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THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

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

OUR CANDIDATES:

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

GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1888	2,068	1896	26,564
1892	21,157	1900	96,961
1904	408,230		

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The woman question, as the militant women of to-day view it, is not merely a sex question; it is a question of broad human interests, which cannot be served so long as half of the race are shut out from any effective participation in public thought, public will, and public action. It is not as women revolting against men, but as disfranchised human beings revolting against an outworn social system, that they take the field.

We are not of those who imagine that the extension of the suffrage to women will of itself revolutionize society or materially lessen the evils from which it suffers. The ballot is valuable or worthless, according as it is used. It may be a tool, or it may be a toy—and if used as a toy, it is often a dangerous one. Women are certainly no less and probably no more likely to misuse the franchise than are men. But the mass of present voters have not used it so wisely as to warrant them in talking much of women's political incompetence. It is safe to say that, once they begin to have similar political experience, women and men will make very similar use of the voting power.

What we rejoice in is not simply the fact that the franchise is being freed from sex restrictions in many places and seems likely to be made equal for both sexes in all civilized lands in the near future. Our ground for satisfaction is the spirit in which the equal franchise is being demanded by ever-increasing numbers of women. In the United States and England, as well as on the Continent of Europe, women who are either of or earnestly for the working class are more and more taking the lead in the equal rights movement. They recognize that the emancipation of their sex from political disabilities will mean a general quickening of the public life, and that the greatest incubus on human progress to-day is the inertia, the apathy, the paralysis, the dry-rot—call it what you will—which has so deeply affected political institutions and activities in these latter days of over-ripe capitalism.

In earlier days the ballot for women was demanded chiefly either as an end in itself (that is, as a recognition of the fact of women's equality with men) or as a means for the redressing of certain wrongs peculiar to the female sex under the laws and customs then existing. To a very great extent those special wrongs have been redressed, even where women have not got the ballot. In matters of marriage rights, the control of property, the guardianship of the children, and various other points which used to form the principal basis of the demand for woman suffrage, great progress has been made toward justice as between the sexes—largely, of course, though not wholly, in response to the woman's rights agitation.

But now, although the special grievances of the female sex before the law are far less than they were in past years, the movement for

One of the many striking features of current history is the awakening of women all over the world to a keener sense, not only of their rights and their wrongs, but also of their responsibilities in economic and political matters.

political equality is gathering vastly greater strength than it ever had before. And that is what we find gratifying. The women, having no longer so great need to demand redress for their own peculiar wrongs, are now preparing to conquer political power in order to use it in the great revolutionary struggle that is upon us on behalf of all the oppressed, all the exploited, all the disinherited ones of the earth.

That is to say, the women's demand for equal political rights is coming into ever closer harmony with the aims of Socialism. Every effort will be made to check its development in this direction, even to the point of granting the ballot to propertied women in the hope of thus dividing the equal suffrage forces by an apparent concession. For that reason, it is important that Socialists should do all in their power to promote the women's movement in its proletarian and progressive phase, which is the vital one at the present moment.

"Harvests, harvests everywhere, and not a bite to eat," is the paraphrased wail of the workers in this bountiful year of starving prosperity.

SOME COLD FACTS ABOUT THE WORKERS' PROSPERITY.

Here are some cold facts about Republican prosperity as it affects the working class. The figures are authoritative. They have not been compiled by Socialists, but by the United States Census Bureau, under Republican administration. Moreover, they do not refer to the present period of industrial depression. They are figures representing wages as paid when business was booming, before the bottom dropped out last October.

According to these statistics, the average pay of the wage-workers of the whole country amounted to the munificent sum of almost exactly **TEN DOLLARS A WEEK**. In the West it ran as high as \$13.65; in the North Central States it was \$10.62, or just about on a level with the general average; in the South Atlantic States it was as low as \$7.31.

Montana had the distinction of having higher average wages than any other State in the Union; her figure was \$19.19. Nevada came next with \$17.76, Arizona with \$16.15, and Wyoming with \$15.75.

In Illinois the wage-workers got an average of \$11.55. In Ohio they got \$10.63 and in Missouri \$10.39.

New York, the richest of all the States, fell below the country's general average, paying the men and women who produce her wealth \$10.40 a week. Pennsylvania did a little better, paying \$10.51. Massachusetts held the record, so far as the East and North was concerned, for niggardly treatment of her toilers, rewarding their long hours of labor with an average weekly wage of \$9.68.

The figures from which these averages were obtained were not supplied to the Census Bureau by workingmen, but by the employers, who would have every motive to exaggerate rather than to understate the amount of wages paid. They covered 123,703 manufacturing establishments, employing 3,297,819 wage-workers, so that it cannot be doubted that they fairly represent the actual facts.

A little less than four-fifths of these wage-workers were men, and their average wages, the country over, were \$11.16 a week. To eke out this miserable pay and "make both ends meet" in the working-class homes, it was necessary for women to go into the shops and factories, leaving the children to care for themselves—about one woman to every five men. That is one of the ways that capitalism protects the "sacredness of the home"—of course, of course, would destroy. And these working women's services were remunerated with the princely pay of \$6.17 a week,

But the labor of these hundreds of thousands of women in the manufacturing industries—to say nothing of the other hundreds of thousands in the stores and offices and in domestic service in the homes of the rich—was not enough to satisfy the capitalists' greed, nor were their earnings enough to keep the working class alive.

It was necessary besides that children should be torn from the school and the playground and sent to tend machinery in the mills. The child workers numbered nearly three per cent. of the total. The sacrifice of their little lives was worth in the labor market an average of \$3.46 each week.

Scan these figures closely, reader. Go over them again, and compare these working-class incomes, earned with weariness and in constant danger of accident and disease, with the sums that men and women of the idle propertied classes spend on luxuries every week, even in the hard times now prevailing, and then answer for yourselves these questions:

DO YOU THINK THE DISCONTENT OF THE MASSES IS JUST THE RESULT OF THE WORK OF THE WICKED SOCIALIST AGITATORS?

DON'T YOU THINK THAT ALL RIGHT-MINDED MEN AND WOMEN OUGHT TO BE DISCONTENTED? DON'T YOU THINK IT IS TREASON TO HUMANITY FOR ANYONE TO BE SATISFIED WITH SUCH CONDITIONS?

DON'T YOU THINK THAT CAPITALISM HAS SHOWN ITSELF AN IGNOMINIOUS FAILURE FROM EVERY POINT OF VIEW BUT THAT OF THE NON-PRODUCING PROFIT-TAKER?

ISN'T IT HIGH TIME THAT THE WORKERS ORGANIZED IN A PARTY OF THEIR OWN AND TOOK THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATION'S INDUSTRIES INTO THEIR OWN HANDS? AND ISN'T IT HIGH TIME THAT YOU, AS A THINKING MAN AND AN HONEST MAN, GOT INTO LINE FOR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER?

The one little bit of a silver lining we have yet been able to discover on the cloud of industrial depression is the fact that most people were too poor this year to give their children much money for fireworks, and consequently the Fourth was a little less hideously noisy and a little less destructive of human life than our annual spasms of patriotism usually are.

JUST A SUGGESTION FOR THE EIGHT-HOUR LEAGUE.

The Eight-Hour League of America, composed of union sympathizers, is endeavoring to force the eight-hour question to the front as one of the principal issues in the Presidential campaign this year. So say the news reports. We hope it is true, and that the Eight-Hour League will go the limit in its efforts. We venture to offer a suggestion. Let the league put the question up to the Presidential candidates in the plainest possible form. Let them ask Mr. Taft, Mr. Bryan, and Mr. Debs these questions:

"What will you do, if elected President, toward establishing eight hours as the maximum labor day for the overworked toilers in the factories, mines, and railways of this country? What measures will you recommend to Congress and endeavor, by all the influence a President can wield, to get enacted and enforced?"

Let them insist on a direct answer. They won't need to insist with Mr. Debs. He will have his answer ready for them. But let them insist with the other two. And then let them just print the question and the three answers, without a word of comment, in a little leaflet and do their best to get it into the hands of every voter in the land before Election Day. If Mr. Taft has nothing to say but "God knows," let the workingmen be informed of that fact. If Mr. Bryan has nothing to offer but vague good wishes, interspersed with "ifs" and "buts," let the workingmen know that. And when Mr. Debs tells what he, as a representative of the Socialist party, is prepared to do, let the workingmen know it and vote accordingly.

The Eagle is a bird of prey—fit emblem for the Republican party, the political agent of the predatory trusts. And the Black Star is just as appropriate a symbol for the Democracy, the party which never yet has thrown a single ray of hope into the depths where the workers dwell. The Arm and Torch is the party emblem that we commend to the attention of the wealth-producers of New York (not the profit-takers)—the Arm of Labor upholding the Torch of Enlightenment, the symbol of a party that asks only for light, for thought, for an opportunity to present its logic to the minds of men who live by the labor of their own hands.

It has been noted that "Taft" rhymes with "graft." We might add that, according to popular pronunciation, "Bryan" rhymes with "tryin'." The coincidence is an appropriate one.

THE ONE-EYED IS KING.

By BRUCE ROGERS.

In the rich folk-lore of Andalusia there is a quaint saying that "in the land of the blind the one-eyed is king." It is to say that he who understands the clearest is best fitted.

The Socialist's comprehension of public affairs is his armour and shield. He despises rainbows of promise and the delusions of hope. He holds at naught the miserable moralities of the piety-peddlers and is not concerned about "a happy land far away."

He interprets disturbances in the social order most accurately because back of his philosophy is the profound learning and logic of all the exact sciences.

He analyzes the doings of men in the light of the doctrine that we follow that thing which we conceive to promise us most substantial good.

Under ap rinciple which he has discovered in the capitalist system of production, known in the Socialist

books as the Law of Surplus Values, he can tell you why every so often the wheels of industry must stop, the factories shut down when men do want for the very means of comfort and life, and why when the bosom of bounteous Mother Earth is swollen and taut with the wealth of plenty yet must the little bellies of children be pinched and shrunken, and wolfish hunger stalk the lives and smite with wretchedness abject the laughing eyes of the innocents who dwell in the places of the Evil Smells.

His notion of the Struggle for Existence is a true accounting for the fact that the beautiful daughters of toiling sires must be fed like the maid Andromeda into the insatiate maw of the world's chief monster, and the Scarlet Door mark the beginning of their joyous journey along a tortuous and miasmatic path to the Potter's Field.

He can tell you why the panic is, and why others must come so long as the present merciless system obtains. The Socialist is an incessant reader of books. Open at least one eye!

MR. TAFT.

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

Mr. Taft did not mean to hurt anybody's feelings when he told the truth in his Memorial Day speech about General Grant's taste for strong drink. Neither did he mean any disrespect to Grant's memory.

Mr. Taft is a bourgeois of the son. His character is not complex. He is like a school-boy sure of his dinner.

Mr. Taft is a bourgeois of the bourgeoisie. Anything in the interests of the middle class he instinctively accounts good. He has been trained so. He is class-conscious.

When he was asked at Cooper Union the celebrated question about the unemployed man another might have taken refuge in cheap wit. He was honest. He said he didn't know. A smaller man would have dodged the question. He met it as well as he could, and he answered it as intelligently as any Republican can answer it.

When Mr. Taft spoke of Grant's throwing off the yoke of strong drink he believed he was referring to a victory—not a thing of shame. He was referring to a victory; probably the greatest victory of Grant's career. One never wins a victory over others that takes as hard fighting as the victory he wins over himself.

Mr. Taft isn't sly enough or cunning enough successfully to represent militant capitalism. His nature is too simple. He would show the cards of Wall street at every stage in the game. He would not do this to betray his friends; he would do it because he does not know any better. He is too big to resort to sneaking and trickery. He would baffle Wall street by not having the alertness to get in under cover. A forret can do things an elephant can't.

The unemancipated who vote the Republican ticket could do little more for Socialism than to elect Mr. Taft to the Presidency. With Mr. Taft in the White House the game would be open. He is not quick enough of wit to be cunning. He would look at the cards so long that we'd all get a chance to look at them. And if the country ever sees the cards the country will join the revolution.

LIGHT BEARERS.

Bringers of hope to men,
Bearers of light,
Eager and radiant,
Clad in the right,
'Tis from these souls aglow
Man learns his path to know.
They as they onward go
Bear on the light.

What though they they fight to lose,
Facing the night!
Morning will find them still
Seeking the height.
What though this stress and strain
Makes all their hopes seem vain!
They through the bitter pain
Bear on the light.

Brothers of all that live,
They aid us all.
May our hearts, touched with fire,
Leap to their call.
Their voices, clear and strong,
Ring like a rallying song
"Upward against the wrong!
Bear on the light!"
—Annie Winsor Allen.

HURTIN' BIZNESS.

"Don't you know you're hurtin' bizness," said the red fox to the hound.
"When instead of sleepin' peaceful you come snoopin', sniffin' round?
What's the good of all your barkin'?
What's the use of all this fuss?
What were chickens ever made for if they weren't made for us?"
"Can't you see you're hurtin' bizness?" said the South Sea savage chief
To the fearless missionary who was sitting on the reef;
"I have seven white men captured that I want to sell as meat;
What were white folks ever made for if they weren't made to eat?"
"Don't you know you're hurtin' bizness?" said the robber in the jail.
While the stubborn sheriff listened to his almost tearful tale;
"Those who make and sell the jim-mies, don't you see, are losin' trade
While you foolishly confine me where no getaways are made?"
"Can't you see you're hurtin' bizness?" said the devil to the man
Who was steadily progressing on the live-and-let-live plan;
"You are keepin' men from fallin' who, if sorely pressed, might fall;
Why, if all men done as you do I would have no job at all."
—Chicago Record-Herald.



THE COUNTRY IS SAVED. TAFT IS NOMINATED!

OUR STANDARD BEARER IN NEW YORK

John Spargo's Speech in the Socialist State Convention Nominating Joshua Wanhope for Governor.

"It seems to me only fair to say that I am impressed by the fact that we of the Socialist party have fallen victims to a very bad tradition regarding the nomination of our candidates. We have more than enough of the sentiment in our party that we need not trouble as to the character of the men we choose as our standard bearers. It has become a tradition with us that so long as we have a good platform we need not trouble ourselves very much about the men; that any man, so long as he is a good and loyal comrade, is good enough to be our standard bearer in a political campaign.

"I believe that whatever strength it has, whatever virtue it has, belongs to a past time when it was impossible for us to get a hearing for any candidate, and we recognized more or less clearly that no matter whom we nominated, we should not obtain a hearing. But, comrades, we are to-day living under new conditions. We are facing a campaign under conditions such as have never obtained before in this country. Instead of finding it difficult to get a hearing we are conscious—yes, painfully conscious—of the fact that a great issue, the supreme issue in the minds of the great mass of the thinking people of America, is this issue of Socialism. Not only are our newspapers teeming with it; not only are our magazines exploiting it; not only has the issue challenged the pulpit until the pulpit is bound to answer in response to the challenge; we have invaded the great colleges and great universities; not merely have we invaded them, but by reason of that fact we have challenged a new kind of opposition to our movement which we must be prepared to meet, and I wish to say that before everything else it behooves us as a convention to choose seriously our candidates; to make sure that we go carefully over the situation and select the very best men in our party for the important position of standard bearers in this campaign.

"It seems to me that we need to have an idea as to what the candidates of the party ought to be. We ought to picture in our minds the kind of candidate we would want if we had the power to make a candidate of the kind we wanted, and I would ask you to consider what are the qualifications above everything else necessary for our candidates in this campaign. First of all, of course, comes loyalty, proved loyalty, to the working class itself. Secondly, there must be as a foundation for his campaign, as a foundation reason for our choice of that comrade to lead our campaign, the fact that he understands Socialism; that he understands the working class movement and the class struggle. But, comrades, it is not enough that men understand Socialism in a literary sense. It is not enough that men understand the class struggle theoretically. We want, if we can get it, something far more important than that; we want men who know the class struggle by feeling, by experience! (Applause.)

"We want men who not only know the literature of the working class movement—we want men who know the burdens of that working class movement; know it not from books, but because they have been crushed beneath those burdens. We want men who feel the class struggle. We want men who are the products of the class struggle itself. (Applause.)

"And I say that while I would not forego for a single moment the qualification of a thorough theoretical knowledge of Socialism, and a knowledge of the Socialist movement, I would insist upon that psychological factor—that the man must be so far as possible a personification of the class struggle itself. (Prolonged and tremendous applause.)

"There are some minor considerations—not without their practical value—and one of them is that the comrades we choose must be in their personality, must be in the campaign, unifying factors in the movement. Their nomination must not be looked upon as a triumph of one division or another division; there must be no danger of our selection being regarded as a victory for any faction in the Socialist move-

ment. We want comrades whose very names will stand for the Socialist movement and as a protest against factionalism in that movement. The question arises, have we such a man in this convention? Have we such a man among our party membership in the state of New York? and I answer YES! not such a man; not one man merely, but many men in the membership of the Socialist party.

"There are comrades who measure up to these requirements but who are not known outside of their own local movement. We could take them away from their daily work as laborers and send them out and say: 'Here are our standard bearers; we are proud of them.' (Applause.) Say to the apologists of capitalism, 'touch them if you dare!'

"But it seems to me that there is a comrade who looms far above every other comrade that I, at any rate, know. As I have been in this convention it has been borne upon my mind that he stands out as the nearest approach to our ideal that I have been able to discover. Besides a certain Celtic heritage, he possesses qualifications which very few men have. By voice and by pen he has proclaimed the message of Socialism as successfully as any man in our movement. That Celtic tinge gives him a power, a very valuable power, to hurl not only thunderbolts of moral passion at the enemy, but the barbed shafts of satire and of ridicule, and a man who can laugh the absurdities of capitalism into the hearts of the working class. But the man who can laugh is also a man who can weep. The man whose sense of humor is keenest has often times the keenest sense of suffering. And the comrade I would name can take the tear of the hungry child and make it a thunderbolt against capitalism. He can take the blush of shame upon a woman's cheeks and make it a flaming torch in the social revolution. That same man can go to every corner and say to the jobless men: 'I bring you a message of hope and of inspiration.' He can go from the street corner into the halls of learning and say to the hired apologists of capitalism: 'I bring you not a message of hope and inspiration, but the irresistible challenge of the working class movement of America.' (Applause.)

"Need I name that comrade to you? I think not. I think that upon every lip present the name of that comrade lingers ready to be voiced in a great triumphant shout, and I nominate confidently and earnestly, our loved, loyal, able and enthusiastic comrade, Joshua Wanhope."

The mention of the nominee's name was greeted with long and loud cheering and applause.

THE TRAMP OF FEET.

On the stones of the city street,
On the grit of the country road,
I hear the sound of a million feet—
A shuffling, suffling hurry of feet,
Aimless under the load.

I know not whither they go,
I know not whence they came;
Each is moving to and fro—
Hither and thither, to and fro—
Heavy with pride or shame.

But a new and urgent note
Pulses over the morn,
Thundering strong from a place remote—
A rhythm of truth from the place remote

Where quickening truth is born.

'Tis the drum of a great "I will";
'Tis the promise of what shall be,
A million feet are tramping still—
The feet of the people are tramping still.

In a rhythm of mastery,
And the echo hammered from every hill
Is, "Free! Free! Free!"

On the stones of the city street,
On the grit of a country road,
I hear the sound of a million feet—
The forward tramp of resolute feet,
Marching under the load.

BANNISTER MERWIN.

STEVE ADAMS' TRIAL BEGUN

GRAND JUNCTION, Colo., July 1.—The examination of veniremen in the case of Steve Adams, on trial on a charge of murdering Arthur Collins, superintendent of a Telluride mine, continued all of yesterday and was not finished when the court rose. The presiding judge had ruled that veniremen may not be questioned as to whether they are members of labor organizations.

GRAND JUNCTION, Colo., July 7.—With the jury completed, nine of whom are farmers, and the opening statements of the defence and prosecution made, taking of testimony began here to-day in the trial of "Steve" Adams, accused of assassinating Arthur Collins, a mine manager, during the strike trouble in Telluride, several years ago. District Judge Shackelford, sitting in the case, granted the application of the defence to have the state summon Adams's witnesses by allowing \$100 for the purpose. Mr. Hilton, his attorney, objected to the admission of Adams's alleged confession on which the state's case is based. The court permitted reference to the confession in the prosecutor's opening address, but withheld decision as to admission of the confession itself, to which the objection was made by the defence that it was involuntary.

The lengths to which the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance are ready to go in their efforts to create trouble and find a pretext for starting a riot which could be used against the Western Federation of Miners, was shown on the Fourth of July, when Charles Moyer, president of the W. F. M., found it necessary to warn the miners from taking any part in the celebration at Telluride. The reason for this warning was that Moyer had learned that a large number of thugs, gunmen and other tools of the Citizens' Alliance had been sent to Telluride with orders to shoot down the miners upon the slightest provocation. By Moyer's timely advice no excuse was afforded the hirelings to do their dirty work.

OUR COUNTRY.

By K. A. H.

What is perhaps one of the most glaring examples of unconscious satire is given voice to when wage-earners refer in patriotically moulded terms to "our country." For a chattel slave to have spoken of his master's plantation as "our plantation" would have been a self-evident confession of ignorance of the relations existing between master and slave. For the wage-earner of to-day, owning nothing in this broad land but his ability to work and often deprived of the opportunity to use that ability, to confidently accept the statement that this is "his country" is acceptance of a theory disproven by the conditions of present-day life.

What man is there who, in his own home, plentifully stocked with food and clothing and provided with luxuries, would deny himself and family those things? Surely to deny himself would be folly, to deny his family inhumanity. But that is what you do if, as you say, this is your country. If this country be yours, then you deny yourself, your wife and children the right which is yours, the right to food, shelter and clothing; to travel, education and recreation; the right to employ yourself, to earn your living. In this country which is yours, your home, you permit others to own the things you require to live. The idler in your house has taken possession of it.

If you believe this is your country then take steps to reclaim it from the hands of that class which possesses it. Go to the ballot-box intelligently and support the political expression of your interests. Vote and work, not for "dividing-up" with the capitalist-class but for retaining the wealth you produce; not for "confiscation" of the property of others, but for recovery of your own.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

The Republican platform boasts that the wealth of the United States is \$110,000,000,000, but it is directly silent about the distribution of that wealth. The matter is only one of simple arithmetic, however. If there is indeed as much wealth as that—one hundred and ten thousand millions—there is an average of \$1,300 or more for every man, woman and child in the country, which makes an average of over \$6,000 for every family. Now we may ignore the families that are thrifless and idle and poor, and those that are thrifless and idle and rich, and consider only those that are thrifty and industrious whether rich or poor. Some of these can doubtless show their \$6,000. But how many? Ask your industrious and thrifty neighbor whether he has his share of this wealth—whether he can put his hands upon \$6,000 of which he can say, "This is the share of my family."

In considering the question of the accumulated wealth of a country with reference to the boasts of a political party long in power, it is much more important to know how the accumulated wealth is divided than how much it foots up to. A political party long in power may be entitled to little or no credit for the amount of wealth accumulated; for accumulation depends upon the work and thrift of the people of a country in far greater degree than upon its politics. But a party long in power is responsible in large measure for the distribution of accumulated wealth; for its distribution may depend upon the laws of the country in far greater degree than upon the work and thrift of the people. Under unfair laws the accumulated wealth of a country may be taken from the industrious and thrifty who create and conserve it, and be given to the idle and cunning who influence law-making. It is of utmost importance to know, therefore, how this \$110,000,000,000 of accumulated wealth, of which the Republican platform boasts, is distributed. Has every industrious and thrifty family of five got its share of \$6,000? If not, why not? What account have the boasters of the Republican party to give of this phase of the stewardship? —Louis F. Post, in The Public.

THE FLOWER FACTORY.

By FLORENCE WILKINSON.

Lisabetta, Marianina, Fiametta, Teresina,
They are winding stems of roses, one by one, one by one—
Little children who have never learned to play;
Teresina softly crying that her fingers ache to-day,
Tiny Fiametta nodding when the twilight slips in, gray,
High above the clattering street, ambulance and fire-gong beat,
They sit, curling crimson petals, one by one, one by one.

Lisabetta, Marianina, Fiametta, Teresina,
They have never seen a rose-bush nor a dew-drop in the sun.
They will dream of the vendetta, Teresina, Fiametta,
Of a Black Hand and a Face behind a grating;
They will dream of cotton petals, endless, crimson, suffocating.
Never of a wild-rose thicket nor the singing of a cricket,
But the ambulance will bellow through the wanness of their dreams,
And their tired lids will flutter with the street's hysterical screams.

Lisabetta, Marianina, Fiametta, Teresina,
They are winding stems of roses, one by one, one by one,
Let them have a long, long play-time,
Lord of Toil, when toil is done!
Fill their baby hands with roses, joyous roses of the sun.

—McClure's Magazine, for May.

"But how about political reform?" asked the man who had been abroad for a good many years. "Are you making any headway?"

"I should say we were," replied the sold citizen. "It is no longer a disgrace to be mentioned as a candidate for alderman." —Chicago Record-Herald.

A TEXAN OPINION OF CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland is dead; and, with the single exception of the present occupant of the White House, no man of our generation will go to his long home so little mourned by those workers who know the value of the organized labor movement. "Nothing save good concerning the dead" will do as a maxim only when the things said concern the dead alone. Lies and hypocrisy at the grave of an ordinary man can do only an ordinary amount of harm; but the capitalist press is going now to be filled with no ordinary falsehoods on Grover Cleveland's "services to the Nation." His betrayal of free trade by accepting the Wilson bill, his frank subservience to the money lenders of Wall Street during his term of office, and his violent and effective opposition to the reform wave of which free silver was but the symptom, were some of these "services."

For present day use, however, these all pale beside the one other exploit which the plutocracy appreciates to the full. Grover Cleveland broke the A. R. U. strike. The evil of this lay not in that Debs went to jail for it. Other labor agitators before him have suffered and more will suffer. Not only that we lost the strike; we have lost many strikes. The evil lay in that Cleveland as executive did what Taft did as judge. He used the whole force of the government of the United States for the oppression of the people instead of for their protection. To Cleveland "p-e-o-p-l-e" spelled "property," and not the property of the little fellow who has got a home or a liny shop—for there are still a few who have succeeded thus far—but the property of the lords of the mines and the railroads, the lords of land and food. To him the people of Chicago did not mean human beings in the city nor their elected representatives. To him the people of Illinois did not mean the human beings of the state nor their chosen governor, the slandered hero, Altgeld. To Cleveland the "people" were the railroad interests; and the special lawyer whom he selected to guide him in his decisions was the attorney whom the railroads had also hired.

A lament for Cleveland is a praise for Taft. It is an argument for the use of the arm to break strikes and to override the city and the state governments by force. It is a justification of the injunction, for the army, the railroad lawyer, and the injunction are but parts of the same scheme. That scheme is to use the government for the advantage of the class that lives by owning what those who work must use. To our way of thinking the government should be used for the good of those who live by useful labor, and who make this world habitable, and capable of bringing joy to all.—The Laborer, Dallas, Tex.

ALWAYS THE QUESTION.

After hours of plodding
With weary head nodding
Abeance to those who have work
to give out,
We give it up, dreary,
Heart-aching and weary.
And chew on a crust when there's
plenty about.
Then, hungrily groping
Anew, with our hoping
We search the town over in some
other way,
To have it thrust at us.
While grasping hands pat us:
"I'll give you a job if you'll work
on half pay."

The heart may be bleeding,
The family needing,
The World like a chamber of death,
In its gloom,
Yet Hard Times are grinding
And wrenching and blinding
And large as this Earth is they can't
give us room.
Oh! what of the yearning
For chance to be earning
The pittance that grants us a bite
for a day,
The same cry is sounding,
And constantly hounding:
"I'll give you a job if you'll work
on half pay."

LABOR AND ABILITY AS COMMODITIES

Even manual workers sometimes take offense at the Socialists' statement that, under the existing system, their labor-power—their strength and knowledge and skill and intelligence—is in effect simply a commodity, worth only what it will bring in the market. They are men and citizens, they say, and they won't stand it to be classed with pig-iron and potatoes. But they do stand it. By closing their eyes to the facts as they exist in the capitalist system, they help to perpetuate that system and keep themselves in the category of commodities to be bought and sold for the employers' profit. And if mechanics and laborers find it hard to see how little they count for as men in the capitalists' eyes, how much more difficult is it for clerks and bookkeepers and other workers who call their price "salary" instead of "wages."

It may help to clear their vision if they will read a circular sent out to employers not long ago by the Hapgood Employment Agency. This is not Socialist language that we are going to quote. It is the language of cold business. It shows just how the employing class really thinks of the "ability" it employs. The circular is as follows:

"Everybody has been curtailing expenses and cutting down wherever possible. The panic, through which we have just passed, has made every employer sit up and take notice of his pay-roll. It has left a streak of retrenchment all along the line.

"What is the outcome? Employers now see one of the errors of prosperity—high salaries and a cumbersome surplus of men. Obviously there has been too much extravagance in the selection of high-grade employees.

Old Men to the Scrap Pile.

"There are a number of men working for you, Mr. Employer, who have outlived their usefulness and have become veritable office fixtures. For the past five or six years they have been receiving an annual advance in salary without rendering a corresponding return for their money. Some of them have fallen into the rut and can't get out—they are stale and are fast becoming drift-wood in a lazy current or deadwood in a stagnant pool.

"Mr. Employer, it is time that YOU were cutting out the dead-wood.

"Retrenchment is ever followed by reorganization and the cutting down procedure is succeeded by a process of building up. You are throwing out the driftwood and dead-wood and refilling the vacancies with only men of exceptional ability. What you need in your business to-day are men who have already delivered the goods. This is not the time to try experiments with inexperienced employees. You want a man with a record whose capacity has been thoroughly tested.

"Executives and superintendents whose experience has made them especially valuable in organizing or systemizing the work of office or factory can be secured now at bargain prices.

Less Wages, More Dividends.

"Salesmen who understand their goods and know the trade, mean dollars now to a firm. They represent increased business and stand for larger dividends. These men can sell goods even in hard times and may be hired now at a salary far below their actual worth.

"Clerks and bookkeepers are now willing to accept positions paying 15 to 20 per cent. less than they have been earning."

After this cogent presentation of the first rule of success in business, the "brain broker" proceeds to quote

A Few Samples

as follows:
"Superintendent: Works closed; former salary, \$3,600; will start at \$2,000 and share in profits.
"Office Manager: Salary, \$1,800; former price, \$2,500.
"Specialty Salesman: Was earning \$4,000 straight commission; willing to accept \$1,200 and commission.
"Accountant: Salary, \$1,500; former position paid \$2,400.

JOHN SPARGO OFFERS SOME SUGGESTIONS.

The following letters explain themselves:

Yonkers, N. Y., June 10, 1908.

Dear Mr. Spargo.—The announcement in the public press of hungry children on the lower East Side is but one manifestation of how the industrial depression is undermining the life of the working class. A generous restaurateur on the lower East Side has fed hundreds of school children daily. Two diet kitchens have been very active in supplying food for hungry working men and women.

The working people have exhausted their resources, which means even more acute suffering in the very near future. One bank on the lower East Side has paid out in the last three months \$250,000 to depositors in small amounts of one or two dollars.

Those familiar with the situation are agreed that relief through general industrial betterment cannot be expected until after the Presidential election. The situation is critical.

Efforts toward relieving the condition of the unemployed have been scattered and heterogeneous.

The committee on unemployment of the Neighborhood Workers' Association feels that emphasis should be laid on a united remedial effort. As one interested in this situation you have doubtless some suggestions to offer. Will you, therefore, be good enough to send them in a communication to the sub-committee on unemployment of the Neighborhood Workers' Association?

Suggestions along the following lines have already been made.

First, Urging public works which the city authorities have acknowledged to be necessary.

Second, Distributing unemployed laborers from the city to the country.

Third, Urging the city department to increase their corps of laborers, such as the street cleaning and tenement departments. Many men can be employed by the latter department to whitewash the basements of thousands of tenements and remove garbage from their air shafts and cellars.

The committee has sent a similar communication to representative social workers, labor men and citizens actively in touch with the unemployed situation. It intends to classify these suggestions and to present them at a general conference which you will be invited to attend. It is hoped that an active-agitation and an organized effort will be made through this conference to urge immediate action upon the proper authorities.

A reply at your earliest convenience to the undersigned, secretary of the committee on unemployment at the Hudson Guild, 436 West Twenty-seventh street, will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very respectfully,
HENRY MOSKOWITZ.

Yonkers, N. Y., June 13, 1908.

My dear Mr. Moskowitz.—I am very glad that the committee on unemployment of the Neighborhood Workers' Association intends to hold a general conference upon the subject of unemployment, with a view to uniting upon some policy of remedial legislation and social effort.

As you say, "the announcement in the public press of hungry children on the lower East Side is but one manifestation of how the industrial depression is undermining the life of the working class." And that life is, fundamentally, the life of the nation itself, for, as Matthew Arnold long ago observed, the working class of any nation is the nation.

May I remind you that, as I have shown in my book, "The Bitter Cry of the Children," underfeeding of school children, that terrible hunger which mocks our public school system, is not

confined to the "lower East Side." Indeed, there are other parts of the city even worse conditioned than the much-advertised East Side. And it is not in New York alone, but in every industrial centre—as well as many rural villages—that the terrible evil abounds. Think of Minnesota's investigation! And think, too, of the terrible condition of affairs disclosed by the report of Dr. Spaulding, chief examiner of the Department of Health, in Chicago, published in the Chicago papers this week! Of, course, in times like the present, when unemployment is more prevalent than usual, the number of underfed and unfed school children is increased. But we must not forget that many thousands of children are in that miserable condition at all times, even the most prosperous.

Now, I do not believe in school meals except as a make-shift—as a necessary evil. I want conditions which will make the feeding of children in their homes possible. But that will require nothing short of a social revolution. Meantime, I see nothing practical except school luncheons, provided not as a charity and attended with more or less humiliation to the recipients, but as a fundamental right. It seems to me that the Neighborhood Workers' Association ought to assume leadership in a campaign to that end.

As to the whole problem of unemployment, I do not see how any solution is possible which does not involve a complete change in our economic and social system. I am, as you know, a Socialist. I believe that nothing short of a change such as the Socialists are working for will make possible the solution of the problem. While taking this view, and working constantly for the realization of the Socialist ideal, I have never failed to join my efforts to any well-considered movement which seemed to me likely to better the lot of the suffering. Whether it is feeding school children, fighting child labor, getting pure milk for babies, or promoting legislation for the suppression of tuberculosis, I freely join where I can do so consistently as a Socialist.

Starting public works of a necessary sort; providing some means of distributing laborers from city to country; increasing the number of workers employed by the city in its parks, cleaning its streets, carrying on the work of the tenement house department, and the like, would doubtless help—if wisely carried out. Great care would have to be taken to prevent the creation of a type of parasitic municipal labor of a very harmful kind, however.

To these suggestions contained in our letter, I would add labor colonies for the unemployed. These should be of two kinds—semi-penal reformatory colonies for the vagrant class, which can be made self-supporting and immensely valuable in restoring the wrecks of the labor world to something like independence, and voluntary colonies in which the temporarily idle could find employment.

But, Mr. Moskowitz, all these things and all similar reforms projected from time to time, can only ease the pressure a little, taking away some of its worst pains. They cannot cure the evil of unemployment, do away with involuntary poverty, reckless waste of child life and wholesale starvation. I do not despise the palliative measure. Heaven knows that they are necessary! But I do urge upon my friends of the Neighborhood Workers' Association, engaged as they are, most of them, in daily struggle with the great social problems incidental to our social system, to look beyond temporary relief to real remedy. I urge them to face the issue squarely and to declare their faith in, and resolve to work for, a saner and juster social system in which the many will not be damned to body and soul-destroying poverty in order that the few may "enjoy" body and soul-destroying wealth.

Very truly yours,
JOHN SPARGO.
Henry Moskowitz, Esq., Hudson Guild, New York City.

"\$100 Bookkeepers for \$75.
"\$75 and \$85 clerks for \$65.
"\$12 assistants for \$10."

The circular closes with a stirring "call to action" to the class of men who see in the unemployment of millions of toilers only a good chance to increase their own fortunes.

"Now is the time to act. Hire your men while salaries are 20 per cent. below par. It pays to buy good stock when the market is down and just be-

fore the bulls get in their tossing movement. Similarly it will pay you, Mr. Employer, to get a few of these experienced men of proved capacity under contract before the employment market takes a sudden rise.

"We have in stock to-day the largest and most varied list of men since the establishment of our organization and can offer real bargains in brains, to employers in all parts of the United States."

WHY AREN'T YOU A SOCIALIST?

By W. J. GHENT.

They tell me, Mr. John Smith, that you are not a Socialist. How is that? Why aren't you? Is it because your preacher, or your local politician, has told you that Socialism isn't at all the right thing? Or have you read somewhere the statement of some college head that Socialism won't do? Or has some professional underling of Mr. Rockefeller or of Mr. Morgan influenced you? Or the great Theodore himself by means of one of his official pronouncements regarding undesirable citizens and undesirable social systems? Or are you merely too indolent to concern yourself about your social obligations and your duty to your fellow workers?

They tell me, also, that you are a member of the union in your trade. So far, so good. You recognize at least a part of your interests as against those of your employers. As a member of your union you are engaged in a constant struggle for better conditions, shorter hours and higher wages. Or if it happens that the conditions, hours and wages in your trade are about as favorable as you can for the time being, you are at least engaged in a struggle to maintain them at their present level. You recognize a common interest with your fellows in your own trade. Isn't it about time now to consider a wider and fuller community of interest—a oneness of interest with all men who work for wage; on or about machinery owned by other men?

Workmen's Interest and Employers' Interests.

Trade-unionism is the first spontaneous manifestation of this sense of oneness of interest among the workers. Long before workmen have reached a sense of the need of a reorganized social system, their immediate needs in the matter of wages, hours and conditions prompt them to associate for offense and defense against their employers. You recognize that, don't you? Have you any employers in your union? Certainly not. Not even the best of the "good" employers. Common horse-sense tells you that the employer has one set of interests, while you have a different set of interests. Consequently you do not think it best for the welfare of your union to include employers in its membership.

That difference of interest, John, is one that runs throughout all the processes of modern society. You will recognize the fact when you stop to think about it. The trouble is, you haven't thought about it. You go stumbling along from day to day, looking up for counsel and wisdom to this or that statesman, this or that preacher, this or that college dignitary. These are all very profound and scholarly men, no doubt, but the trouble for you is that they all live in a different world from yours; they do not do the kind of work you do; they do not see life from your standpoint; but from the standpoint of another class; and consequently the things they tell you to believe and do are pretty apt to be bad for you. You know, for instance, without any one telling you, that your employer's interests in the matter of hours, wages and conditions in your particular trade are antagonistic to your own interests. Yet you permit yourself to be persuaded by plausible advisers from your employer's class that in a thousand other matters you may have identical interests with your employer; that you may, without loss, vote for his candidate for mayor, legislator, Congressman and President.

Some Fundamental Facts.

Let us see about that. Every social state is based upon certain arrangements for producing and distributing goods. The sum of those arrangements in any particular time is known as an economic system. Every economic system builds up a superstructure of law, custom and administration. In other words, any particular social system, including the general form of government, will be found always to be a reflex of the economic system that underlies it. A patriarchate, a society in which the father governs absolutely the family, produces one sort of general government. A slave produces another, a serf system still another, and a wage system another yet. Not that there may not be two nations adjoining, both about equally advanced in industry, one being headed by a king and one by a president. Such irregularities will of course be found during the period in which one economic system is passing over into another system. But even at such times, though one nation is headed by a king and one by a president, the general social structure, the code of laws, the mode of administration, the standards of right, and wrong, in the

one nation will resemble those of the other nation just about in proportion as the underlying economic systems of the two nations resemble each other.

The Capitalistic System.

The economic system under which we live, as you are aware, John, is known as the capitalist system. It is not an old system, as systems go, dating back only about 150 years. That is, its infancy began about that long ago. But it was a good while in its infancy; and the time is short, say a few decades, since it reached anything like its present power. No one is criminally responsible for it. Like Topsy, it just grew, for it couldn't help growing. It got its start when the first great inventions were made and when steam was applied to factory work. The result of these changes was to take the workman away from his tools and lodge him in a factory or machine shop, where he had to work upon machines owned by other men. He had to do this or starve. He had to give over the home work which before that he had done with his own tools, and take the wages offered him by the owner of the machines.

The advantage of this mode of producing goods was very soon apparent. That is, the advantage to the owner. The advantage to the worker was not so marked. But factories increased, capital became concentrated, and there was soon created a large class of workers owning little or nothing and having no means of making a living except by working for others.

This class has persisted to the present time, constantly increasing its numbers relative to the whole population. It now numbers, in this nation, some 20,323,000 persons out of some 29,073,000 persons engaged in gainful occupations. It is the class to which you belong, John, even though you are not wholly aware of the fact—even though you are inclined to take the words of a Strenuous and Distinguished Person that you are just as good as any one else, and that nothing else than the Square Deal is ever handed out to you.

The Owning (Capitalist) Class.

Now, social and governmental systems, John, are not run for the benefit of the working class. It doesn't make any difference whether this working class is a slave class, a serf class, or a wage-earning class. The social structure that arises upon the foundations of an economic system is always one that accords as fully as possible with the interests of the Owning Class. Of course the Owning Class cannot have everything, particularly in a society wherein the workers have the ballot. But it takes everything it can get, and that is pretty much the whole thing.

It does not matter to you if there should be temporary fights between factions of this Owning Class. Just now you may observe, John, a very spirited conflict, though frequently degenerating into sham battle and farce, between the Middle Class and the Magnate Class, which feels itself being put out of business, and doesn't care to be annihilated. But Middle Class and Magnate Class are only two factions of the great Owning Class, and it doesn't matter, so far as you are concerned, John, which wins. It is all one to you. Your share will be about the same in either case.

It is this great Owning Class which in the main determines what laws shall be passed, what judges, governors, legislators, Congressmen and Presidents shall be elected, and what persons shall go to jail. Of course, this Owning Class doesn't poll all the votes. It polls, in fact, very few of them. Neither does it fight the battles in times of war. It doesn't have to. It has something better. It calls upon your class to vote its ballots and to fight its battles—and you cheerfully and often enthusiastically comply. You wouldn't if you knew better. But there's the rub—you don't know any better. Just as far as the economic conflict is perceived by you—that is, to just the extent that the wages, hours and conditions in your workshop may be influenced by united action against your employer—you are wise. But thought this phase of the economic conflict is the most perceptible one—the one easiest for a near-sighted man to see—it is not the most important phase.

The Limits of Unionism.

Beyond a certain point, John, even as you are beginning to see, your union cannot better your hours, wages or conditions. The other fellows have the machinery, the railroads, the steamboats, the coal-lands and about everything else worth while. They are able to defeat you and your comrades in the majority of your strikes. From the army of out-of-workers, even in these most "prosperous" times, they can pretty readily fill every place vacated by you. What matters it if

NEEDLESS SLAUGHTER ON THE RAILROADS.

By J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

"The diminution in the number or severity of accidents affecting only trainmen undoubtedly is due not alone to a falling off in traffic, but also to the diminished pressure under which the trainmen do their work. With the reduction of volume in traffic there has been less of overwork and excessive hours."

These words, quoted from Accident Bulletin No. 26 of the Interstate Commerce Commission covering railroad accidents in the United States for the last quarter of the year 1907, afford interesting food for reflection.

Not only has the number of accidents affecting only trainmen been far less during this period of "less overwork and excessive hours," but the frequency of accidents to passengers has fallen off similarly. As to the various classes of accidents the Bulletin says there have been "marked decreases in nearly every item."

Over 20,000 Victims in Three Months.

Despite these "marked decreases" we find that 1,092 persons were killed and 19,366 severely injured by train accidents during the three months in question. I say "severely" because "accidents to employees resulting in light injuries which do not prevent the employe injured from performing his accustomed services for more than three days in the aggregate during the ten days immediately following the accident, are not reported."

It would be interesting if we could learn to what extent railroad casualties would be further diminished if there were no overwork at all, if, for instance, it were a criminal offense for the officers of a railroad needlessly to place the lives of its passengers in the hands of overworked trainmen.

The same Bulletin that I have quoted reports over 2,000 collisions and nearly 2,000 derailments during the quarter. Of these it tabulates the evident causes of the accidents in 41 of the more prominent cases. Let us consider the causes of some of these accidents as stated by the Commission:

Overwork Responsible for Accidents.

"Collision No. 3.—Cause, engine-man (killed) disregarded flag. Had been on duty 1:25:40 hours."

"Collision No. 4.—Cause, misplaced switch. Misplaced by brakeman of seven months' experience; on duty 18 hours 30 minutes."

"Collision No. 6.—Cause, failure to protect standing freight train by flag. Conductor asleep in cab. Flagman also in caboose; these men on duty 13 hours 57 minutes."

"Collision No. 9.—Passenger train ran past automatic block signal indicating stop and struck passenger train standing at station. Engine-man on duty 14 hours 28 minutes."

"Collision No. 13.—Freight approached crossing not under control. Conductor of freight train had been on duty 21 hours and engine-man 13 hours."

"Collision No. 22.—Misplaced switch. Brakeman, eight months' experience; on duty 20 hours 40 minutes; should have closed switch."

"Collision No. 23.—Disregard of distant and home signals approaching station. Engine-man believed to have been asleep; brakeman in cab also; probably asleep."

"Collision No. 28.—Conductor and engine-man north-bound freight encroach on the time of regular south-bound passenger train; men on duty 19 hours 52 minutes."

"Derailment No. 2.—Runaway on 2.2 per cent. descending grade. Bad management of air; train pipe leaky; hand brakes not properly used. Engine-man on duty 28 hours; did not seasonably signal to apply hand brakes."

Profit at the Cost of Human Life.

There is no need of quoting further from the record. If the travelling public of America realized the degree in which their lives are habitually jeopardized by the mad demands of those who prefer private dividends to public safety, there would be such an outcry against the death-dealing "economies" of most of our railroads, that private individuals would no longer be permitted to operate public necessities for private profit.

When overwork and exhaustion cause such destruction of life and limb in a period of less overwork than usual, how much more terrible must be the results of such overwork under less unusual conditions?

Mr. James J. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railroad, and one of the greatest financiers of America, was recently widely quoted as saying that he never started on a railroad journey without wondering whether he would reach his destination alive. Yet such is the mad scramble for dividends that he, like every other railroad investor, is willing to take needless chances, and appears to prefer maximum dividends to maximum security of travel.

Of course there will always be railroad accidents. The best of men make mistakes even when not overworked, and railroad employes cannot be assumed to be exceptions to the rule. But accidents that result from enforced overwork should not be tolerated or excused by a security-seeking or justice-loving people.

When the profit system is superseded and railroads are run for public service instead of for dividends, all need for overwork except in cases of rare emergency will have vanished. Till then we must expect to see tens of thousands driven to exhaustion by the lash of wage slavery in the railroad service, and hundreds of thousands maimed and slaughtered needlessly as a result.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, the number of passengers and railroad employes killed and injured in railroad accidents in the United States was 81,286. This number being exclusive of upward of 10,000 casualties to trespassers upon rights of way, etc.

you need food, clothing and a thousand comforts for yourselves, your wives and your children? They also need things—silks, wines, automobiles, country estates, city palaces. They need other things—legislators, Congressmen, judges, editors, and the like, and some of these things are expensive. And THEIR needs come first. If they gave up to YOUR needs, there wouldn't be so much left for themselves. Their first duty is to themselves, as they see it, and besides they have the power—which you haven't—of saying who shall be served first.

They own and you work. They determine the rules of the game. You obey, or you don't play. Their will is dominant throughout all the processes of law and administration. It will be so as long as they own the machinery of production. A like dominance will prevail as long as any one part of the community owns this machinery. It would not matter if tomorrow every present member of the Owning Class were dislodged from ownership, so long as a new set of owners were put in their places. Only by society as a whole assuming the ownership of the means of production and distribution will it be possible for you to get your rightful share of the product of your toil. Only so will it be possible for you even to be sure of the opportunity of toil when you want it.

This is all very commonplace information, John. But perhaps you haven't thought about it. With some persons, it is necessary to state funda-

it takes ten, a hundred, even a thousand times; while with still others a reiteration as constant as that of the ticking of a clock for forty years will prove futile. I hope, John, that you are in Group I; and that when you come to carry the sense of your economic interests to a wider scope than that of the small shop wherein you work, you will see that your quarrel is not alone with your immediate employer. Poor chap, he is probably doing the best he can, seeing that he has to compete with a hundred other employers. Your conflict is with the whole employing class, and your interest is one with that of all other wage-earners. Take a thought about the matter, John, and you can't help being a Socialist.

LOOK OUT FOR TROUBLE.

Says the Washington Post, a great capitalist paper: "Daily it becomes more manifest that political America is separating into two camps, the individualists and the Socialists. A new party has been created, and it is not extravagant to intimate that it will poll 2,000,000 votes next November. It threatens to destroy the Democratic party, though that is a job the Democratic party has already accomplished to all intents and purposes, and then strive for the mastery against the Republican party. That would fetch the new alignment of conservatism versus liberalism, of individualism versus Socialism. That is what is coming."

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS.

Author of "The History of Tammany Hall," "History of Public Franchises in New York City," Etc.

PART II.

The Great Land Fortunes.

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CHAPTER X.

FURTHER VISTAS OF THE FIELD FORTUNE.

I.

But if only to give at the outset a translucent example of Field's methods in the management of industrial corporations, it is well to advert here to the operations of one of his many properties—the Pullman Company, otherwise called the "Palace Car Trust." This is a necessary part of the exposition in order to bring out more of the methods by which Field was enabled to fling together his vast fortune.

The artificial creation of the law called the corporation was so devised that it was comparatively easy for the men who controlled it to evade personal, moral, and often legal, responsibility for their acts. Governed as the corporation was by a body of directors, these acts became collective and not individual; if one of the directors were assailed he could plausibly take refuge in the claim that he was merely one of a number of controllers; that he could not be held specifically responsible. Thus the culpability was shifted, until it rested on the corporation, which was a bloodless thing, not a person.

Field's Pullman Works.

In the case of the Pullman Co., however, much of the moral responsibility can be directly placed upon Field, inasmuch as he, although under cover, was virtually the dictator of that corporation. According to the inventory of the executors of his will, he owned 8,000 shares of Pullman stock, valued at \$800,000. Adams sets forth (in 1901) that Field was the largest owner of Pullman stock. "In the popular mind," he says, "George M. Pullman has ever been deemed the dominant factor in that vast and profitable enterprise." Adams asserts this to have been an error and goes on: "Field is, and for years has been, in almost absolute control. Pullman was little more than a figurehead. Such men as Robert T. Lincoln, the president of the company, and Norman B. Ream are but representatives of Marshall Field, whose name has never been identified with the property he so largely owns and controls."

The Pullman Company, Moody states, employed in all departments of its various factories at different places nearly 20,000 employees, and controlled 85 per cent. of the entire industry.¹ As at least a part of the methods of the company have been the subject of official investigation, certain facts are available.

To give a brief resume, the Pullman Company was organized in 1867 to build sleeping cars of a feasible type patented by Pullman. In 1880 it bought 500 acres of land near Chicago. Upon 300 of these it built its plant, and proceeded, with much show and advertisement of benevolence, to build what is called a model town for the benefit of its workers. Brick tenements, churches, a library, and athletic grounds were the main features, with sundry miscellaneous accessories. This project was heralded far and wide as a notable achievement, a conspicuous example of the growing altruism of business.

The Nature of a Model Town.

Time soon revealed the inner nature of the enterprise. The "model town," as was the case with imitative towns, proved to be a cunning device with two bars. It militated to hold the workers to their jobs in a state of quasi serfdom, and it gave the company additional avenues of exploiting its workers beyond the ordinary and usual limits of wages and profits. In reality it was one of the forerunners of an incoming feudalistic sway, without the advantages to the wage worker that the lowly possessed under me-

diaeval feudalism. It was also an apparent polished improvement, but nothing more, over the racking processes at the coal mines in Pennsylvania, Illinois and other states where the miners were paid the most meager wages, and were compelled to return those wages to the coal companies and bear an incubus of debt besides, by being forced to buy all of their goods and merchandise at the company's stores at extortionate rates. But where the coal companies did the thing boldly and crudely, the Pullman Company surrounded the exploitation with deceptive embellishments.

The mechanism, although indirect, was simple. While, for instance, the cost of gas to the Pullman Company was only 33 cents a thousand feet, every worker living in the town of Pullman had to pay at the rate of \$2.25 a thousand feet. If he desired to retain his job he could not avoid payment; the company owned the exclusive supply of gas and was the exclusive landlord. The company had him in a clamp from which he could not well escape. The workers were housed in ugly little pens, called cottages, built in tight rows, each having five rooms and "conveniences." For each of these cottages \$18 rent a month was charged. The city of Chicago, the officials of which were but the mannikins or hirelings of the industrial magnates, generously supplied the Pullman Company with water at four cents a thousand gallons. For this same water the company charged its employees ten cents a thousand gallons, or about 71 cents a month. By this plan the company practically got all of its great supply of water for nothing, and had a surplus. Even for having shutters on the houses the workers were taxed fifty cents a month. These are some specimens of the company's many devious instrumentalities for enchaining and plundering its thousands of workers.

II.

In the panic year of 1893 the Pullman Company reduced wages one-fourth, yet the cost of rent, water, gas—of nearly all other fundamental necessities—remained the same. As the average yearly pay of at least 4,497 of the company's wage workers was little more than \$600—or, to be exact, \$613.86—this reduction, in a large number of cases, was equivalent to forcing these workers to yield up their labors for substantially nothing. Numerous witnesses testified before the special commission appointed later by President Cleveland, that at times their bi-weekly checks ran variously from four cents to one dollar. The company could not produce evidence to disprove this. These sums represented the company's indebtedness to them for their labor, after the company had deducted rent and other charges. Such manifold robberies aroused the bitterest resentment among the company's employees, since especially it was a matter of authentic knowledge, disclosed by the company's own reports, that the Pullman factories were making enormous profits. At this time the Pullman workers were \$70,000 in arrears to the company for rent alone.

Field's Employees Strike.

Finally plucking up courage—for it required a high degree of moral bravery to subject themselves and their families to the further want inevitably ensuing from a strike—the workers of the Pullman Company demanded a restoration of the old scale of wages. An arrogant refusal led to the declaration of a strike on May 11, 1894. This strike, and the greater strike following, are termed by Carroll D. Wright, for a time United States Commissioner of Labor, as "probably the most expensive and far-reaching labor controversy which can properly be classed among the historic controver-

sies of this generation."² The American Railway Union, composed of the various grades of workers on a large number of railroads, declared a general sympathetic strike under the delegated leadership of Eugene V. Debs.

The strike would perhaps have been successful had it not been that the entire powers of the national government, and those of most of the states affected, were used roughshod to crush this mighty labor uprising. The whole newspaper press, with rare exceptions, spread the most glaring falsehoods about the strike and its management. Debs was personally and venomously assailed in vituperation that has had little equal. The more time recedes, however, the more the working class recognizes his lofty sincerity, his incorruptibility, his devotion to noble ideals for the advancement of humanity. To put the strikers in the attitude of sowing violence, the railroad corporations deliberately instigated the burning or destruction of their own cars (they were cheap worn-out freight cars), and everywhere had thugs and roughs as its emissaries to preach and provoke violence.³ The object was threefold: to throw the onus upon the strikers of being a lawless body; to give the newspapers an opportunity of inveighing with terrific effect against the strikers, and to call upon the Government for armed troops to shoot down, overawe or in other ways thwart the strikers.

Injunctions and Bayonets.

Government was, in reality, directed by the railroad and other corporations. United States judges, at the behest of the railroad companies (which had caused them to be appointed to the Bench), issued extraordinary, unprecedented injunctions against the strikers. These injunctions even prevented the strikers from persuading fellow employees to quit work. So utterly lacking any basis in law had these injunctions that the Federal Commission reported: "It is seriously questioned, and with much force, whether the courts have jurisdiction to enjoin citizens from 'persuading' each other in industrial or other matters of common interest." But the injunctions were enforced. Debs and his comrades were convicted of contempt of court and, without jury trial, imprisoned at a critical juncture of the strike. And what was their offense? Nothing more than seeking to induce other workers to take up the cause of their striking fellow-workers. The judges constituted themselves as prosecuting attorney, judge and jury. Never had such high-handed judicial usurpation been witnessed. As a concluding stroke, President Cleveland ordered a detachment of the United States army to Chicago. The pretexts were that the strikers were interfering with interstate commerce and with the carrying of mails.

The real cause of this strike and of its consequences was Marshall Field. He was discreetly masked in the background, safe from criticism, but he it was who had devised and put into operation the different forms for exploiting the Pullman employees, for grinding them down to the last cent, and for reducing the wages one-fourth at a time when the Pullman Company was making immense profits.

Vast Profits and Low Wages.

That these profits were very great at the identical time the workers were curtailed to a starvation basis, there can be no doubt. The general indignation and agitation caused by the summary proceedings during the strike, compelled President Cleveland to appoint a commission to investigate. Cleveland was a mediocre politician who, by a series of fortuitous circumstances, had risen from ward politics to the Presidency. After using the concentrated power of the Federal Government to break the strike, he then decided to "investigate" its merits. It was the shift and ruse of a typical politician.

The Special Commission, while not selected of men who could in the remotest degree be accused of partiality

¹"Industrial Evolution of the United States," 313.

²Parsons, "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," 196. Also Report of Chicago Chief of Police for 1894.

toward the workers, brought added volume of significant facts, and added in a report marked by considerable and unexpected fairness. The report showed that the Pullman Company's capital had been increased from \$1,000,000 in 1867 to \$36,000,000 in 1894. "Its prosperity," the Commission reported, "has enabled the company for over twenty years to pay 2 per cent. quarterly dividends." Thus on his \$800,000 of Pullman stock Field has been deriving at the very least in dividends alone a steady income of \$64,000 a year—an amount equal to the annual wages of about 110 of his Pullman factory workers. But this 8 per cent. annual dividend was not all. In certain years the dividends had ranged from 9½ to 12 per cent. In addition, the Commission further reported, the company had laid by a reserve fund in the form of a surplus of \$25,000,000 of profits which had not been divided. For the year ending July 31, 1893, the declared dividends were \$2,520,000; the wages \$7,223,719.51. During the next year, when wages were cut one-fourth, the stockholders' profits an even greater amount in dividends: \$2,880,000. Wages went to \$4,471,701.39.⁴

³"Report on the Chicago Strike of June and July, 1894," by the United States Strike Commissioners, 1895.—Throughout all subsequent years and at present the Pullman Company has continued charging the public exorbitant rates for the use of its cars. Numerous bills have been introduced in various legislatures to compel the company to reduce its rates. The company has means at its command powerful enough to squelch these measures. Its consistent policy is well known of paying its porters and conductors such poor wages that the 15,000,000 passengers who ride in Pullman cars every year are virtually obliged to make up the deficiency by tips.

(To be Continued.)

THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS.

"The history of America from 1884 to the present day is simply the history of the crushing and metamorphosis of the middle class. . . . In the intense competition within the capitalistic class the smaller class went to the wall. . . . The old middle class has not entirely disappeared, but who would be bold enough to say that it dominates the life of the nation as it did in 1860? But while survivals of it still exist here and there, psychologically it has been transformed. It exists merely by sufferance. Its members tremble when they open the daily papers. If their funds are invested in railway securities, the paper may tell them that the manipulation of a Harriman has reduced or cut off their income. If they are merchants, the paper may tell them of competition by the large department stores which they cannot hope to be able to meet. What analogy is there between such a class and the sturdy men who made the American history we glory in? In no real sense can they be called independent. . . ."

"It is scarcely too much to say that the dominant note of the intellectual life of the middle class is still idealism. It has persisted in refusing to recognize its own doom; it shamelessly hopes and strives for better things, hence it has enthusiastically supported the myriads of ephemeral reform movements that have flitted across the American stage. But the best brain in the middle class are seeing all too clearly that their class is doomed; that as a class they have no hope; that their only salvation is to abandon their class hope and aspirations, and join the workers in their struggle to wipe out all class lines by absorbing all men in the Universal Brotherhood based on common ownership of the means of life."—An extract from an article by Robert River La Monte, in The Arena.

A HOPEFUL SIGN.

Battle Creek, Mich., has been redeemed. A central labor union has been formed in that city. The organization represents 1,300 men and women and fourteen labor unions, of which the cigarmakers, laborers, tailors, carpenters, molders, bookbinders and printers have the largest membership. They are doubtless getting in shape to hold a Post-mortem on the hopes of the party who thought he had them fattened out.

⁴"The Truth About the Trusts:" 266-7.

"GO AND EAT GRASS!"

By BEN HANFORD.

"Go and eat grass!"
"If the people have no bread, why don't they eat cake?"

So says the National Convention of the Republican party to the more than five million of unemployed men in the United States. What sweet consolation to them and the twenty millions of people dependent on them.

We are a prosperous people, declared the leaders of the convention. We have wealth to the value of \$110,000,000,000, more than one-quarter of all the wealth on earth.

We make more than one-third of the world's modern manufactured products.

The Republican Convention was opened each day with prayer, and by a different clergyman, but there is no evidence that it was closed with a benediction.

The delegates considered themselves "the people," and therefore they could truly say "the people" were prosperous. It was a convention of lawyers, office holders and millionaires. Why shouldn't Senator Borrows be prosperous? For thirty-nine years he has drawn pay from a city, county, State or National Treasury. Why shouldn't Senator Lodge be prosperous? He graduated from Harvard Law School thirty-three years ago, and has been fed at the public crib for twenty-five of the years since past. These worthies fear lest Socialism would "have the Nation own the people."

Cruelty and Craft Prominent Characteristics.

It was worth while to look at the delegates, also their women folks. The noticeable things about the latter were their grossness, stoutness, fatness—and dullness. The next thing to be noticed about the women was their clothes—or the lack of them. The men were not nearly as gross and vulgar looking as the women. Men in politics must lead active lives, even if they are wealthy, and the result is that most of them keep the fat well worked off. But how cruel they looked. Cruelty and craft were their most prominent characteristics. A glance at these Republican delegates showed that they were individualists indeed. They belonged to the species of the birds and beasts of prey—vulture, and jackal, and wolf, and tiger. These are the real individualists—the men who win by tooth and claw. And just as the great beasts of prey are disappearing, so in due time—not far distant—shall these men and women of prey disappear likewise.

Of the country's \$110,000,000,000 of wealth, the people who attended the Republican Convention had their full share—and in addition to their own share they had the share of those five millions of jobless men. Why should they not declare their "confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future?"

Why should they not "hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity?" They had plenty. They were prosperous.

Why should they not, after a column of fulsome laudation of Roosevelt and the Republican Party, very modestly declare their "gratitude for God's bounty"—particularly as it cost them nothing. Doubtless those delegates would have thought it sacrilegious to have expressed their gratitude to the men whose labor produced that bounty.

Republican Leaders Blind and Mad.
The National Convention of the Republican Party has demonstrated that the party's leaders are mad and blind. Old Burrows talked of a "temporary panic," while five millions of desperate men were vainly searching for work. He babbled of the 4,000,000 of immigrants who had landed on our shores in the last four years. But for months past and while he was talking emigration exceeded immigration.

Senator Lodge was eloquent over the traditions of the Grand Old Party, and Burrows drolled out a phrase to the effect that the candidate must have the qualities of a Lincoln and a

Grant—then the convention nominated the Taft—In-junction Bill Taft.

And not one word on the floor of the Republican Convention, and not one word in the Republican Platform about the five millions of men out of work.

And why should there be? If the Republican Party had anything to do for the unemployed it would have been done long before the convention. The Republican Party has been in control of all branches of the Federal Government for years. The Republican Party controls the United States Supreme Court—that makes the blacklist lawful and the boycott unlawful. The Republican Party controls the United States Senate by a majority of 29 out of 91 members. The Republican Party controls the United States House of Representatives by a majority of 56 out of 391 members. The Republican Party controls all the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the Federal Government. For years the Republican Party has had power, and it must not be allowed to shirk responsibility. It should be held no less responsible for the decisions of a Republican Supreme Court than for the acts of a Republican President and the laws of a Republican Congress.

Republican Party Did Nothing for the Working Man.

And this Republican Party, without a single decent attribute, except a name stolen from the graves of its dead—this Republican Party, had the power before Congress adjourned to provide productive and remunerative employment for every idle man in the United States. But it did not do one thing for the relief of the man out of work. And when Congress adjourned its members came to Chicago and in convention assembled told the millions of hungry people in the country that owns \$110,000,000,000 worth of property to, "GO AND EAT GRASS!"

I ask every jobless man in the United States to note the difference between the Republican Party and the Socialist Party in the way they look at the problem of the unemployed. The National Platform of the Socialist Party contains the following plank:

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class."

Every unemployed man, every hungry man, who is threatened with reduced wages, every man who is in danger of losing his job, can see clearly how the carrying of that proposition of the Socialist Party would help him—and help him instantly. The Republican Party had the power to do all these things for the unemployed. It has done nothing for their benefit. Instead its officials have not even allowed the unemployed to march in the streets and hold meetings to petition the government (The Republican Party) for a redress of grievances. The unemployed were clubbed by the police under Republican Mayor Busse in Chicago and under Democratic Mayor McClellan in New York.

Speaking of the Democratic Party, Senator Lodge declared that its watchwords had become the "epitaphs of policies which are dead and damned."

Of the Republican Party it can be truly said that all its good is dead and all that remains is damned—not excepting In-junction Bill.

"Go and eat grass!"

So says the Republican Party to the unemployed.

DEVELOPMENT TOWARD

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The repeated statements in the daily papers that some organization is earnestly trying to perfect a consolidation with another in order to form an industrial organization are very gratifying, and show that we are on the move after all. Only a few days ago it was reported that a conference took place between representatives of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the Brotherhood of Butcher Workmen for the purpose of deciding upon a basis on which the amalgamation of the two organizations could be perfected. The Journeymen Tailors, the Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers, the International Women Garment Workers and the United Garment Workers look with favor upon the question of amalgamation, and if reports are true, negotiations with that end in view are being carried on. At the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, held recently at Columbus, Ohio, it was decided to admit motormen employed by electric street or interurban railway companies to membership. All these are only signs of the times.—Brauer Zeitung.

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CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 241 E. 84th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—310 E. 6th St., 7:30 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2059 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—325 E. 75th St., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

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

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

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

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

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"What is the great task of the day? It is emancipation. Not simply that of the Irish, Greeks, Jews, Blacks, and all such oppressed people, but the emancipation of the whole world, which is come of age and is tearing itself away from the iron leading-strings of the privileged class of aristocracy. Certain philosophical renegades of freedom may possibly forge chains of syllogisms to prove to us that millions of men are created in order to serve as beasts of burden to a few thousand privileged ones; they cannot, however, convince us until they can prove, as Voltaire said, that those came into the world with saddles on their backs, and these with spurs on their feet."—Heinrich Heine's "Italian Travel Sketches."

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DISCRIMINATION, ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

By W. W. PASSAGE.

"Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."—Karl Marx.

Back of race and class discrimination, and furnishing the motive for it, is the purpose to exploit and thus to live without labor. A greedy nation, race or class plans to get something for nothing. The method is first to convince the general public and even the race or class to be plundered that it is unfit either to govern itself or to manage its industries, therefore, the self-appointed "superior" people will do it for them and benevolently assimilate their product in the process. For example, the negroes in the South were "unfit for freedom," just as to-day white workers are told that they are incapable of conducting industry and must, therefore, have "captains of industry," who in truth, in so far as they are pure and simple capitalists, are to industry exactly what fleas are to dogs, potato bugs to potatoes, or mosquitos, slave masters and other parasites to human beings. Witness: J. D. Rockefeller, who confesses to no service whatever during the last eight years in return for his annual income of forty million dollars. As the late, able, but unlamented Mr. Calhoun once said: "Whether the power reside in a title deed to the man or in a title deed to the land and tools to which the man must have access before he can work, the effect is the same in either case." The essence of slavery remained in that the man must give up a part (eighty per cent it is estimated) of the values he produces for the blessed luxury of being owned.

Why do we stand this? Simply because we are hypnotized, deceived, unmanned, degraded and demoralized; caajoled with sleek religious phrases to the effect that we be content in the humble sphere in which an all-wise Providence has placed us; menaced with the eternal torments of hell; bribed with the promise of a mansion on the golden streets, a harp, and a place in the choir immortal, singing songs of praise to Him who is said to be no respecter of persons. And all this at the hands of those who in their earthly contact with us either as wage or chattel slaves robbed us of our products, jammed us into "jim crow" cars, derided us because of our color or occupation, denied our rights in

the natural artificial opportunities for employment, and made it impossible, either because of the hard conditions of our lives or the color of our skins, to get such education and culture as to make us "fit" to associate with them. Certainly, under the circumstances, the writer of this article, for one, would decline to associate in heaven with any man or woman who had failed to treat him decently on earth.

And notwithstanding the incomprehensible theory and practice of most negroes to-day, the Republican party did not, simply because it happened to be the political instrument used by Garrison, Phillip Sumner and others, to abolish an earlier form of slavery, earn the right to enslave both colored and white workers to capitalism. To trust the still unregenerated, unreconstructed, unprogressive and unwashed Democratic party to rise to the demands of the crisis is unthinkable, since it is but a senile relic of a career prostituted to the base service of the enemies of justice—the decomposing organ of an antiquated and disappearing middle class.

Men and women, arouse! Have done forever with superstitious worship of political idols, with patriotic bombast, dogmatic atheism, theological hairsplitting, priest-craft, metaphysical flubdub and vain speculation about our origin or future destiny. Let your motto be: "One world at a time," and that world heaven for the workers and hell for the shirkers!" And know ye that when all have equal ownership in the natural resources and industrial equipment, and have their labor co-ordinated with the labor of their fellows, each receiving the multiplied product of such arrangement in proportion to the skill and energy exerted, then and then only will discrimination and exploitation cease, for we cannot be discriminated against in the things which we own. Socialism accomplished the economic conditions producing race and class wars, lynchings, lockouts, strikes, poverty and its train of sickness, drunkenness, suicide and murder will disappear.

This is the new emancipation. Unless the white workers unite with the workers of other colors, they do not deserve it; likewise, unless the workers of other colors ally themselves with the exploited white workers, they not only do not deserve it, but they never can secure it.

AMERICA'S IDEALS.

By MICHAEL M. DAVIS, Jr.

Her strength is not in looms nor lands,
Nor pride, in that she banished kings;
Her life is in the dream she dreamed,
To bring all men to higher things.
Her spirit needs we give her faith,
The heart to will, the hand to do;

She fears not that we prove her false,
But that we prove too weakly true.
Scorning the lusts of self and self,
Ours to be strong and stern for good;
Make real in life as rich in love
Our country's dream of brotherhood!

HAS AMERICA SUNK SO LOW?

By ROBERT HUNTER.

A Jewish gentleman named Strauss is at present engaged in the despicable occupation of gathering together a few penniless creatures of his race for the purpose of sending them back to the land of the Czar.

They are political offenders, who fled from Russia to escape imprisonment and death. In fighting for a republic they were attempting to do for Russia what our forefathers did for America. They were trying to establish in Russia such freedom as exists here, which probably is the reason the parents of Mr. Strauss came to this country.

Many of these revolutionists are now being spied out by the Commissioner of Labor, the-called, and the Commissioner of Immigration, an old labor leader, to be sent back to Russia TO BE MURDERED.

Have you heard anyone protest? Have you heard any of our representatives in congress speak about the matter?

Now let us contrast the democratic procedure in our country with the monarchic procedure in England.

The other day the King decided he wanted to go to visit his cousin, the Czar of Russia.

The English Labor party, which REPRESENTS the people, vigorously protested against their chief executive having any relations whatever with the Czar.

Keir Hardie said that "for the King to pay an official visit was to condone the atrocities for which the Czar's

government and the Czar personally must be held responsible."

He asked that the government withdraw the British representative from Russian territory unless the Czar's government ceases murdering and court-martialing political offenders.

Victor Grayson, also a Socialist member of Parliament, described the Czar as "the bloodiest monster now in existence."

"England," he says, "is murdering its people with unemployment, insecurity of employment, pauperism and lack of food, but, had as we are, we are too clean to associate with the Czar of Russia!"

Altogether the Labor and Socialist members have done something to arouse the British people to some sense of justice. The attitude of the Labor representatives showed pretty clearly that the masses of people in England have no sympathy for the King's cousin.

Yet the visit of the King to his cousin is a relatively small matter compared with what is being done daily by certain of our public officials.

We appear to be acting as agents of the Czar by working with his officials to apprehend those in America who are fighting his infamous regime. We appear to be assisting his spies and secret police to capture noble young revolutionists now in America, and to send them back to Russia to glut the vengeance of what Victor Grayson called "the bloodiest monster now in existence."

A FAMILY I KNEW.

By JOSEPHINE CONGER-KANEKO.

She had been monotonously complaining of their poverty. They had so little; she could seldom have any of the joys of life; the children's clothes were shabby, her own were few and old-fashioned; the four rooms they lived in were stuffy and meanly furnished. All the women in the neighborhood were better off than she. She was weary and miserable with it all—and so her plaint ran on.

Harassed with troubles of his own, her husband grew nervous under her monotonous whine, and raising his voice to a high pitch, began to quarrel with her. Then he struck her in the face with his hand.

She was the mother of four little children—his children. They, too, seemed unhappy; they quarreled a great deal, and at times the whole family hated each other fiercely.

At least they thought they did. The fact is, that they had natural affection for each other; that the husband had loved his wife as ardently as lover could when they were married; that the wife had loved the husband, and that she had a mother's affection for the children.

But the narrowness of their lives, the everlasting want for things that never could be filled, the burden on the man, and the continual drag on the woman—these were the source of the misery in which they lived. That they blamed each other for their misery was because they were ignorant. Knowing that his wife had too little, the husband yet would shout to her, "What is it you are nagging about now? You want too much, that's the trouble with you." "I wish I had married D. He appreciated me, at least. You never appreciate me," she would scream back at him.

When he had gone to his work she scolded the children, and they quarreled among themselves.

Day after day, month after month, year after year—they lived like this.

And not only they, but thousands of families like them.

Any social system that makes it possible for a man to brutally strike the mother of his children; any social order that makes it possible for a woman to nag at her husband and beat her children from morning till night; any condition that makes a man work long hours with returns so small that he must suffer the degradation of an impoverished, miserable, complaining fam-

ily is fundamentally and everlastingly wrong.

Capitalism makes men economically dependent upon an employer who cuts their wages to a mere subsistence point; it makes women dependent upon a sex relation for their support, instead of giving them economic freedom, thus rendering them subject to all kinds of abuses; it robs little children of their normal heritage—the love of parents and the joys of childhood. It breaks up homes, destroys the morals of the people, and breeds criminals, degenerates and paupers on every hand.

Every man who casts a vote for either the Democratic or Republican party; every man who helps support the capitalist press as against that of the workingmen; every man who talks against Socialism and upholds the present system simply aids the fangs of capitalism in taking a firmer grip upon his body and soul; and upon those whom he should love, cherish and protect even as his own life. The responsibilities of the average man are great, for it is he who has made the kind of family that I knew, and it is he who can make better families.

AT CHICAGO—(AND WASHINGTON, D. C.)

They talked about the issues in a quite excited way.
And some grew very sour and the rest grew very gay:
But Lodge observed: "The issues? There are none in G. O. P."—
And lo, a voice came whistling o'er the wire: "They are Me."

They read aloud the platform amid titters of delight.
They said it was the nicest one the human hand could write.
They cried: "O ain't it lovely!" and they shrieked: "O ain't it fine!"
And lo, a voice came proudly o'er the wire: "It is Mine."

They named their chosen candidate and had him make a speech;
They roared: "Ho, he's a winner and moreover he's a peach!"
They hollered: "O we guess he's built upon a White House plan!"
And lo, a voice came gently o'er the wire: "He's my man!"

They cheered the Grand Old Party as the party that had wrought
Reforms a whole lot better than reformers would have thought;
They swore that as a party it was noble as could be—
And hilt! That voice came chuckling o'er the wire: "That is Me!"
—H. S. H., in Richmond Times-Dispatch.



NEW YORK SOCIALISTS' STATE PLATFORM

The Socialist party of the State of New York in convention assembled, reaffirms its steadfast adherence to the principles of the International Socialist movement, and endorses the National platform of the Socialist party of the United States.

In entering upon the campaign of 1908, the Socialist party again makes its appeal to the working class and calls the workers and those in sympathy with their cause to join the party in its struggle against capitalist misrule.

The contrast between classes in society is now more glaring than ever before. The comparatively small number of capitalists control virtually all the means of wealth production, and have appropriated the fruits of the collective labors and struggles of generations.

Through this economic supremacy the capitalist class has secured the control of our legislatures and courts, our press and schools, and the other organs and powers of our public life.

The workmen, the great army of wealth producers, are dependent upon the non-producing capitalist class for their daily existence; their much-vaunted liberty is at most the liberty to choose and change their masters, and their political sovereignty is but too often the mere right to vote according to the dictates of their employers.

Between the two classes there can be no common interest or harmony. The masters and wage workers live in a constant state of open or suppressed struggle, and nowhere has the struggle in this country assumed such gigantic proportions as in this our Empire State.

Never before have the workmen of this State found themselves in a more wretched condition. The prosperity which has been the boast of both old parties in previous campaigns has suddenly disappeared. The individual system has broken down; factories, mills and shops have closed in all parts of the State, and hundreds of thousands of willing workers have been forced into idleness, entailing the extremes of want upon themselves, their wives and children.

The capitalist class, which has caused this condition, has made no effort to remedy it. On the contrary, taking advantage of the weakened and helpless state of condition of the people, it has made a series of new and savage onslaughts upon them.

Its courts have nullified the most vital laws for which organized labor has worked and fought for a generation, and its legislatures have openly mocked at Labor's just demands. They have not only defiantly refused to grant the workmen any relief, but have used all their efforts to increase the power of the exploiters of labor.

Rents and food prices have been constantly and arbitrarily raised, depriving thousands of working class families of shelter and reducing multitudes of working class children to a starving condition. The two years that have elapsed since the last campaign in this, the wealthiest State of the Union, have been marked by rent strikes, meat riots, hunger demonstrations, unemployed parades and other manifestations of desperate poverty.

The Republican party, which, during this period of widespread social misery, has been in control of the Legislature and administration of the State, has utterly failed to inaugurate any measures of relief. The Democratic party, supreme in many of the larger cities, including the metropolis, has not only failed to grant relief, but has used its executive power in defiance of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly, to ruthlessly and brutally suppress all efforts on the part of the unemployed to call attention to their misery.

In this crisis the Republican and Democratic parties have once more proved themselves the obedient tools of the capitalist class, which dominates and uses both for the preservation of its mastery over the workers.

The so-called Independence League, which in the last campaign was largely supported by the workmen of the State, has during its brief political career conclusively demonstrated its inability to understand the needs or remedy the grievances of the workers. Vacillating between the two old parties and making alliances with the most corrupt elements in both, it now stands before the workmen of this State disrupted and discredited.

Neither the old parties nor any so-called "reform party," representing as they do capitalist class interests, can help the workers.

There is but one way to free labor—to transform the capitalist system of private ownership in the means of production into collective ownership

by the entire people. There is but one power which can accomplish this—the working class itself.

To this end, however, the working class must be equipped with all weapons of modern social warfare, and must be organized politically as well as economically. Without political power the occasional victories of the workers on the economic field will always remain illusory; without a strong political party the economic organization of the working class will always be ineffective. Workers of the State of New York, it is your own interests that the Socialist party calls upon you, without distinction of race, creed, color, sex or nationality, to vote and work for it. The Socialist party is your party; it advocates your cause; it fights your battles. Only in its victories can you be victorious.

While thus aiming at the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism, we declare that it is the purpose of the Socialist party to use all political powers entrusted to it to relieve as far as possible the hardships of the workers under existing economic conditions, and to assist them in all their conflicts with capitalism. To that end we pledge to give our undivided support to all measures which will benefit the working class and to oppose to the limit of our powers all measures contrary to their interests.

As immediate measures for the present relief of the workers, operating to weaken the hold of capitalism upon them and thereby bringing nearer their ultimate triumph, we advocate and pledge our candidates to work for legislation providing for the insurance of all workers against unemployment, accident, sickness and old age; for public industries for the unemployed; all public work to be done directly without the intervention of the private contractor and at union scale of wages and hours; equal suffrage for both sexes; shortening of the hours of labor; the exemption of labor union funds from liability for loss sustained by employers in case of strikes and boycotts; prevention of the use of militia to break strikes, and interference of the courts in industrial disputes by the use of injunctions; the abolition of child labor; the public ownership and operation of all means of transportation, communication and exchange; the free and speedy administration of justice; the proper housing and education of the people; the feeding of school children; the initiative and referendum, and municipal home rule, and all other measures tending to the advancement of the interests of our class.

TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

The Socialist Party of the State of New York heartily endorses the address to organized labor adopted by the National Convention at Chicago in May, 1908, as truly representing the position of the party with reference to the economic organizations of the working class.

The political and the industrial wings of the labor movement are alike necessary to the success of the workers in their struggle for the betterment of their condition and for their final emancipation from the yoke of capitalism. Each division should carefully respect the autonomy of the other, while at the same time no effort should be spared to bring them into closer and more friendly relations, so that they may give mutual aid and co-operate intelligently in all matters of common concern.

We congratulate the labor unions of this state upon the large share which they have taken in the triumphant campaign for the defense of our brothers in the Western Federation of Miners. In that campaign was demonstrated the power of the working class when organized and acting harmoniously upon the political and the economic field.

We call upon the organized workmen to show equal energy and solidarity in a campaign for the overthrow of the iniquitous decisions by which the state and federal judges, Republican and Democratic, putting themselves at the service of the organized capitalists, have virtually outlawed the labor movement and penalized the boycott, the strike, and other necessary methods of union activity. If these decisions are allowed to stand, the unions will be rendered completely powerless for good.

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working people to organize for the advancement of their class interests, the one practicable and necessary method is to pile up such a formidable vote for the Socialist Party as will fill the old-party politicians with alarm and compel them to grant concessions to the working class.
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TURNERS STAND FOR SOCIALISM.

CHICAGO, July 6.—The delegates to the national convention of the North American Turnerbund, in session here last week, have expressed themselves in no uncertain terms. They closed the important part of the convention by demanding personal liberty, passing resolutions protesting against the censorship by postmasters over Socialist newspapers and denouncing prohibition. A new platform was unanimously adopted and reports of various committees were submitted.

The fight which was expected to result when the new platform was presented did not come. This was a surprise to the progressives, for they expected the conservatives to fight it to a standstill, as the platform is much more radical than any before presented.

Text of the Platform.

The platform declares the organization to be in no sense political, touches strongly upon social conditions as they now exist and demands popular rights, just laws, preventing the exploitation of labor by capital, and among other things favors the settlement of international disputes by legal and judicial procedure. The following is the platform, in part:

The North American Turnerbund (Gymnastic Union) is an association of liberty-loving and progressive men, organized for the purpose of fostering and disseminating such ideas, views and doctrines as are founded upon scientific research and discoveries and which guarantee the realization of the physical, moral, mental and material welfare of humanity at large as well as the individual.

We make it obligatory upon our societies to maintain uniform gymnastic exercises among their members and in the schools of the respective societies, upon rational principles, and also to uplift the mental and moral standard of their pupils and members by arranging scientific lectures and debates.

We are for religious liberty in the most far-going sense of the word, but we also will work with all our powers toward the dissemination of such ideas and such a philosophy as are founded upon the knowledge of the laws and the powers of nature, and which find an explanation of the natural phenomena in such laws and powers.

Man is a social being; his whole existence grows out of the conditions and environments of society, and society is the fountain of civilization and progress.

The state, as it exists from time to time, with all its institutions, laws, rights and duties, forms a step in the evolution of society. As little as the state always was what it is to-day, just as little will it remain what it is now. The best evidence of the progress in the political institutions of the state is the continually growing protection of the rights of the individual and the equality before the law, the growing of the influence and the sphere of power of the masses of the people against the classes.

When we have such industrial conditions that such extremes are being created like a millionaire on one side and beggars and tramps on the other, and if everything that lies between these two extremes seems to be forced either to one or to the other side, a small number up and a large number down, then it must be expected that certain classes will usurp the political powers. We therefore are in favor of such institutions which will create an equalization in the industrial and economical life of the nation.

We favor arrangements and legal enactments, which on the one hand tend to prevent the exploitation of labor by capital, secure to the workman the fruits of his labor and gradually prevent the division of the people into classes, but which, on the other hand, also prevent acts of injustice in the struggle between labor and capital.

Under our present law more attention is paid to property than to man. Greater protection of the citizens against the dangers of carelessness in the management and construction of

our means of transportation and of the workman against the dangers of his calling is an absolute necessity.

To every human being must be given the possibility to secure by the use of his intellectual or physical labor an existence worthy of man, and to enjoy the fruits of the cultural progress of humanity through the thousands of years past.

History shows in the course of evolution the growth of the power of right over might in all social and political relations from the individual upward to the whole nation. The time for further extension of the recognition of Right as superior to Might has come.

We are, therefore, in favor of the settling of all international disputes by legal and judicial procedure and the furtherance of all common cultural endeavors between nations.

We consider it one of our special duties, to preserve German customs and habits and the German language.

We are not a political party, we do not charge our members with the observation of certain dogmas or special demands, but we expect them to live and act as men and citizens in the sense of a philosophy of which the principal points are laid down in the foregoing declaration.

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Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third avenue, Room 2, New York City.

IMPORTANT NEWS OF THE WEEK IN BRIEF.

POLITICAL.

Speculating about what move the Democrats will make in the national game of politics, in their big convention at Denver the coming week, has been the chief mental occupation of the American people in the week past. As the advance guard of the delegates and committeemen arrive in the convention city the impression that Bryan was in control found plenty of confirmation. It appeared to be largely a question of what the astute Nebraskan would say or do or concede, although the Johnson and Gray boomers still kept up the appearance of a fight and claimed that Bryan lacked the required two-thirds majority. Also under the leadership of Parker of New York, Guffey of Pennsylvania and other conservative men a movement was on foot to embarrass Bryan by offering a eulogistic memorial resolution for Cleveland. But the Bryanites were prepared for this by having ready a Cleveland resolution of their own.

As in the case of the Republican convention, the main contest is seen to be on the platform and the nomination for Vice-President. Gompers, the Federation of Labor head, was early on the ground, and he said he had assurances that the labor plank would be all that could be desired. While insisting upon his radical policies in the platform, it was said that Bryan was disposed to seek an Eastern conservative man like Gray of Delaware as a running mate. To these rumors Gray replied early in the week, saying that he had never consented to be a candidate either for the first or the second place. Parker's course in the Cleveland matter was bitterly criticized by Editor Waterson.

The choice of the Republican campaign manager is still deferred, but rumor persists that Taft has selected Hitchcock.

Candidate Sherman recovered from his illness at Cleveland and was welcomed to his home in Utica with a brilliant demonstration.

Candidate Taft entered the ranks of private citizens Wednesday when General Wright took the oath as secretary of war. The Taft family goes to Hot Springs for the summer.

Another statement assailing the Republican labor plank has been issued by President Gompers of the Federation of Labor. This insists that they "ask no immunity for any one guilty of wrong doing, whether they be workmen or others," but does insist upon equality before the law. Citing the Danbury hatters' decision, declaring the unions to be a trust, Gompers says the labor organizations "are voluntary in character and formed for the purpose of advancing and protecting personal rights." He adds that they deal in no property, while the trusts are combinations dealing in the products of labor.

Incomplete returns of the Tennessee Democratic primaries indicated the nomination of Patterson for governor by a safe majority over Carmack, and this meant a victory for local or county option as opposed to state wide prohibition. However, Patterson on the stump had promised that if the platform called for prohibition and the Legislature passed such a bill, he would sign it. One notable feature of the contest was the defeat of Congressman Gaines by J. W. Byrnes, a Nashville lawyer.

The nomination of Bryan by the Democratic national convention at Denver on a platform of reform policies dictated by Bryan and with a running mate acceptable to Bryan is the general expectation of keen observers on the ground as this issue of The Socialist goes to press.

The New York section of the Socialist party has nominated Joshua Wanhope for Governor and Gustave Strebel for Lieutenant-Governor. The striking feature of the convention was the demand of women for larger recognition in the work of the party

organization. The women formed a permanent State organization.

EXECUTIVE.

Upon the second anniversary of the passage of the pure food law, June 30, the famous "poison squad," or class of food experimenters, conducted by Dr. H. W. Wiley, chemist of the Department of Agriculture, was disbanded. During this period nearly every class of foods has been tested scientifically by studying its effect upon these men. A board has been created to pass upon the final decision as to the quality of the food, and there are now about 100 criminal cases in the courts. Dr. Wiley says that manufacturers and dealers have generally come to see that it pays better to obey this law as to branding their goods for what they are.

The battleship fleet sailed from San Francisco Tuesday on the long homeward cruise by way of the Pacific Ocean and Suez Canal. The first stop will be at Honolulu.

INDUSTRIAL.

Some of the largest corporations in the Middle West joined in the movement to set the wheels of industry going on the first of July, which was advertised by the Prosperity Association as "Re-employment Day." Still but slight impression was made on the general stagnation.

Several of the officers and members of New York Typographical Union No. 6 have been summoned into court to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt in failing to obey the order of the court forbidding them to molest or boycott the Butterick Publishing Co. of that city. The injunction said to have been violated was issued March 14, 1906. The plaintiff claims to have suffered great pecuniary loss.

Architects for the Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York have filed plans for a new building on the site of the present home of the business on lower Broadway, which will put the Singer tower and the Metropolitan Life Building in the shade. This new structure is to be 909 feet high and have 62 stories. The only structure that will outrank it will be the Eiffel Tower, and that is in no sense a building for offices with solid walls to enclose. The main building, which will occupy one complete block, will be 34 stories, or 489 feet high, and above this will rise a square tower of 28 stories capped with a cupola. The facades are to be of brick and granite with terra cotta trimmings in the Renaissance style. There will be thirty-eight passenger elevators, eight of which will run to the top of the tower.

COMMERCIAL.

Commercial failures in the United States during the first half of 1906, says Dun's Review, were 8,709 in number, \$124,374,833 in amount, as compared with 5,697 failures in the first half of last year for \$69,568,662. Still the report calls attention to the hopeful fact that in the latter months of the period the showing was better, making it "evident that the commercial death rate is diminishing."

The Municipal Traction Co. of Cleveland, Ohio, which is operating all the city's car lines on the three-cent plan carried out by Mayor Johnson, reports a deficit of \$54,916 for May. But Mayor Johnson says that this is due more to the prevailing strike than to the reduced fares.

One explanation advanced for the continued rise in the price of meats is that the big cattle ranges of the Southwest have been rapidly filling up with settlers in the last two years with a consequent clearing of the pastures for cultivation. The prices for cattle on the hoof are higher than ever. In all the large cities the poorer people have been systematic boycotts of the butchers who charge the high prices. The result is that

people are eating less meat and more fruit and vegetables than hertofore.

FOREIGN.

After the reactionary forces of the Shah of Persia had obtained complete control of the situation and more than 400 people had been killed in the street fighting in Teheran, with the radical parliament dispersed the Shah issued a general proclamation of amnesty, granting full liberty to all persons suspected of political opposition to the government. This step was deemed necessary to check the spirit of revolution and restore a semblance of order in the realm. The Shah is said to have been incensed at the number of liberals who were receiving protection in the British Legation and a guard of Cossacks was placed about the legation, while a message of protest was sent to King Edward. The king replied that there had been too much severity in the repression and protested against the guard. After that the Cossacks were withdrawn.

All Europe has been laughing at the outcome of the long controverted claim made by M. Lemoine of Paris that he had a formula for making diamonds. When the time came for Lemoine to make good his promise to produce a diamond as demanded by the court on behalf of the man who had advanced money on the alleged secret, Lemoine did not appear. He had run away. Thereupon the judge made public the formula which had been placed in his possession, which proved to be nothing more than already was known about the effects of the electric furnace upon particles of carbon.

In their determination to controvert the statement of Premier Asquith that the women of England had not shown any intense desire for the suffrage, the leaders of the suffragettes followed up their recent big parades with a tremendous gathering about the Houses of Parliament last Tuesday evening. The square was filled to overflowing and thousands of the women and their sympathizers took to boats so as to surround the Parliament on the water side. All the time the Houses of Parliament were in session, and debates going on as if nothing were happening on the outside. Two women smashed windows in the residence of the Premier and these with twenty-seven others were arrested.

After several days of fighting in the streets of Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, the revolutionary party has won a decided victory and has set up a provisional government with Dr. Naveiro, vice-president under the deposed government, as president. Members of the former ministry took refuge in the foreign legations.

LEGAL AND CRIMINAL.

Harry Orchard, the confessed murderer of the late Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, and more than a score of other persons, whose confession was used by the State in its effort to convict the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, and who was sentenced to death, has now been saved from the gallows by the State Board of Pardons. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. Friends of the Federation say this is just what they expected, as the reward for Orchard's confession. When the news reached Orchard in prison he is said to have shown no surprise.

The Toledo Ice & Coal Company has pleaded guilty to the charge of accepting rebates from the Ann Arbor Railroad and has paid a fine of \$3,750.

The Attorney General of Texas has seized several million barrels of oil and other property owned by the Standard Oil Company and has prevented collection of funds due that company in an effort to compel the payment of penalties imposed to the amount of \$6,000,000.

SCIENTIFIC.

On board the stout steam schooner Roosevelt the expedition headed by Commander Robert E. Peary sailed from New York Monday, and after a short pause at Oyster Bay Tuesday, where President Roosevelt inspected the ship and gave Peary a cordial Godspeed on his fifth journey into the far north in the hope of discovering the North Pole. Peary himself will join the expedition when the ship sails

from Sydney. Both he and Mrs. Peary were with the President at lunch Tuesday.

At Stonybrook Farm, near Hammondsport, N. Y., on the 4th, Glenn H. Curtiss in his aeroplane June Bug won the Scientific American trophy by sailing one kilometer in 1 minute and 15 seconds, traveling most of the way about twenty feet from the ground. It was the first official test of an aeroplane flight in this country, officials of the New York Aero Club assisting representatives of the Scientific American in taking the time. On the following day Curtiss demonstrated that he could sail his ship about in a circle so as to return toward the starting point. Thousands of spectators were present, special trains having run to the scene.

The international balloon race, in which nine balloons started from Chicago on the 4th, was won by the Fielding-San Antonio balloon, which alighted at West Shefford, Quebec, 325 miles away, in 24 hours and 42 minutes. All the other balloons had trouble in crossing the Great Lakes, and several of the occupants had narrow escapes from drowning.

Twice during the week has Count Zepelin demonstrated the power and air-navigating quality of his big airship in voyages over Lake Constance. The second time he, with a crew of fourteen men, sailed continuously for twelve hours at an average speed of thirty-four miles an hour and passing over most of northern Switzerland. At all times the ship was under perfect control, turning, rising, descending at will and sailing either with or against the wind. The distance covered was 225 miles.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A compilation of press reports of accidents on the Fourth of July shows that 72 persons were killed and 2,736 were injured.

Rear Admiral C. M. Thomas, who commanded part of the fleet in the voyage to the Pacific, died at San Francisco July 3.

Joel Chandler Harris, better known as "Uncle Remus," died at his Atlanta home July 3.

The annual convention of the National Educational Association at Cleveland, was attended by thousands of teachers from all parts of the country. A popular feature of the first day was the spelling match in which teams of pupils from different cities contested with a list of 500 selected words. The Cleveland team won and a 14-year-old colored girl was the champion with a perfect score. Her name is Marie Bolden. Another girl, Mae Thursty, of the Pittsburg team, also had a perfect score, but her team ranked second in the contest. New Orleans was third and Erie fourth. The Cleveland schools had challenged the schools of the country. A movement was started among the teachers to have the federal government take a larger part in the educational affairs of the nation.

The phonographed sermon has arrived at last. The Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago (Unitarian), is one of several ministers in that city who have arranged to have phonograph records of their sermons in use while they are away on their summer vacations.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES.

A jobbing carpenter with shop and cheap rent would like to meet a comrade who has some small or cheap article that could be put together in shop to fill up his time, or would buy outright some new device. Address N. L. C., Bureau of Exchange, The Socialist, 6 Park Place, N. Y. City.

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From the date of this issue of The Socialist the price of a single subscription to new subscribers is to be \$1.00; but this does not mean that the present subscribers will be asked to renew at that figure. In view of the loyal support given by this "old guard" of The Worker and New York Socialist it has been decided to give all present subscribers the privilege of renewing at the same rate as formerly by offering to send The Socialist two years for \$1.00.

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ONE ASPECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

BY HILDEGARDE HAWTHORNE.

A somewhat critical situation is apparent from the Socialist viewpoint as regards the question of the suffrage for women. Naturally the enfranchisement of women is inherent in Socialism and will assuredly follow the establishment of a Socialistic form of government, if it does not precede it. It is this very question of precedence, however, which contains an element of danger, and it is this especial danger to which I desire to call the attention of the thoughtful woman Socialist.

It is beyond a doubt that, taken as a whole, women are far more conservative than men, more doubtful of any change, more desirous of maintaining the status quo of whatever state they inhabit. This is the general rule, for all its many and shining exceptions. In spite of the fact that Socialism would help women even more powerfully than men to realize their finest development, the propaganda among women is pushed far more slowly than among men, and with more difficulty. To be sure the same conservative that keeps her from embracing Socialism will also, and has also, kept her from desiring the ballot. But if, as seems most likely, the ballot is forced upon her by her more adventurous sisters, as well as by the conclusion of men that they have absolutely no right, under the economic conditions in which so many women live, of keeping it from her, if she thus achieves largely against her will the power to vote, what result will her ballot have upon the Socialist ticket?

The great body of women would, if they were enfranchised, undoubtedly consider it their duty to vote, and with most women duty is a very moving force. A great many women would vote the same ticket voted by their fathers and husbands. But there are

numbers of women who are utterly unattached, whose lives are independent of men, who live in varying stages of luxury and penury, work and idleness, and who, whether because of church influence or early training, are iron-bound conservatives. All this immense body of voters—and it is immense—would be thrown against the advance of Socialism. It is true that the wider relations with life which the possession of the vote might entail would bring woman out of the narrowness which is hers at present, but this would be a slow process, infinitely slower than under achieved Socialism. It is more probable that, with the actual power bestowed upon her with the ballot, she will succeed in indefinitely postponing the advent of the Social Revolution.

To a great extent the agitation for woman suffrage is in the hands of Socialist women, who naturally perceive that it is an important step toward a freer and better developed life. In fact, many Socialist women devote themselves to furthering the suffrage at the expense of all other propaganda work. And the question I want them seriously to consider is just this—whether it is wise to push this matter of the vote ahead of Socialism as a whole? Whether it is not wiser to direct our efforts to the extension of economic training, to the clearer understanding of what Socialism and its proposed program are, to the broadening of the understanding and sympathies of the vast numbers of conservative women and to influencing the coming generation through school and home? The suffrage is sure to arrive; but the cause of Socialism will be hindered rather than helped by its advent unless we succeed in keeping our Socialist propaganda just a little in advance of the woman's vote.

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The National Executive Committee meets at headquarters in Chicago on July 10.

The Socialists of Texas will meet in mass state convention at Waco on August 11.

The Arkansas Socialist platform contains the following plank: "Resolved, That we believe and recognize the fact that one of the most sinful and degrading blots on humanity and one of man's worst enemies is the present saloon. We believe in protecting every American home from the ruin that the saloon brings and will do all in our power to crush out the traffic in intoxicating liquors by removing all profit."

National Organizer J. L. Fitts, at Laurinsburg, N. C., was called upon by a committee of "good" citizens and informed that it would be healthy for him to leave town the next morning. They explained that they did not want the Socialist doctrine taught among the "ignorant" people of the neighboring mill district.

S. J. Grier, local organizer of Fort Collins, Col., having been arrested for street speaking, was released upon habeas corpus proceedings, and at the hearing the district judge discharged the prisoner and declared the city ordinance void.

H. G. Terllaner, state secretary of Tennessee, reports that they have broken all records in the sale of dues stamps and organized six new locals during the month of June.

The state convention of Michigan, which was announced for July 4, has been postponed until a later date to conform to the provisions of the state primary law.

The National Committee has voted for the publication of two leaflets, one giving the instances in which state or federal troops have been used against strikers and indicating the party and the officials responsible in each case, the other dealing with the Tobacco Trust and the Night Riders.

National Committeeman Schwartz of Pennsylvania has offered three motions—one disapproving the action of the N. E. C. in sending out the old constitution with the new for referendum, and instructing the national secretary to send out new ballots with only the acts of the national convention; the second providing for the publication of a leaflet on the injunction record of William H. Taft; and the third providing for the withdrawal of G. C. Porter as national organizer from the state of Nebraska.

National organizers are in the field as follows: G. Bertelli (Italian), in Indian and Ohio; J. H. Brower, North Dakota; J. W. Brown, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma; T. L. Bule, Idaho; F. H. Bryant and W. R. Gaylord, Oklahoma; H. D. Brown and J. S. Ingalls, Minnesota; John Collins, Colorado; H. H. Caldwell, Iowa; Phil Callery, Indiana; J. L. Fitts, Tennessee; G. H. Goebel, North Carolina and Georgia; G. R. Kirkpatrick, New Jersey; Ralph Korngold, Illinois; T. J. Lewis, Guy E. Miller, C. H. Pierce and M. W. Wilkins, New York; Lena Morrow Lewis, Nevada; John Molek (Slovenian), Michigan; W. McFall, New Hampshire; G. C. Porter, Nebraska; S. W. Rose, Mississippi; W. A. Toole, Pennsylvania; James Williams, Michigan; D. A. White, Iowa and Minnesota; G. W. Woodbey, Maryland.

The national secretary's financial report for June shows receipts of \$2,532.23, expenditures of \$4,261.36, and a balance of \$538.98, as against \$2,207.71 at the end of May. Of the receipts, \$1,865.65 was for dues. The largest items of expenditure were: Office salaries, \$834; speakers, \$1,002.40; literature, \$416.25; N. E. C. meeting, \$129.50; express, freight, postage, telegraph and telephone, \$390.51; office equipment, \$272.41; rent, \$100.

GOSSIP FROM AN OHIO AGITATOR.

By ISAAC COWEN.

I have been out a little over two weeks, spoke twelve times in as many different cities or towns. I had meetings of all classes of workers, including farmers. It is simply wonderful how eager the people are to listen; they take in every word. The change that has taken place in these years since I crossed the state as candidate for governor (of Ohio) is simply marvellous. At that time they would ask all kinds of foolish questions—don't hear them now. The young men are interested, trailing men who hasten to

THE SERF AND THE WAGE EARNER.

By JOHN R. McMAHON.

How much better off is a free wage earner to-day than was a serf in the middle ages?

"The fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English laborer," says Therold Rogers, an eminent authority. "If we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessaries of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time was food so cheap. * * * Nor, as I have already observed, were the hours long. It is plain that the day was one of eight hours. * * * There is every reason to fear it is the case that there is collected a population in our great towns whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the middle ages and the meanest drudges of the mediaeval cities. The arm of the law is strong enough to keep them under. * * * It is no wonder that workingmen have no great trust in government by party, for the two great historical parties have fleeced and ground them down with impartial persistence."

Also there were no panics, industrial depressions or periods of unemployment in the middle ages.

Yet when a Socialist talks about wage slavery you know he is talking nonsense and when an old party politician whoops it up about the benefits of capitalistic progress, civilization and so forth, you know he is speaking the gospel truth.

WISCONSIN NOTES.

Harvey Dee Brown, the Socialist candidate for governor, is now making a campaign through Wisconsin with the most cheering results. In many places he has organized new branches and everywhere he has been received by enthusiastic audiences. From the little city of Mellen, where a Socialist speech had never been made before, Comrade Brown writes: "The city hall was packed, and although the comrades had arranged to pay for it, the mayor sent word to them that they might have it free of charge. The whole city seemed interested, and the comrades whose names go on the charter are each of a different trade and fine fellows all." Socialist county conventions will be held within a few days in Douglas, Sheboygan, Waukesha and other counties.

Milwaukee comrades are now directing their energies towards making the state picnic the largest and best which Wisconsin has ever held. The picnic will be held in Pabst Park on July 13. Comrade Debs will be the speaker of the day. The United Socialist Singing Societies will render appropriate selections. Two thousand comrades from Chicago will attend, making the excursion by steamer.

the old agitator in the street. They want to share his seat on the train or electric cars next day, so as to get more information. They are thinking as never before.

I will be sixty years old next month and if some corporation doesn't make minced meat of me, I will live to see the commencement of the co-operative commonwealth in America. Our local Socialists don't seem to realize the tremendous forces that are working amongst the people. The soap-boxer can see it in the face of every listener. Every Socialist needs to wake up and be at it. It is true we have been hit hard, financially, with the rest, so that it becomes necessary to make up in active work what we have been deprived of in finance.

In Lima we loaded up a horse, who had crossed the country from East to West, with Socialist books, and told him to sell them on the road and buy something to eat with the money. There are 1,500,000 of them hitting the cars. Every train, East or West, is loaded with tramps, and if we could give some of them books to sell, what propaganda we could carry on! Let us use the victims of the system to destroy the system. It can be done. I have met many of these unfortunates who were only too glad to sell Socialist literature. Every local ought to do this and thereby show the enemy that they cannot suppress our movement by striking at our press.