one cent a quart is equivalent to an extra cost to the people of this city during one year of \$3,650,000. This sum is almost as large as the total annual cost of administration of the three boroughs of Kings, Queens and Richmond. It represents a five per cent return on a capital of \$73,000,000—a sum sufficient to duplicate the entire subway system of this city.

The committee found that under existing conditions it is exceedingly difficult for the farmer and retail dealer to get together. The railroads favor the trust. Cans of independent dealers are delayed, sent in the wrong direction, or lost. Provision is not made for icing small quantities. The small dealer is handicapped in every way. The farmer is forced to sell to the trust at its own terms, and the consumer is forced to buy from the trust at its own price.

The committee also found that the capital required for carrying on the milk business is not large, though it is made to appear large by watering the stock of the companies. Furthermore, the companies have the advantage of whatever part of the business is carried on credit. For whereas the consumer is required by the companies to settle his bill every week, the company pays the farmer only at the end of each month.

The burden of the increased price of milk falls most heavily on the poor. The committee recalls the investigation recently conducted by the Sage Foundation into the conditions of living in this city of families with an income ranging between \$600 and \$1,100 annually. Such families require 45 cents, out of every dollar, expended by them, for purchasing food, and about 5 cents of this goes for milk. When it is further recalled that according to the results of that investigation a family of five requires 73 cents for the cost of its daily food, and that one out of every four families with annual incomes between \$600 and \$900 is underfed, while all families of four or more members with a \$600 income are underfed, the hardship caused by a further increase in the price of so necessary an article of diet as milk becomes at once apparent.

Furthermore, the increased cost of milk strikes at the weakest members of the community—the children of the poor. Of every five children born in this city, one dies before the end of the first year. To increase the price of milk to the mother and her babe simply means to increase the mortality of the infants.

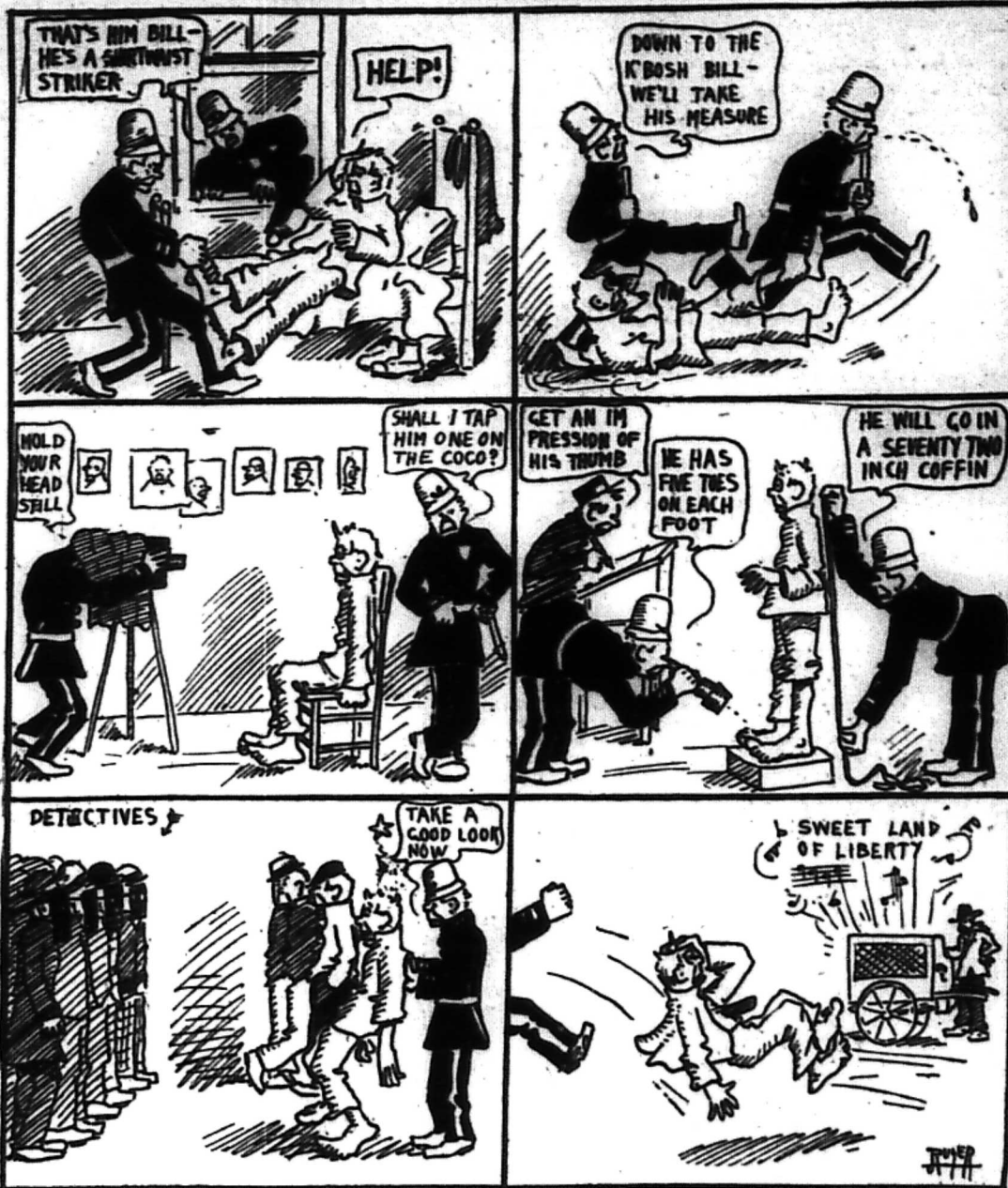
It was for these reasons that the Attorney General was asked to undertake the investigation that is now on.

The report of the special committee of the Brooklyn Twenty-eighth Ward board of trade concludes as follows:

"Underlying all this, we discern that the group of men responsible for this state of affairs is made up largely of the group which is harassing the people of this country in other directions, the men of 'High Finance,' against whom in every state of the Union and in the United States courts it has been necessary for the representatives of the people to wage legal war. These men are of the group responsible for the rise of meat, of vegetables, of fruit, of cereals, of oil, of sugar, of wool, of clothing, of iron. The men who have monopolized within a few years the natural advantages of this broad country and who can only be overcome by fundamental reforms such as government ownership of railroads, scientific taxation of land values, and bringing the power of the government back to the masses of the people."

These "fundamental reforms" obviously represent demands of the middle class. The "scientific taxation of land values" is, of course, our old and ever dear friend, the Single Tax panacea. The "government ownership of railroads" will undoubtedly prevent the growth of trusts in this country about as effectively as it has prevented their growth in Germany, which has more trusts ("cartels") than any other country in Europe. But what may be meant by "bringing the powers of the government back to the masses of the people"? Is it the initiative and referendum? We do not know. But we know this, that so long as the capitalist system prevails it is bound to lead, because of its inherent laws of development, to capitalistic combinations of all sorts, irrespective of Single Tax chimeras and government ownership of railroads. The class that controls the land and the instruments of production is sure to control the government and its policies, whether in regard to land taxation, railway tariffs, or customs tariffs. It is also sure to control the electorate, direct or no direct legislation, until such time as the class war, now raging within society, shall assume a conscious and organized form under the leadership of an awakened and enlightened working class.

## "FREE AMERICA!"



In the Light of Current Events.

## LABOR IN POLITICS.

By Robert Hunter.

Sometime ago a writer in The Call said that labor is in politics in England and America only to defend its old-time rights of organization. This, of course, is not true. A few union leaders may be in politics for that purpose and a few others for their own profit, but labor is in politics for an altogether higher purpose.

But even supposing it were true that labor is in politics simply to defend its old-time rights of organization, is not that about the most important reason at the present moment for it to be in politics?

Trade unionism is one of the powerful weapons now possessed by the working class. If labor were to lie down and let that weapon be taken out of its hand, then every man of us might just as well stop our agitation now.

Such an exhibition of ignorance and cowardice would be enough to condemn labor forever.

Historically, there is good reason why trade unionists should look upon their trade union movement as their most important weapon.

In both England and America trade unions have been for over half a century the sole fighting organizations of the working class. Heretofore they have been able to depend on nothing else to fight their battles.

The workers have not up till now exercised their political power properly, and consequently they have invariably been betrayed by politicians.

Not having their own political movement they have not realized the power of a political movement. Not having used the ballot effectively they have not grasped the power of the ballot.

It is but natural, therefore, that they should cling to the only tool which has been of use to them, to the only weapon which has served them and to the only organization which has protected them.

But just now they are on the eve of learning a new lesson. It is becoming clear that their unions can be saved only by political action.

And if they take independent political action and it saves to them their rights as union men, they will for the first time grasp the uses and power of a new weapon, namely, political action.

When they have once learned this lesson they will not stop with safeguarding their old rights. They will go on and on, conquering new rights

up to the day of emancipation.

Indeed, this has been precisely the evolution in thought and action through which every European movement has passed. Everywhere the Socialists, as well as the trade union movement, has started, not as an aggressive step, but as a defensive action.

Men were forced together by oppression. When denied living wages they formed unions and struck. By taking this act they grasped for the first time the power of labor organization. It was to them illuminating. It was a new discovery, and flooded the earth with a new vision and a new hope.

Political organizations nearly everywhere are born as a result of political oppression. The rulers in most cases went one step too far. They tried to deprive the people of some old, well-founded right. They were brutal, aggressive, and in response to that aggression political unions came into existence.

The Italian party was born in a night of reaction and repression.

The Belgian party was born when all seemed lost.

The German workers took their first great step by coming together to defend themselves against the common enemy and the anti-Socialist law later forced them further to defensiveness.

The English movement was born when the parties in power endeavored to take away the rights of the trade unions.

Just as the trade unions proved useful by experience, so the political unions proved useful by experience.

Since then the workers have no gone backward, but forward, and with each new victory they gain a new vision of the power of political union.

But it appears that some Socialists still believe that any action which simply defends old-time rights of organization is conservative action. Some, ignorant of the history and of the tactics of the movement, seem to believe that the only place where the protection of old-time rights occupy Socialist action is in those countries where the movement is tainted with laborism.

Now, let us see about that. In all the European congresses you hear constantly urged that the great immediate aim of the political movement is to gain for labor "greater

powers for resistance." Anything that weakens the resisting power of labor is fought; anything that increases the resisting power of labor is sought.

This is just as true of the countries where trade unions are weak as in the countries where trade unions are strong. Indeed, nearly all reforms are sought chiefly for that reason. The feeding of school children, old age pensions, the abolition of child labor, are all advocated largely because they give greater powers of resistance to the working class.

Why do we fight for the ballot? At present it will often be used against us. We fight for it simply to place a weapon in the hands of labor which one day it will know how to use.

What is the reason that every Socialist movement fights militarism? Is it because the army is occasionally used for national defense? No. It is because the army is chiefly used to crush strikes. To weaken militarism is simply one way of increasing the power of resistance on the part of the oppressed.

Why do Socialist parties fight for the right to picket, the right of assembly, the right of free speech and a free press?

It is only for some sentimental or emotional reason, or is it because those are tools and instruments which give greater powers of resistance to the working class?

Socialists who condemn labor for first trying to preserve their rights of organization and only secondarily trying to carry out a program of social amelioration, condemn themselves by this very criticism as sentimentalists.

We are in battle. We are in deadly conflict in every field of life between the rule of capital and the rule of men.

Consciously or unconsciously the movement is soundest where it fights to protect all its rights of organization, all its political rights, all its tools, instruments and weapons for resisting the oppression of capital.

Indeed, that is about all there is to the Socialist movement. Without desire to resist oppression, without power to force amelioration, without unity, strength and a growing knowledge of the use of the weapons at hand, there is nothing fit labor union or in Socialism that will ever harm a single hair of the most helpless parasite that ever lived.

## KILLING THE RAILWAY WORKERS.

By Henry L. Slobodin.

The switchmen are striking. Other railway workmen may join the switchmen. The metropolitan press views the strike merely as a disturbance to industry. It shows little interest to learn what the switchmen are striking for and no concern in the conditions under which the railway men work.

It is doubtful if there is another occupation as murderous to those engaged in it as that of a railway worker.

In no war or battle have the casualties been as great as among those who run our trains.

It is infinitely more dangerous to be a railway worker than to be a murderer. There were thirty-eight murder trials in New York County in 1908, and only one conviction. There were 120 other trials of persons charged with killing; 85 of them went free and 35 were convicted to a term in prison.

This shows that we are humane enough to surround with safeguards the life of one who kills a human being. To the railway workers, on

the contrary, we offer no protection. They are being slaughtered by the thousand while at work, and the number of those killed is ever growing, both absolutely and in proportion. It appears that almost every one who works in some line of railroading is bound to get killed at some time or other.

The figures which follow were given out by the Interstate Commerce Commission:

In 1906 there were about 260,000 trainmen employed on the railways of our country; 2,510 of these were killed and 34,983, or 122.53 per 1,000, were maimed during that year. The rate of killings increased from 6.05 per 1,000 in 1897 to 8.09 per 1,000 in 1906. The rate of maimings increased from 55.47 per 1,000 in 1897 to 122.53 per 1,000 in 1906. The number of trainmen killed during the years 1897-1906 was 15,363; the number maimed during the same years was 221,652. Total, 237,015. The number of employees in 1897 was 161,297 and in 1906, 235,556. The average number

of trainmen during those ten years was 219,484. Put against this number the 237,015 killed and maimed during those ten years, and what do you see? That the railways kill and maim in ten years more trainmen than the average number employed—that if you give the railways 230,000 trainmen as a working force and 20,000 men as a reserve, they will have in ten years killed or maimed everyone of these men.

Here is what a government investigator says:

"Railroad accidents to employees have within recent years attracted considerable attention. It is one of the most important occupations, indispensable to the needs of the nation, but in which, at the same time, the risk to life, health and well-being is one of the most serious met with in industrial employments. The evidence is overwhelming that a large number of railroad casualties are preventable, but while much has been published upon the subject, no thoroughly qualified inquiry into the accident hazard of individual employ-

## To Non-Socialist Union Men

By Brigid Stanton.

The other day in Toronto at the convention of the American Federation of Labor the report of the Industrial Educational Committee was read by its chairman, John Mitchell. The report recommends among other things that the children of public trade schools shall be taught a "sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining." It goes without saying that, in the minds of a majority of the committee, wages constitute a cornerstone of any "sound system of economics."

I wish you could fearlessly declare yourselves on this very point, you American union men. Not your leaders—but your plain union men, the silent, patient mass. I wish it were humanly possible to question you, one by one, and learn once for all whether, on sober reflection, you would answer yes or no to these questions:

1. Do you agree that a sound system of economics should include and emphasize the philosophy of collective bargaining?

2. Do you understand that "collective bargaining" presupposes an economic system founded on wages and profits?

3. Do you desire that a "sound system of economics," based on wage taking and profit making should be taught in public trade schools and deeply stamped on the young minds of the rising generation of workers?

4. Are you content with the inferior rank that will ever and eternally be assigned to you as a wage taker under a "sound system of economics" that includes and emphasizes collective bargaining?

5. Do you wish with open eyes, clear understanding, unconstrained and unashamed, accept for yourselves and for your children a place among the "lower orders" for there can be no collective bargaining in a society that does not contain orders, low and high.

Union men, your chosen leaders, a committee of your delegates in your great convention said "yes" to all these questions. Is that your answer, too? My God! If I believed it I would turn away from you as from heaps of dead bodies on a battlefield. But I do not believe it. It is only your leaders and your masters who think so vilely and so contemptuously of their slaves and dupes. It is your masters and leaders who despise you to the very bottom as human beings, and value you only as untractable flocks of sheep, or what use would there be of colts and shepherd dogs if there were no fat, fleshy heads to round up for the masters?

And those colts and shepherd dogs, those leaders of you silent and bewildered ones—they are ever whispering in the ears of the masters: "Be reasonable, be wise! Do you not know that the fatter and fleecer the flock the more mutton and wool they will yield you?"

And to you they howl out loudly: "Wages—more wages! Shorter hours! Collective bargaining! So we shall end poverty."

But I tell you, proletarians, it is not your poverty, but your slave's trick of taking wages that constitutes you a lower class.

Higher wages, shorter hours, the "philosophy of collective bargaining" will never take the slaves' brand off your backs. A smooth bed, a good coat, a neat stomach and a rich carpet will not lift you up to the full height of human nature. The lackey and the fop have all these things, yet they rank lower than the sewer cleaner and the sweep.

Every time you hold out your hand for the slave's pay, no matter if the bargain were private or collective—the master spits in your face. He insults and mocks at you in his thoughts because you, being a grown man, obey and submit like a child. And you cannot blame him, either. For it is a grotesque and sadly ludicrous thing that a grown man, intelligent and sane, should yield up his body to the service of another—a man no stronger and no wittier than himself.

Oh, what a proud goal, what a high summit your leaders have brought you to! Collective bargaining! Why, men, there is nothing in the whole world more petty and more ignoble than the bourgeois art of bargaining. Noble minded barbarians understand that. Bargaining is a shameless, an indelicate, a ruthless, a cunning, a self-interest, it is opposed to all that is fine and disinterested and social in the human soul. Nearly all that is left in the world today of the fine disdain for bargaining hides in proud failure in the homes of the poor.

Thousands of you workmen who have never pressed your claims, never gone to conventions, are poor and unheard of just because you have not

always WISHED to make your gains. There is something in you that makes you sorry and ashamed you get the best of a bargain. You may recall that your parents and your teachers and your friends, and even the children of the poor cannot cast this ingrained habit from your hearts. Hence you will you to rob or steal, or even to be the rob head of your own family that you will learn to take—of no matter whom. But you will not succeed. Always the cunning; always the action is yours. What then? Is it for you that good leaders are speaking who favor public trade schools, to the children of the poor are taught to look upon collective bargaining as the ideal safeguard of a permanent working class? Is it for them they are speaking when they imply, in the face of a wide class-conscious proletariat, the "sound system of economics" that is Fall and Bourgeoisie play-acting of wage taking and a consequent blessing of collective bargaining?

But you say now: "What is visionary in this who speaks of laboring hard-ness right to be collectively? This is the aim and object of our solidarity; the most life-giving of all our militant unions." Yes, but even were true, what is that? A club but a war-club in the hands of the proletariat? A war-club that is only the rude and primitive half-grown boys to milk and to lock themselves in and refuse to bring the house to terms, as the strong men, how can you resist strike and the lockout with strength and with your pride?

But let us grant—for all things relative—let us agree that the right to bargain collectively, the right for mutual help, is the victory you have ever won.

Then? It is only one battle; it is the end of the war, it is not the land of working people. It is many years since you gained victory. Why have you not all the years, encamped on the field, have you not gone forward? Why are you content with what you have accomplished—the right to sell yourselves collectively, instead of one?

Or were you bewildered by officers, who said: "There is no war. Henceforth we shall have peace and good will and arbitration." Don't you know, proletarians, classes, like nations, cannot have half slave and half free? You queried half your freedom years ago but have you held the ground?

How did it happen? While you halting and dreaming your were at work. Banquets and scribbling judges, with soft hands expert brains, easily scratched on their facile quills all your good resolutions. Even your mild leaders, those rankers in the ranks of the law, stratched out of recognition, if they are wildly pushing you for the sake of intimidation of the workingman. But was it a leader, and to every brave and spirit in your ranks? One word of freedom and you will see that you have one foot in the prison, in the grave; and it will take all united strength to save yourselves.

But you are not yet united. Ask the great aim. You don't know where to look for the pole star, boast of school boys' weapons flourish the toy pistol—collective bargaining. You have not grasped the very children of the proletariat. Europe learn at their parents' feet. Yet you surely know that you can continue half slave and half free; either you must conquer the domain of freedom or you will be down into a slavery such as you do not dream of.

Wake up, then. Save yourselves while there is yet time. Unite, conspire, freedom. Push with concerted heaves. Do as ruthless the salvation of your masters and masters are for its destruction. Stand up from your slave's posture, stand out with your million arms. Stand out in pieces those infamous, hatched by your masters and black-robed, scribbling judges; laws that will strangle you one by one but will melt like cobwebs in your huge heft and bulk. Make your own laws and keep them. And no laws which you do not make together—as equals and freemen.

## ON THE FIRING LINE.

By MORCHARD.

After the people of England have annihilated the House of Lords they may see the reasonableness of also annihilating capitalism, which is worse than a hundred houses of lords rolled into one.

Wonder if Justice will also have false scales for the Sugar Trust thieves?

The tariff suits the wool men, who declare that it might have been worse. And yet how they howled when they tried to pull the wool over the people's eyes and declared the industry would be ruined.

In a big Harlem market, which knows how to play upon the gullibility of the public, you can run the whole gamut of hen fruit extravaganzas.

There has ever been made, either by the Interstate Commerce Commission or the numerous state railroad commissions. Such an inquiry would emphasize the very serious risk in certain well-defined occupations, which, as made evident by insurance mortality experience, falls most heavily upon the economically most important class of life—that is, ages under forty-five.

This is how our "able" captains of industry run our railroads. Who could run them worse? Who could kill more workers? Blood, blood, blood, everywhere red blood, blood. It is the Red Laughter of Capitalism.

There are eggs from 11 cents a dozen up to 15 cents for two. Of course, if you want the cheapest and the freshest you go as far up the scale as your pocketbook will let you. Capitalism knows how to get the money regardless of what eggs cost.

John Pierpont Morgan, usually with a fierce desire to "protect" the interests of the policy holders, has grabbed the Equitable Life Insurance Society. Just as he will safeguard the sheep—for his belly.

The birth-rate is declining in Great Britain as well as in France. It is that the wage slaves are coming wise enough not to breed excess of victims for the monster use against the workers?

There is great ado over Russia's play in which human beings are the part of the bar-yard. This is really nothing original, ever, for the people of all countries have long played the part of the amusement of the rich.

The Industrial Peace Commission organized to feed upon Russia's \$40,000 Nobel prize, has held its fourth annual meeting, and its industrial peace we have peace with barons. So will it be as long as capitalism is in saddle.