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IS A SCRUBWOMAN WORTH LESS THAN AN ADMIRAL?

The New York "Sun" is seriously disturbed over the inroads that Socialism is making in Great Britain, as illustrated by the passage of a Trades Disputes Law which prevents the courts from levying damages in favor of employers upon the property of the labor unions and their members indiscriminately for unlawful acts committed by some members of the unions, an Old-Age Pension Law which gives every workingman or woman past a certain age a small stipend to keep him or her from the poorhouse, and a strict Employers' Liability Law. We are delighted to see the "Sun" vexed in spirit. What the "Sun" cries out against is pretty surely a good thing for the working people.

The particular occasion for the latest outburst of indignation on the part of the "Sun" is a decision rendered under the Employers' Liability Law and affirmed by the Court of Appeals, according to which a scrubwoman whose hand was hurt at her work, with the result that blood-poisoning set in and she entirely lost the use of the hand, will get from her employer a weekly payment of seven shillings for the rest of her life.

If the plaintiff in this case had been a man and an officer in the King's service, and had lost a hand in the attempt to subjugate some African or Asiatic peoples to the yoke of the English capitalists, of course all the spokesmen of capitalism the world over, the New York "Sun" included, would have agreed that \$1.75 a week for the rest of his life was no more than his due. But it happens that the person injured is a woman, a working woman, a badly paid working woman, doing very useful and necessary labor and living very poorly by it while she enjoyed the use of her two hands. For such a person, having been disabled at her work (to say nothing of the pain she has endured), to be awarded such a munificent allowance—the "Sun" finds it contrary to all the principles of Anglo-Saxon liberty and solemnly warns the people of the United States to guard against the advances of a party which would put such a valuation on scrubwomen's lives.

We frankly assure the "Sun" that we think a great deal more of a scrubwoman than we do of a general or an admiral, and that the only fault we have to find with the British law and the judgment rendered under it is that the relief awarded to the woman is altogether too low. And we hope for the time when the Socialist party will be strong enough to enact laws and to compel the courts to apply them such as will make the "Sun" editor's hair stand up still more indignantly than it does now.

"The railway employees have more at stake than the owners and are just as capable of deciding for themselves and taking care of their own interests," says Chairman Yoakum of the Santa Fe System. Yes, if they will only learn to think together for themselves instead of letting men of the Sargent-Arthur type transplant the owners' thoughts into their brains. And they will, in time—with unemployment to spur their wits.

"The Republican party," says Candidate Sherman, "believes in the equality of all men before the law; believes in granting labor's every request that does not seek to accord rights to one man denied to another. Fair-minded labor asks no more and no less, and approves the record of the Republican party because of that party's acts."

Whether or not labor—that is, the majority of the workingmen voters—approves the record of the Republican party remains to be

seen when the vote is counted. By the result we shall judge, not the fair-mindedness of labor—that, in general, is not open to question—but the open-mindedness, the self-reliance, the self-respect and self-confidence of the working class.

But Mr. Sherman's statement of the position of the Republican party, viewed in the light of that party's record, is **ABSOLUTELY FALSE**.

The Republican party has sustained one of its members—Governor Peabody of Colorado—in declaring martial law, suspending the writ of habeas corpus, establishing a military dictatorship paid for by the Mine Owners' Association, and setting the courts at defiance when some of the judges sought to give a fair trial to striking workmen. And through its judges, its national leader and the approval of its press all over the country, it sustained this military dictatorship in arresting workmen without warrant, imprisoning them without trial, and deporting many of them from the state under threat of summary hanging if they dared to return.

The Republican party has sustained Peabody's successor, Governor McDonald, in permitting workmen accused by capitalists to be arrested at midnight, refused a chance to consult counsel or to see their families, and spirited away to a place where the authorities had declared that they would never be allowed to go out alive.

The boss of the Republican party, to whom Sherman and his colleague Taft swear allegiance, has used all the influence of his great office to influence the fate of these men while they were on trial for their lives and to procure their conviction. And when three juries in succession declared these men innocent, the Republican party, through its press and all its spokesmen, has sought to conceal the guilt of the persecutors by inventing new slanders against the persecuted men.

Will Mr. Sherman dare to deny any of these recorded facts? Will he seek to justify them? Will he attempt to prove that these deeds are consistent with the principle of equality for all before the law? To do it, he must be able to cite **AT LEAST ONE SINGLE CASE** where his party has used similar drastic methods against capitalists accused of crime.

WE CHALLENGE YOU, MR. SHERMAN. DARE YOU ATTEMPT A REPLY?

ONLY A SUGGESTION BUT IT IS WORTH THINKING OUT.

Criticizing the Democratic proposition for a guarantee fund for payment of the depositors of insolvent banks, President Van Cleave of the National Association of Manufacturers says that "it would penalize the honest and careful banker for the benefit of the banker who is dishonest and reckless." We appreciate even crumbs of truth from such a source. Mr. Van Cleave's admission that there ARE dishonest bankers is worthy of record. We thought he considered all bankers as wholly sanctified and sinless.

But, incidentally, does not all insurance, according to his method of reasoning, penalize some for the benefit of others? Does not life insurance penalize the healthy and the prudent for the benefit of the sickly and the careless? When a physician can insure himself against damages for malpractice, does it not penalize the skilful doctor for the benefit of the unskilful one? When owners of automobiles can insure themselves against damages for running over pedestrians, does not that penalize the careful automobilist for the benefit of the reckless one? When the manufacturers composing Mr. Van Cleave's association can insure themselves against damages to employees injured in their shops, does not that penalize the exceptional conscientious employer for the benefit of the one who cares

only for profits and nothing for the safety of his workmen? When business men can insure themselves against defalcation or embezzlement by their clerks and cashiers, does not that penalize the business man who uses good judgment in choosing his employees for the benefit of the one who is a poor judge of men or who allows his business to be run too loosely?

In fact, IS NOT ALL INSURANCE AN ESSENTIALLY COMMUNISTIC INSTITUTION—more or less modified, indeed, but yet always tending to minimize that individual responsibility which, according to the defenders of capitalism, is so necessary to keep society from degenerating? And yet there are few, even of the hardest-headed business men, who would favor the restriction of the insurance system, in so far as it helps in the conduct of profitable business.

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PARASITES WANT WAR WITH JAPAN.

The New York "Herald" has begun a campaign in favor of "a trade alliance between the United States and China on the ground that such action is necessary to defeat Japan in her reported design of 'Asia for the Japanese.'" It declares

that "American commerce will be ruined if some such action is not taken" and regrets that "the natural timidity of great financial interests prevents approval of anything stronger than a trade alliance"—in other words, that it hardly dares as yet to come out openly for an aggressive war against Japan.

A year ago the "Herald" tried hard to stir up public sentiment for a Japanese war, and the sending of the fleet on its costly and useless trip around the world was generally recognized as part of the plan of which the "Herald" was the most outspoken advocate. The pretense was then made that it would be necessary to make war on the other side of the Pacific in order to prevent Japan from flooding this country with her immigrant laborers. That pretext was disposed of, and the Bennett-Romanoff organ had to restrain its belligerent spirit for a while. But the forerunners of war are still at work, and President Roosevelt's recent speech about the need for a great navy, with his demagogic talk about the dangers of immigration, indicates that the "Herald" is not alone in the evil work. In their different ways, Mr. Hearst's "American" and the "Times" (which the law forbids us to speak of as Mr. Belmont's) are doing their part to lay the fuse for an explosion.

Why this sudden solicitude for a trade alliance with China? Has Bennett fallen in love with the Chinese people, and is he inspired by a burning desire to save them from Japanese domination and, as he says, to "compel them to walk in the paths of progress" out of pure and disinterested devotion to humanity? If anyone thinks so, he has another guess coming as to the character of James Gordon Bennett and his backers. Indeed, side by side with such hypocritical professions, appear in the columns of the "Herald" pretty frank admissions that the whole question is one of business interests and that these interests would be ready enough to spill the blood of white men and brown men in order to assure themselves a bigger share of the profits to be got in Eastern Asia.

It is a sinister game that is being played in the diplomatic cabinets of Europe and the United States these days—and, back of them, in the private offices of the greatest financial and commercial combinations of both continents.

Eight years ago, when the Boers were struggling against British conquest in South Africa and a dozen nations had sent troops to China to suppress the Boxer rebellion which foreign exploitation had provoked, Senator Chauncey M. Depew admitted the truth of the Socialist explanation of all modern wars when he said: "Why this hurrying of armies to and fro? Why this battering at the gates of Peking? It is because all the civilized nations are producing more than they can consume. In the United States we are producing every year two billion dollars' worth more goods than we can use. We must have foreign markets or our factories must close."

To-day, with a world-wide economic crisis upon us, the capitalists of Europe and this country find themselves facing in its acutest form the eternal problem of capitalism, How to dispose profitably of a surplus of products which cannot be sold at home because the producing masses get only enough wages to buy a third or a quarter of the goods their labor has created?

As a result of the war with Russia in 1904-'05, Japan, the youngest competitor among the capitalist nations, got an advantageous position for controlling trade and the development of industry in the vast field of China, Korea, and Manchuria. American intervention just at the critical moment (inspired by the Rothschild-Rockefeller alliance, holders of Russian bonds and of valuable concessions in the Far East) prevented the Japanese from realizing the full fruits of victory; but, much as she was compelled to yield, Japan has been able to hold a leading place in the market of Eastern Asia.

The result of this, as well as of the social unrest in Russia, Turkey, Persia, and India, has been to bring about a realignment of the great political powers of the West, controlled as they are by financial, commercial, and industrial interests. England, according to historic tradition the opponent of Russian aggressions, has united with the Autocracy and with the Bourse-ridden French Republic in an attempt to keep Eastern Europe in stagnation and to preserve all Asia as a field for commercial and colonial exploitation by the capitalist powers. And now the attempt is being made to drag the United States into the same Unholy Alliance.

There is only one thing that can put an end to war by putting an end to the causes of war. That thing is the socializing of the means of production, doing away with the struggle to sell goods for the profit of the non-producers in a competitive market and guaranteeing to the workers of any nation which adopts this measure the opportunity to work and to enjoy the whole product of their labor. When the United States becomes a Socialist Commonwealth, it will be free forever from the specter of hard times, free from the necessity of competing either in the commodity market or in the labor market.

Pending the arrival of that happy time, it is the duty as it is the interest of all honest workmen, and of all others who care for humanity and civilization, to do all in their power to frustrate the schemes by which the politicians would plunge the peoples into enterprises of national burglary and wholesale murder under the pretense of patriotism and for the profit of the parasitic classes.

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It is a mistake to speak of the capitalist as "giving employment" to so-and-so many workingmen. The fact is that so-and-so many workingmen are giving a good living to the capitalist.

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Everybody now honors the memory of the men who dared to vote for the abolition of chattel slavery when the Abolitionists were still a small and weak party, and who thus forced others to recognize the question as the leading issue in the politics of the time.

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The law means whatever the judge says it means. And then, if another judge says it means something else, it does mean something else. Wherefore, it is necessary to vote for judges to uphold, as well as for legislators to enact, such laws as the voters desire.

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"Each for all and all for each" is both the noblest ideal and the most practical rule of conduct for any labor organization.

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President Eliot of Harvard says that "Socialism hasn't a chance in this country." This is the same President Eliot who said a few years ago that "The scab is a high type of the American hero."

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Most of the spokesmen of capitalism are shrewd and tactful enough to maintain a decent appearance of respect for law, humanity, intelligence, honesty, and other things which in their hearts they despise, because they know that the continuance of their power depends upon the tolerance of the masses and that it is prudent to suppress shocking truths and cultivate soothing delusions. But, in the midst of these polished pretenders, the capitalist class has always, among its own members or its chosen servants, some "enfant terrible" who thoughtlessly or insolently blurts out the truth and helps to open people's eyes.

Such was old Vanderbilt, with his "The people be damned!" Such was Dick Croker, with his "I'm working for my own pocket all the time!" Such was Sherman Bell, with his "To hell with the Constitution!"

Such, too, is "Fingy" Conners, the millionaire labor-skinner of the Great Lake ports, partner with Charles Murphy in the proprietorship of the Democratic party of New York, and now bosom friend of the "Peerless" Bryan. We do not credit Conners with exceptional open-mindedness, but only with coarse brutality; but one recent saying of his is so striking a confutation of the pretenses of capitalism that we could almost forgive "Fingy" a few of his sins for having uttered it.

When asked whether he did not regret his lack of education, Conners replied:

"NAW. WHAT DO I WANT EDUCATION FOR? I CAN HIRE ALL THE BRAINS I NEED FOR \$20 A WEEK. IT'S AS CHEAP AS DIRT."

When Socialists say that labor-power (including all a man's strength and skill and knowledge which may be applied in doing the useful work of the world) is reduced by the capitalist system into a mere commodity, on the same plane with pig-iron and potatoes—when we SOCIALISTS state that fact, we are denounced as "crass

materialists." We are even accused of insulting the workingman, of ignoring his intellectual and spiritual nature. And we are told that "brains win," that it is superior ability that brings men to the top in the existing system, that the reason the poor are poor is because they are ignorant and stupid.

But to give the lie to these capitalist spokesmen, here comes one of themselves, one of the industrial and political masters of the nation, one who has forced his way to the top, striking down or stabbing in the back all who stood in his way and making their prostrate bodies stepping-stones to his triumph—here comes this tactless brute and confounds the Mallocks and Eliots and Roosevelts with the defiant declaration of the fact that not only the labor-power of the common mechanic, but even the ability of the "brain worker" is just a commodity in the market, to be bought and used by the capitalists for their own profit and glory—a commodity "cheap as dirt."

"Fingy," though you never imagined you were doing a good deed when you said that, yet we hope the Recording Angel may credit it to you in his big book and that it may save you a year in purgatory. Heaven knows you will need all the credits you can get on that ledger!

Yes, brains are "as cheap as dirt" and as useless to the wage-workers who possess them, until they have learned that, besides selling them in the market for a living wage, they may also use them for themselves, and by using them put an end to the system which enthrones a Conners and keeps his intellectual and moral superiors in wage-slavery.

A lot of them are learning, and "Fingy's" words may help to teach others the lesson.

The workingman owes neither gratitude nor loyalty to his boss. The one who acts upon such false motives is very likely to fail in the duty of mutual aid he owes to his fellow workers.

The workingman who lets his boss know that he fears him is just the man the boss will bully and tyrannize over.

The New York World of August 12 devotes a column and a quarter of its editorial space (an unusual space for that paper to devote to any subject) to a discussion of "The Labor Unions and Politics." It records a number of facts which, to our regret and to the shame of the working class, we have to admit to be true.

We quote:

"Not one voter in seven belongs to any labor organization. There are in the United States more Odd Fellows and Free Masons than members of the American Federation of Labor, the Knights of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World and all the unaffiliated unions. * * * The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Typographical Union, the anthracite coal miners, and the building trades unions are almost the only important cases where the organized bodies include a majority of the men. * * * In the factories of the United States there were employed in 1905, 5,470,321 wage-earners and 519,751 salary drawers. Of the wage-earners 1,065,884 were women, 159,899 were children, and less than 4,000,000 were voters. Of these not a quarter belonged to any trade union. * * * Organized labor has never cast its vote in block. With isolated exceptions, its members, no more than the Knights of Pythias or the Odd Fellows or the Maccabees, cast their votes as an organization. * * * None of the national unions has taken united political action. Members of labor organizations have hitherto been more prone to split their vote than the members of business organizations. * * * However obedient to orders to strike, however submissive to direction in trade matters, the members of labor organizations, which more than members of chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and merchants' and manufacturers' associations, have refused to take part in politics as a body."

We are sorry to have to admit that all this is true. It is a fact that most of the wage-workers of the country do not as yet belong to any union. The Socialist party, through its press, through its speakers, and by every means, urges all workingmen and all working women to join the unions; it does not assume to advise what union they should join, whether those organized on craft lines and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or those organized on industrial lines and affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World; that is a question for them to decide, according to the circumstances of their trade and their locality; but in any case we may expect that their experience in the labor movement will teach them to work for closer organization within each trade and among the several trades. The first thing is to get them into the organized labor movement.

It is also true, we regret to admit, that most of the wage-workers—and even most of the organized wage-workers—do not vote together as workingmen, but divide their votes among the parties of the capitalist class. The Socialist party exists for the purpose of organizing these workingmen upon the political field as effectively as their exploiters are already organized by the Republican and Democratic parties; to put forward a platform as truly representing the

interests of the workers as the Republican and Democratic platforms represent the interests of the great capitalists and the small capitalists; to nominate candidates as true to the workers as Messrs. Taft and Sherman and Messrs. Bryan and Kern are true to the big monopolists and the little profit-takers; and to carry on a campaign, by the press, by the distribution of literature, and by word of mouth, in the unions and out of the unions, on the streets, in the tenements, and wherever it can reach the working people, to educate them, not to accept Socialist ideas ready made, as they have in the past accepted Republican and Democratic ideas, but, above all, to think for themselves about the conditions confronting them, and to decide for themselves which party actually represents their interests.

Yes, we have to admit that most of the working people have not yet learned to belong to a labor union, and that most of those who have learned that elementary lesson have not yet learned to vote as they strike, for their class.

But, small as is the beginning which we have made, it is ENOUGH TO ALARM THE CAPITALIST CLASS—enough to COMPEL all three of the capitalist parties to make a bid for the labor vote this year; enough to COMPEL the capitalist newspapers to devote column after column of space to the discussion of what this labor vote is going to amount to.

Four years ago we were able to say that two million of the working people of the nation had affiliated themselves with labor unions, and that over four hundred thousand had cast their votes for Socialism. November will tell us how much we have gained on that record. And then—WE SHALL GO ON WITH OUR WORK. We shall go on BUILDING UP THE LABOR UNIONS for the fight on the economic field, the fight to maintain rates of wages and to reduce the hours of labor. We shall go on BUILDING UP THE SOCIALIST PARTY for the fight on the political field, the fight to capture the powers of city and State and nation to help the unions in their struggle for the amelioration of the conditions of labor and to hasten the day when the working class shall rule and, by abolishing the capitalist class, put an end to class rule and class conflict and usher in the brotherhood of man as a fact, which has so long been an iridescent dream.

A Teheran dispatch says: "The news of the granting of a Turkish constitution has greatly upset the Shah's Camarilla, whose intentions are to completely abolish the constitution in Persia." This confirms the prediction we made immediately upon the Sultan's surrender to the demands of the Turkish people, that the beneficial results would extend far beyond the Turkish Empire. In weakening the Shah and adding strength to the progressive forces in Persia it strikes a telling blow against the Anglo-Franco-Russian Unholy Alliance which had hoped to check the revolutionary tendencies and maintain the status quo throughout Eastern Europe and Western and Central Asia.

President Eliot of Harvard says that "Socialism hasn't a chance in this country." Then what are its opponents making such a fuss over? Why is Eliot fulminating against it, instead of devoting his attention to evils which have a very real existence? Why is Creelman well paid for writing abusive articles against it? Why are the employers' organizations carrying on an expensive propaganda against it? Why does even the President of the United States think it necessary to make speeches and write messages against Socialism, if Socialism hasn't a chance in this country?

The vast superiority of the propertied classes over the laborers in intelligence, courtesy, and fair-mindedness is proven by the fact that whenever the woman suffrage advocates appear in Wall street they are pelted with apple cores, cakes of office soap, and other convenient missiles from the brokers' windows, while on the poor streets of the East Side and the West Side they almost always get a respectful hearing.

Superintendent Maxwell reports that at the closing of the school year, May 31, there were 60,250 pupils on part time for lack of adequate school buildings in New York City. And there is every prospect that the condition will be much worse when the schools open in September. This state of affairs has prevailed for many years, under the Republican Strong administration, the Tammany Van Wyck administration, the Reform Low administration, and the Democratic McClellan administration alike.

The reason for it is simple: both the old parties represent the propertied interests, which object to the levying of taxes for purposes so unprofitable to them as the education of the children of the people.

WE ARE STILL SMALL,
BUT
WE ARE GROWING FAST.

A BURNING DISGRACE
TO THE
VOTERS OF NEW YORK.

The evil will undoubtedly continue so long as the masses continue to put power into the hands of these capitalist parties.

It is a burning disgrace to the richest city of the New World that tens of thousands of its children should be denied an opportunity for education. And the shame rests most of all upon the workingmen who, forgetting the interests of their own class and even of their own sons and daughters, have cast their votes again and again for politicians who treat them with contempt and are faithful only to the capitalist class.

When the New York "Herald" begins to agitate for an "alliance with China" we recognize the hand of the Russian bureaucracy and the bankers of Paris, London, and New York laying the fuse for a war with Japan. Will American workingmen again be foolish enough to risk their own lives and shed the blood of their brothers of another land for the profit of the international capitalist gang?

The citizens of Springfield, Ill., have done their best to maintain the reputation of the United States as the most lawless country in the civilized world. And they haven't the excuse which the Jew-baiting Russians have of being totally uneducated and living under a despotic government.

Capitalism knows no country and respects no flag. The same men who are now scheming for a war with Japan would be perfectly willing to make profits by selling guns and armor-plate to the Japanese government.

The only way to avoid throwing your vote away is to vote for what you want instead of gratifying the capitalist politicians by voting for a choice of evils.

The union man who neglects to attend union meetings, who neglects to inform himself and think for himself about the labor question, who follows leaders instead of advocating principles, has no right to complain if labor leaders sometimes go wrong. The rank and file can always control their leaders if they will use their own brains.

SHALL WE PLAY BLOODHOUND FOR THE CZAR?

The order of United States Commissioner Shields granting the request of the Russian government for the extradition of Jan Janoff Pouren violates all the traditions of which this country has the most right to be proud and degrades the government of the United States in the eyes of the civilized world. It has been the boast of patriotic Americans—and one of the boasts which they could justly make—that here the oppressed of all nations could find a refuge, that here the victims of political persecution were safe from the vengeance of despots, that those who vainly struggled in other lands for such liberties as we already enjoy would here be protected from the vengeance of tyrants and welcomed as fit citizens of a republic whose founders had been like them proscribed as rebels and hounded as traitors because they resisted tyranny.

It was the last Democratic President, Grover Cleveland of un-honored memory, who first concluded a treaty by which this government undertook to return refugees claimed by the Russian Czar. That treaty was denounced by all the best elements of all parties at the time when it was signed. It has remained for an official of President Roosevelt's administration first to put it into effect by trying to send back to the torture-chambers of the Romanoffs a political refugee.

When Russia has established a constitutional government; when the Czar has put into effect the promises of October, 1905, which he has thus far so brazenly violated; when the use of torture in Russian prisons has been abolished; when jury trial and habeas corpus and the other safeguards of the accused familiar in all civilized lands have been established—then it will be time for the United States to consider the question of returning to Russia for trial men who are alleged to have violated the Russian laws. Till then, the infamies of Russian administration and legal practice being well known, every request for extradition ought to be treated with contempt.

We cannot believe that the attempt to debase the United States into a bloodhound for the Autocracy will succeed. The defense will resist the execution of the shameful order by all the means in their power. And surely public opinion will be aroused and will support them in their fight.

Governor Comer of Alabama, Bryanite Democrat, threatens to declare martial law in order to break the strike of the mine workers and help the mine owners force a reduction of wages. Governor Peabody of Colorado, Roosevelt Republican, set the example which

Comer is eager to follow. And Bryan had no more to say than Roosevelt in criticism of that course in Colorado in 1903 and 1904, and neither of them will say a word against its application in Alabama in 1908. The question is, What will the workingmen of the nation say to the parties who commit and condone such crimes against the working class?

If Henry Ward Beecher, who was a brave and manly man, whatever his faults, can look down at his old pulpit and see the snobbish Hillis maligning the labor movement in order to please the rich men who wine and dine him, how the old preacher must long to come back to Brooklyn for one more good fight.

THE FILIPINOS JOIN IN THE - WORLD MOVEMENT.

"One swallow does not make a summer." But, on the other hand, "Straw show which way the wind blows." So we find much satisfaction in learning of the election of Simon Villa and Ramon Diokno to the Municipal Council of Manila, against the violent opposition of the Spanish and American propertied classes.

Villa is chiefly notable as a Filipino Nationalist, hating the present American domination as heartily as he hated the Spanish domination before 1898. This is good, so far as it goes. It is to the interest of the Filipinos that they should have an opportunity to work out their own destinies; and it is equally to the interest of the people of America, excepting only the ruling and exploiting classes, that this country should not be saddled with the influence of a colonial system such as that which curses the people of England, Belgium, Holland, France and Germany.

But the election of Diokno is still more encouraging. For Diokno is not only a Filipino Nationalist; he is also a labor agitator—a "notorious labor agitator," our capitalist contemporaries say, with their instinctive hatred for anything which savors of independent thought and action by the workers.

The world does move, as Galileo remarked four hundred years ago. In the not very remote past, when the lamented McKinley occupied the White House, the labor movement was but a small factor in the United States and other advanced countries, and we could not imagine it as existing in such places as the Philippine Islands, South Africa, or Japan. The election of a labor man to the Manila Council, only ten years after the war, strikingly illustrates the rapidity with which history is being made these days by the extension of capitalism to the most out-of-the-way corners of the earth, and the appearance, close on its heels, of the labor movement, which follows it as closely as shadow follows substance, as fatefully as harvest follows seedtime.

AND TURKEY, TOO, SENDS GOOD NEWS.

Closely following upon the news of the election of a "notorious labor agitator" to the Municipal Council of Manila comes the report from Constantinople that "the new era of freedom in Turkey brought about by the promulgation of a constitution is producing symptoms of agitation among the working classes, and strikes for increased pay have already broken out among the dock laborers, tramway men, and employees of the tobacco factories."

The time is past when the winning of a constitution could be turned to the sole benefit of the middle classes and the workers counted on to trust implicitly in the wisdom and beneficence of their employers. Even in what we have considered semi-barbarous countries, the working people are awaking to a sense of their rights and their power and link together the ideals of political freedom and industrial freedom. They refuse to be satisfied with the constitutional forms of liberty in government while held under an autocratic rule in the shops and fields where they work.

Conditions in union cigar shops are not all they should be; but they are decidedly better in every way than in non-union shops. That is a reason why every friend of the labor movement should refuse to buy any cigar that does not come out of a box bearing the blue label of the Cigar Makers' International Union.

Capitalists always believe in arbitration where labor organizations are strong. When they think the odds are on their side, they stand upon the "sacred rights of property" and say "There is nothing to arbitrate."

Capital and Labor are brothers before election. After the first week in November, Brother Capital finds it very easy to forget the relationship.

REFORMS THAT DO NOT REFORM.

By CLARA G. STILLMAN.

Again and again in dealing with economic questions the capitalist newspapers unconsciously disclose the inadequacy of the capitalist system to remedy the evil conditions it creates. The demonstration of this truth should be the more convincing to the thoughtful reader for being unintentional. He is not being attacked by the arguments of the enthusiast, the eloquence of the agitator; it is the stern logic of facts that confronts him, and it confronts him so squarely that he cannot honestly evade it.

The Sun of Aug. 10 fulminates editorially against Senator Beveridge's Child Labor Law in general, and its operation in a particular case where it appears to the Sun to be peculiarly pernicious. The editorial reads as follows:

"Senator Beveridge, wherever he may be at present, is in a position to point with pride at the operation of the child labor law in Washington. That is where he attitudinized and gesticulated and released the floodgates of his vociferation and generally made himself preposterous and irritating for so long. That is where he can now contemplate the first fruits of the statute for which he labored so pestiferously.

"According to a Washington paper, one Henry Talbott, aged 50, a carpenter, employed by a railroad, dwells in a modest quarter of the city. He is an honest, hard-working man who receives \$2.70 a day for his services. He has a family to support, consisting of a wife and six children, an aged mother, two grandchildren and a widowed daughter-in-law. A very populous and ample fireside circle, one might say, to be maintained on \$2.70 a day. A really sensitive person may figure out the details for himself.

"Among Mr. Talbott's dependents is a bright, industrious boy named Theron, aged 13, who during the summer has been working in one of the office buildings, operating a telephone booth and doing odd jobs which in the aggregate bring him between \$3 and \$5 a week. He is an ambitious boy and expected to go to school next winter; and in addition to the money he gave his mother each week was saving up to buy his books. His work was light, wholesome, much better than playing in the streets, and besides he was contributing substantially to the family purse.

"This is the boy who was first turned out of his place and then, when he went back to run errands and do small chores in the hope of earning at least a part of his former sumptuous income, was arrested. Then a warrant was sworn out for the janitor of the building in which the boy worked rather than idle in the gutter, and thus at last the well fed authorities stood triumphant upon the execution of Senator Beveridge's intelligent and useful child labor law!

"Where is Senator Beveridge now? Disporting himself in cool places, no doubt, while the Talbotts skimp and starve in the glaring purlieus of Washington. But the law goes on and that is enough for him. He is vindicated, no matter what happens to foolish boys and their brothers and sisters and parents and assorted relatives. If the Senator has time to think of it he ought to be proud indeed."

Under the capitalist system the case of Henry Talbott is not in the least unusual. Parents do not send their children to work unless there is an urgent, economic reason for it, and it is obvious that when this part of their income is suddenly cut off they will feel keenly the lack of the sum, however small. And therefore it is also obvious that it is not only futile, but actually cruel to stop the child's labor without removing the condition which make that child's labor necessary for its own maintenance and for that of its family. Mr. Talbot is an honest, hard working man who receives \$2.70 a day for his services." Under Socialism Mr. Talbott would be receiving a good deal more than \$2.70 a day, for he would be RECEIVING all that he was EARNING, a considerable part of which, in the shape of profits, now

finds its way into the pockets of his employers. He would not, at the age of 50, be staggering under the superhuman burden of supporting on such a sum a family of eight children and four adults. His aged mother would be supported by her pension. His wife, relieved of the necessity of being cook, housemaid, slave, seamstress, wife and mother all at the same time, would be able to devote several hours a day to some form of labor adapted to her mental and physical capacity. Of his daughter-in-law the same would be true. He himself would be on the eve of receiving his own pension, and until that time would be protected against unemployment, illness and accident by government insurance. Remain the six children and two grandchildren, who could easily be supported by a moderate amount of honestly paid labor performed by three people.

Mr. Talbott's son Theron, who is bright and industrious, has been working in the summer in order to buy books for school. Under Socialism he would be expected to work AT his education, but not FOR it. He would be freely entitled to it, simply because he is a human being, full of endless possibilities of development in character, intellect, efficiency. Incidentally he was doing the work which some full-grown man out of a job and also with a family would, under present conditions, have been glad to accept. The pathos in the case of the man who is shoved out of his job by child labor is quite equal to that of the family which is driven a few stages closer to starvation by the prohibition of child labor. It is merely a question of taste which of the halves of this vicious circle one prefers.

But all this has not occurred to the Sun editor. Neither has it occurred to him that operating a telephone booth is not the most healthful thing that a boy could be doing in the summer-time. On the contrary, he thinks the work "light and wholesome." It is true that some kinds of work that are to-day performed by children are more unpleasant and more harmful, but the operation of a telephone booth where there are many calls invariably involves a nervous strain to which even adults have been known to succumb. Perhaps many will agree that it is better than "idling in the gutter." But why this alternative? Obviously because, under capitalism, the boy's so-called home—where there are twelve people, remember, each of whom can dispose of the princely sum of 22½ cents a day for rent, food, clothing, car fare, medicine, recreation and any other desirable luxury, and this only as long as the boy's father can work—will not be fit to live in, and in the summer-time at least he will very sensibly prefer the comparative comfort of the gutter. The writer of the Sun editorial takes this for granted quite simply. It does not strike him as at all out of the way. A boy may idle away his summer at his father's handsome country place, but he must not idle in the gutter. Socialists are quite ready to agree that the gutter is not the place for any human being if that is what is meant. Under Socialism the boy's parents would be able to devote some of the money which they are now contributing to the maintenance of other people's automobiles, yachts, art collections, camps in the Adirondacks, villas at Newport, mansions on Fifth avenue, titled foreign relatives and other necessities of life, to establishing a pleasant home of their own; and there would be besides plenty of places for him to stay in and plenty of things for him to do. The school would not cease its work during the summer, though its functions would be different from those it exercises in winter. There would be botanical, geographical and geological excursions. There would be gymnasiums, swimming pools, reading rooms, social rooms. There would be parks with public tennis courts. There would be trips to the country. There would be intellectual and athletic contests. The boy's parents being part owners and users of the social machinery of production would be entitled to a share for themselves and their family in the social treasure contained in schools, parks, libraries, etc. When

the boy had become a man he also would be required to do his share of useful work. As a child he would be expected only to learn and to grow.

It is perfectly clear just what the Sun is trying to accomplish in this editorial. It is conceived in the enlightened and altruistic spirit of the judge who decided that it was a base attack on individual liberty to limit women to a ten hour workday. It is filled with the tender humanitarian sentiment displayed by Hearst and Farley in their hypocritical commendation of the "little mothers." It utterly fails in its attempt to demonstrate the beauty and desirability of child labor, but it points out very successfully the futility of half-measures. But every improvement that the capitalist seeks to effect is a half-measure and therefore doomed to failure. He solves the housing question by tearing down a rickety tenement now and then and forcing the expropriated tenants to add their numbers to the overcrowded population of other tenements of the same sort. His solution of the problem of unemployment is the bread line. He "settles" labor troubles with the aid of the militia, the blacklist and the injunction. He is a sorry bungler. He may "attitudinize" and "gesticulate" and "labor pestiferously," he accomplishes little good, and much harm. The poor man's Hell is payed with the bad and the good intentions of the capitalist alike. And in the unfulfilled promise of every modern reform resides the certain prophecy of Socialism.

OUR WEAPON.

By JOHN D. W. BODFISH.

O Comrades, be not heedless of the course,
Which our exploiters would have us pursue;
Beware of the arbitrament of Force;
There they excel, and always work us rue.

Our cause is right; Might oftener is wrong;
Hence before Reason let us plead our case,
And tho' the years of waiting seem too long,
Justice, at length, we shall see in her place.

Aye, their indignities are hard to bear;
Their cruel slaughter of the young and old;
Their profanation of the good and fair;
Their deifying of the soul-vold gold.

Who with a spark of manhood left unquenched
But feels Revolt's hot surges thro' his roll,
As he beholds their arrogance entrenched,
Exaction from the workers' unearned toil?

Yet, Comrades, stay; their walls are built to stand
Brute Strength's attacks and storms of senseless steel.
The ballot is the weapon to our hand,
Effective, bloodless, bearing Reason's seal.

NOTHING DOING.

Photographer—
Madam, would you not like a picture of your husband taken with the cathode rays?

Mrs. Rounder—
Oh, no; I'm able to see through him quite well enough now, thanks.



UNQUALIFIED.

I asked one of the able lieutenants of the National Guard why he did not become a colonel. "A colonel," he gasped. "Why, bless your soul, I don't take a drink a month."—New York Press.

OFTEN OCCURS.

Briggs—It's too bad about Winkle and the girl he is engaged to. Neither of them is good enough for the other.

Griggs—What makes you think that?

Briggs—Well, I've just been talking the matter over with both families.

THE HEROES AT HOME.

By WALTER HURT.

The heroes march away from home when ordered to the front,
And stationed there they bravely bear the battle's sternest brunt;
And some live on, but more are gone where wars are never known,
But whether dead or maimed instead, each has received his own.
The plaudits of the populace reward the living braves—
As for the fallen, gracious flowers now garland deep their graves;
And Beauty gives their gallantry her favor's sweetest smile,
And tender tears upon their biers by love were lavished. While
Their splendid spirits live for aye within Valhalla's glory,
The story of their glory, told in War's triumphant tale,
Resounds through all the records ever written by the race,
And in the Pantheon of Time their names are given place.

But there are others, all unknown, whose deeds are full as brave,
For whom no human voice shall sound a strong, victorious stave;
They have not stared Death in the face upon a stormy main,
Nor with a soldier's fearless grace have trod a sanguine plain,
But in their bloodless battles they have shown a spirit quite
As high and as heroic as the fallen in the fight
Whose courage fired their comrades 'midst the carnage of the field,
And through its length afforded strength that would not let them yield.

These men have joined no regiment in distant lands to roam,
They are the unsung conquerors—the heroes here at home.

In shops they shed, not drops of red, but pallid sweat of pain;
They strive and starve and suffer for a greedy master's gain;
They woo with toil the stubborn soil and win its treasure fair;
In mines they toil nor crave the spoil that is the warrior's share;
For, grim and gaunt, the wolf of Want they fight in fierce defense

Of homes that wraiths of hunger haunt with vengefulness intense,
And sick or strong they strain along nor weep above their work,
For wage means life to child and wife with never a chance to shirk,
Upon their flinching flanks they feel the driver's cruel goad,
What time they bend their backs and reel beneath the crushing load
Of labor that is poorly paid, nor get a thought of thanks

For faithful service rendered by the privates in the ranks
Of this great industrial army that is groaning for relief
From the tyranny of toiling to enrich an idle thief.

These are the voiceless victors, grander than the lords of pelf,
Who have won the prize of patience—silent conquerors of Self,
They are brave for those who love them and they suffer for the sake

Of hearts at home that hear not how the worker's heart must break
Beneath the burden of the days of unremitting toil,
When the lash is laid upon him nor his wounds are touched with oil.

They have not followed day by day the flaming flag of Mars,
And lifeless forms along the way left staring at the stars,
They have not helped emboss with graves the landscape's living green

And splash it with the scarlet waves of war, nor have they seen
A brother fall before their ball, dead in a second's span,
And never yet with bayonet have slain their fellow man,
So when within the circling suns life's little space is spent,
Unto their memories will be reared no regal monument;

No deathless name for them shall blaze on Fame's eternal dome,
So let us give them present praise—these heroes here at home.

"MY" FLEET.

Overheard at Hampton Roads on December 6 last: "When my fleet shall have passed from my Atlantic Ocean to my Pacific Ocean, and when it shall have returned from my Pacific Ocean to my Atlantic Ocean it will have crossed my equators four times."—Argonaut.

ANOTHER ONE.

"My stenographer can write one hundred words a minute." "So can mine, but she doesn't seem to care what words she writes."—Cleveland Leader.

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 III.

The Great Fortunes from Railroads.

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CHAPTER I.

A PRELIMINARY REVIEW.

IV.

Stupendous as was the extent of the nation's resources already appropriated by 1876, more remained to be seized. The government still owned 46,000,000 acres of land in the South, mainly in Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas and Mississippi. Much of this area was valuable timber land, and a part of it, especially in Alabama, was filled with great coal and iron deposits, a fact of which certain capitalists were well aware, although the general public did not know it.

During the Civil War nothing could be attempted in the war-ravaged South. No sooner was that conflict over than a group of capitalists set about to get that land, or at least the valuable part of it. At about the time that they had their plans primed to juggle a bill through Congress, an unfortunate situation arose. A rarefied public scandal ensued from the bribery of members of Congress in getting through the charters and subsidies of the Union Pacific and other railroads. Congress, for the sake of appearance, had to be circumspect.

The "Cash Sales" Act.

By 1876, however, the public agitation had died away. The time was propitious. Congress rushed through a bill carefully worded for the purposes. The lands were ordered sold in unlimited areas for cash. No pretense was made of restricting the sale to a certain acreage so that all any individual could buy was enough for his own use. Anyone, if he chose, could buy a million or ten million acres provided he had the cash to pay at \$1.25 an acre. The way was easy for capitalists to get millions of acres of the coveted iron, coal and timber lands for practically nothing. At this very time the government was selling coal lands in Colorado at \$10 to \$20 an acre, and it was recognized that even this price was absurdly low.

Hardly was this "cash sales" law passed than the besieging capitalists pounced upon these Southern lands and scooped in eight millions of acres of coal, iron and timber lands which intrinsically were worth (speaking commercially) hundreds of millions of dollars. The fortunes of not a few railroad and industrial magnates were instantly and hugely increased by this fraudulent transaction. (6) Hundreds of millions of capitalist bonds and stock, representing in effect mortgages on which the people perpetually have to pay heavy interest, are to-day based upon the value of the lands then fraudulently seized.

Fraud was so continuous and widespread that we can here give only a few succinct and scattering instances of it. "The present system of laws," reported a special congressional committee appointed in 1883 to investigate what had become of the vast public domain, "seem to invite fraud. You cannot turn to a single state paper or public document where the subject is mentioned before the year 1883, from the message of the President to the report of the Commissioner of the Land Office, but what statements of 'fraud' in connection with the disposition of public lands are found." (7) A little later Commissioner Sparks of the General Land Office pointed out that "the near approach of the period when the United States will have no land to dispose of has stimulated the exertions of capitalists and corporations to acquire outlying regions of public land in mass, by whatever means, legal or illegal." In same report he further stated: "At the outset of my administration I was confronted with overwhelming evidence

that the public domain was made the prey of unscrupulous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly." (8)

The Exchange of Land Law.

Not pausing to deal with a multitude of other laws the purport and effect of all of which was the same—to give the railroad and other corporations a succession of colossal gifts and other special privileges—laws, many of which will be referred to later—we shall pass on to one of the final masterly strokes of the railroad magnates in possessing themselves of many of the last remaining valuable public lands as were open to spoliation.

This happened in 1900. What were styled the land grant railroads, that is to say, the railroad corporations which received subsidies in both money and land from the government, were allotted land in alternate sections. The Union Pacific manipulated Congress to "loan" it about \$27,000,000 and give it outright 13,000,000 acres of land. The Central Pacific got nearly \$26,000,000 and received 20,000,000 acres. To the Northern Pacific 47,000,000 acres were given; to the Kansas Pacific 12,100,000; to the Southern Pacific 9,520,000 acres. From 1850 the national government had granted subsidies to more than fifty railroads and, in addition to the great territorial possession given to the six railroads enumerated, had made a cash appropriation to those six of not less than about \$140,000,000. But the corruptly obtained donations from the government were far from being all of the bounty. Throughout the country states, cities and counties contributed presents in the form of franchises, financial assistance, land and terminal sites.

The land grants, especially in the West, were so enormous that Parsons compares them as follows: Those in Minnesota would make two states the size of Massachusetts; in Kansas they were equal to two states the size of Connecticut and New Jersey; in Iowa the extent of the railroad grants was larger than in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the grants in Michigan and Wisconsin nearly as large; in Montana the grant to one railroad alone would equal the whole of Maryland, New Jersey and Massachusetts. The land grants in the state of Washington were about equivalent to the area of the same three states. Three states the size of New Hampshire could be carved out of the railroad grants in California. (9)

The alternate sections embraced in these states might be good or useless land; the value depended upon the locality. They might be the richest and finest of agricultural, grazing, mineral or timber land or barren wastes and rocky mountain tops.

Why I Let Well Enough Alone?

For a while the railroads appeared satisfied with their appropriations and allotments. But as time passed, and the powers of government became more and more directed by them, this plan naturally occurred to them: Why not exchange the bad for good land? Having found it so easy to possess themselves of so vast and valuable an area of former public domain, they calculated that no difficulty would be encountered in putting through another process of plundering. All that was necessary was to go through the formality of ordering Congress to pass an act allowing them to exchange bad for good lands.

This, however, could not be done too openly. The people must be blinded by an appearance of conserving public interests. The opportunity came when the Forest Reservation Bill was introduced in Congress—a bill to establish national forest reservations. No better vehicle could have been found for the project traveling in disguise. This bill was everywhere

(8) Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for October, 1885: 48 and 79.

(9) The Railroads, the Trusts and the People; 137.

looked upon as a wise and statesman-like measure for the preservation of forests; capitalist interests in the pursuit of immediate profit had ruthlessly denuded and destroyed immense forest stretches, causing in turn floods and destruction of life, property and of agriculture. Part of the lands to be taken for the forest reservations included territory settled upon; it was but proper, therefore, that the evicted homesteaders should be indemnified by having the choice of lands elsewhere.

The Consummation.

So far the measure looked well. But when it went to the conference committee of the two houses of Congress the railroad representatives artfully slipped in the four unobtrusive words, "or any other claimant." This quartet of words allowed the railway magnates to exchange millions of acres of desert and of denuded timber lands, arid hills and mountain tops covered with perpetual snow, for millions of the richest lands still remaining in the government's much diminished hold.

So secretly was this transaction consummated that the public knew nothing about it; the subsidized newspapers printed not a word; it went through in absolute silence. The first protest raised was that of Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota, in the United States Senate on May 31, 1900. In a vigorous speech he disclosed the vast thefts going on under this act. Congress, under the complete domination of the railroads, took no action to stop it. Only when the fraud was fully accomplished did the railroads allow Congress to go through the forms of deferring to public interests by repealing the law. (10)

Coal Lands Expropriated.

Not merely were the capitalist interests allowed to plunder the public domain from the people under these various acts, but another act was passed by Congress, the "Coal Land Act," which was purposely drawn to permit the railroads to appropriate great stretches of coal deposits. "Already," wrote President Roosevelt in a message to Congress urging the repeal of the Stone and Timber Act, the Desert Land Law, the Coal Land Act and similar enactments, "probably one-half of the total area of high-grade coals in the West has passed under private control. Including both lignite and the coal areas, these private holdings aggregate not less than 30,000,000 acres of coal fields." These urgings fell flat on a Congress which included many members who had got their millions by reason of these identical laws, and which, as a body, was fully under the control of the dominant class of the day—the Capitalist class. The oligarchy of wealth was triumphantly, gluttonously in power; and as its very marrow and basis were the sordid accumulation of riches, it was ingenuous folly to expect it to yield where it could vanquish and concede where it could despoil.

V.

Overlooking the petty, confusing details of the last seventy years, and focusing attention upon the large developments, this is the striking result beheld: A century ago no railroads existed; to-day the railroads not only own stupendous natural resources which have been expropriated from the people, but, in conjunction with allied capitalist interests, they dictate what the lot, political, economic and social, of the American people shall be. All of this transformation has come about within a relatively short period, much of it in our own time. But a little while ago the railroad projectors begged and implored, tricked and bribed, and had the law been enforced, would have been adjudged criminals and consigned to prison. And now, in the blazing power of their wealth, these same men or

(10) In a letter to the author Senator Pettigrew instances the case of the Northern Pacific Railroad. "The Northern Pacific," he writes, "having patented the top of Mount Tacoma, with its perpetual snow and the rocky crags of the mountains elsewhere, which had been embraced within the forest reservation, could now swap these worthless lands, every acre, for the best valley and grazing lands owned by the government, and thus the Northern Pacific acquired about two million acres more of mineral, forest and farming lands."

their successors are uncrowned kings, swaying the full powers of government, giving imperial orders that Congress, legislatures, conventions and people must obey.

Commanding Facts.

But this is not the only commanding fact. A much more important one lies in the astonishing ease with which the masses of the people have been discriminated against, exploited and oppressed. Theoretically the power of government resided in the people, down to the humblest voter. This power, however, has been made the instrument for enslaving the very people who have been supposed to be the wielders of political action.

While Congress, the legislatures and executive and administrative officials have been industriously giving away public domain, public funds and perpetual rights to railroad and other corporations, they have almost entirely ignored the interests of the general run of people. The more capitalists they created, the harder it became for the poor to get settler's land on the public domain. Instead of drafting the laws so that the public domain could be availed of in small allotments only, Congress passed acts by which in most cases the land was turned over to the railroad corporations from whom intending settlers had to buy it at exorbitant prices. This took place in nearly all of the states and territories. Large numbers of people could not afford to pay the price demanded by the railroads, and consequently were compelled to herd in industrial centers. They were deliberately shut off from possession of the land—but a short time before owned by the whole people. This situation was already acute twenty-five years ago. "The area of arable land open to settlement," pointed out Secretary of the Interior Teller in a circular letter of May 22, 1883, "is not great when compared with the increasing demand and is rapidly decreasing." All other official reports consistently relate the same conditions.

At the same time while being excluded from the soil which had been national property, the working and farming class were subject to either neglect or onerous laws. As a class the capitalists had no difficulty at any time in securing whatever laws they needed; if persuasion by argument was not effective, bribery was. Moreover, over and above corrupt purchase of votes was the feeling ingrained in legislators by the concerted teachings of society that the man of property should be looked up to; that he was superior to the common herd; that his interests were paramount and demanded nursing and protection. Whenever a commercial crisis occurred the capitalists secured a ready hearing and their measures were passed promptly. But millions of workers would be in enforced idleness and destitution; and no move was made to throw open public lands to them, or appropriate money, or start public works. Such a proposed policy was considered "paternalism"—a catchword of the times which implied that governmental care should not be exercised for the unfortunate, the weak and the helpless.

An Historic Anomaly.

And here was the anomaly of the so-called American democratic government. It was held legitimate and necessary that capital should be encouraged, but illegitimate to look out for the interests of the non-propertied. The capitalists were very few; the non-propertied, who held the overwhelming voting power, were many. Government was nothing more or less than a device for the nascent capitalist class to work out its inevitable purposes, yet the majority of the people on whom the powers of class government severely fell were constantly deluded into believing that the government represented them. Whether Federalist or anti-Federalist, Whig, Republican or Democratic party, was in power, the Capitalist class went forward victoriously and invincibly, the proof of which is seen in its present almost limitless power and possessions.

(To be continued.)

Applying for a divorce as old Georgia negro said to the judge:

"Hit only cost me a string or fish ter git married, fudge, but please God, I'd give a whole ter sit rid er her."—Atlanta Constitution.

(6) "Fraudulent Transaction." House Ex. Doc. 47, Part 4, 46th Congress, Third Session, speaks of the phrasing of the act as a mere subterfuge for despoliation; that the act was passed specifically "for the benefit of capitalists," and "that fraud was used in sneaking it through Congress."

(7) House Ex. Doc. 47: 354.

\$2,703,094,227.

By BEN HANFORD.

You. The RED SPECIAL will help to shorten your hours of labor, increase your pay and hasten the day when the reward of your toil will be all the wealth produced by that toil.

But the RED SPECIAL can't run unless you pay for it. It will not start except by your orders. You must make an IMMEDIATE contribution to the thousands of dollars required to turn its wheels. Every dollar is an order to go.

The engineer is ready. The inspired Comrade Debs will arouse hope the enthusiasm in the breasts of every working man who sees or hears him. The RED SPECIAL means that Debs will be heard by more than a million working men before the campaign closes. Having heard Comrade Debs speak, that million of working men will be anxious to READ something about Socialism.

That means that more than a million of working men must be supplied. Two billion, seven hundred and three million, ninety-four thousand, two hundred and twenty-seven dollars!

That is the value of the wealth produced by more than six and a half million wage earners engaged in the manufacturing industries of the United States in the year 1905—WHICH THEY DID NOT GET. That two and three-quarters billions of dollars went to the bosses as PROFITS. The six and a half millions of wage earners, for doing ALL the work of production, got only about as much as their employers, who did NONE of the work of production. In other words, every time a wage earner produced a dollar's worth of wealth for himself he was required to first produce a dollar's profit for his employer. This does not begin to represent the degree of the wage earner's exploitation. For out of his wages he must pay landlord and other exploiters. And in the factory his powers of production of true wealth are limited by the production of useless things and the doing of wasteful and often villainous labor.

Remember, I am now speaking merely of the robbery of the workers in the manufacturing industries. I am taking no account of the robbing and skinning of the workers in the building trades, of the robbing and skinning and maiming and killing of the workers on the railroads, nor of the exploitation of the trolley men, telegraphers, farmers, tenant farmers, farm laborers, miners, department store workers and countless other workers who, as the price of life, must slave from day to day for their capitalist masters.

Now, Mr. Workingman, how are you going to get that \$2,703,094,227 which your labor MADE, but which your employer GOT? There is only ONE WAY. That way is to take a PART of the money that you did get—your wages—and use it to educate your fellow workers and build up an organization which shall be strong enough to take from your master that which BELONGS TO YOU—because YOUR LABOR PRODUCED IT. It seems hard, after having been robbed every hour in the day, every day in the year and every year of your life, that you should be told that out of your meagre wages you must pay other than living expenses. But you MUST. There is no other way. The RED SPECIAL will help you to get part of those billions of dollars that your masters take from with Socialist literature; good literature, thorough literature, pamphlets, books, leaflets.

The RED SPECIAL will cost \$20,000. There must be \$20,000 worth of literature to go with it. That will double and triple and quadruple its power for good. Your disinherited and exploited workmen must pay the bills. You must not leave it for some rich man to do. He isn't going to do it. "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow!" That means YOU!

Literature is artillery; artillery costs money. But artillery is useless

unless there are men to man the guns. If a rich man gives \$100 to our campaign fund, it will only be useful if one hundred men give a dollar each, or two hundred men give fifty cents each. Above all, we must have MEN—WORKING MEN.

And, Socialists, you must not only give to the RED SPECIAL, but you must get the subscribers. You Call. It needs subscribers. You must get the subscribers. NOW! RIGHT NOW! You working men will need The New York Evening Call if Injunction Bill Taft is the next President of the United States. You will need The New York Evening Call if Silver Bill Bryan is the next President of the United States, backed by the Democratic oligarchy of the South, with their peonage, their convict labor and their disfranchised working class, both white and black. So help the RED SPECIAL, NOW. And help The New York Evening Call, NOW.

The Socialist party is always coming to you for money. How can you contribute to your local? And to the state campaign? And to the congressional campaign? And to the legislative campaign? And to the maintenance of a Socialist paper? And to the RED SPECIAL? It is hard. But it must be done if you are ever to get these billions of dollars which your labor produces, but which your employer withholds from you.

It is true that the Socialist party is forever coming to you for money—always more money. But you notice that the Socialist party always ASKS you for money. The boss TAKES your money without the asking.

If you only realize how much depends on the progress of Socialism in this campaign, you will not allow the Socialist party to want for any money that it can use. Do you know, comrade, we are going to elect Socialists to the legislature in a dozen or a score of states this year? Do you know, comrade, that we are going to elect some Socialists to Congress this year? Berger from Wisconsin; Hillquit from New York. Probably a Socialist from Kansas, another from Illinois and perhaps still others. That will mean that the capitalist class, when caught robbing the WORKING CLASS by the billions of dollars, will hear the cry of "STOP, THIEF!" from the capitol in Washington in tones so loud and clear that they shall be heard from one end of the land to the other. It means that the thief who is robbing YOU will have to drop his plunder.

So, comrade, you must do your full duty this year. You must contribute from your slender means to every field of Socialist party activity. The welfare of the working class of the United States and of the world depends on YOU. Don't you dare drink another glass of beer until you have sent a contribution to the RED SPECIAL. Don't you dare smoke another cigar until you have done something to aid the Socialist press. EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON YOU. You must not rob the baby of its milk, but you dare not eat butter on your bread or salt on your potatoes until you have made a contribution to the RED SPECIAL and the Socialist press.

This is the year that the Socialist party of the United States shall conquer the right of free speech, and the right of a free press, and achieve a power and strength which will enable it to accomplish an orderly revolution by peaceful processes. Remember, Mr. Workingman, EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON YOU

PEDIGREE.

"Pedigree in a dog makes him valuable, doesn't it?"
"Certainly."
"Funny, isn't it?"
"What's funny?"
"Why, it's my experience that pedigree makes a man pretty darn worthless."—Chicago Post.

Hinks—And you say he got rich selling dinner tickets three for fifty.
"Have you heard that Johnson's quite well again?"
"No."
"He was cured quite suddenly."
"How?"
"Well, he overheard his mother-in-law asking his wife if his life insurance policy was all right, and within the hour Johnson was up and going about again the same as ever."

PSALMS OF SAMUEL.

"Sam's an ass, but you'd like him."
—Lord Dundreary.

Two Bad Breaks.

A poor Union leader was he,
And twice he barked up the wrong tree;
For, alack and alas!
Old Sam is a Nass
That the Socialist oak he can't see.
—Camarado.

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ORGANIZER WANTED.—Westchester County Committee invites applications for position of Special Organizer from Sept. 1 to election day. Wages \$20 weekly, inclusive. Must be a hustler; able to hold open-air meetings; good literature seller; willing to do house to house visiting. No one afraid of hard work of this kind need apply. Address, stating all particulars of experience, etc., L. A. Malkiel, 49 Cornell avenue, Yonkers.

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Advertisements of trade unions and other societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

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)—316 E. 6th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 7.30 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 Maier, 342 E. 150th St., City; Recording Secretary, Arthur Gonne, 1992 Anthony Ave., Bronx.

UNITED JOURNEMEN 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.

BROOKLYN, 22d A. D. Dr. J. (American), meets the second and fourth Friday at 675 Glenmore Ave.; Br. 3 (German), meets the second Monday of the month at 675 Glenmore Ave.

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THE SHOP CLOCK.

(A Soliloquy.)

By FLORENCE MARGOLIES.

I hang here on my patch of wall, delivering my message of time; I appear cold and indifferent and just seem to stare into vacancy, letting my hands rest on my face; yet my heart throbs and I feel the pulse of life beating within me.

Well, I speak out in my own ticking way that it is now the hour of eight, and I see the hot sun peering in through the narrow windows, sending his strong rays across the long room—no, I do not like this room; it is so close and stuffy now, when I bid all those girls come in and take their wonted seats.

You see, they obey my call implicitly, and I often wonder why some look up at me so scared and troubled, when perchance they find my hand pointing past that eight, but, you see, I cannot very well help it, for my heart must beat or I die.

Now, as I watch them sitting, bent over their machines, with every now and then a longing look hastily thrown at me, this time saying plainly, "Oh, move on more quickly and let your hand reach out to the hour when we can rise and go out into the free air and breathe, and breathe so that we can live, for we stifle here."

You see, I look indifferent and apparently say my say slowly and monotonously, but I feel very sad, hanging here and watching daily those girls who sit as if rooted to their places; and I often wonder, when I tell them they may go, that they can rise at all. But when on the following day I again touch that eight, I see them once more, with tired step, enter my room, and with hand scarcely rested resume their work.

I often wonder, too, why their faces are so pallid and their eyes so lustreless, but then you see it cannot be otherwise, for they are pouring out their energy, their vitality, their very life blood, at those machines; and then again I wonder why it is so, and again I am led to think that it must be because, in order to pass those few hours of reprieve till the next day, they must have some kind of shelter and food, and I should think that they deserved to have the best kind; but no, I know as a fact that most of these girls' homes are far, oh, far from good.

Now, my sister clock is much differently situated than I. She hangs on a tapestried wall and is set in beautifully wrought gold, lolling out her beat in mellifluous chimes—and then when I think of how different, how very different a sight is presented to her view—hanging there, surrounded by luxury and beauty and extravagance that defy description; and when the mistress enters that palatial chamber, clad in flowing robe of silk, with step slow and measured and scarcely deigning to look at my sister clock, for of what importance is it to that dame what the hour may be, since everything that heart desires is at her command and is hers for the asking—I am again set a-thinking of that great chasm that separates us, my sister and me.

The great gulf that yawns between us. Our totally different environment; our different dispositions engendered through that; our sympathies so unlike; in fact everything—habits, feeling and even appearance so diametrically opposed; and yet we are sisters—our hearts throb alike, and oh, when I think in this strain, I feel so sad and weary for it seems to me all could be so different, yes, and ought to be, and shall be different, for now I feel a sort of anger rise in me as it dawns upon me that it is not right—nay, there is great wrong, great injustice in such a state of affairs; for, consider a moment: here I am hanging on this miserable, dirty wall, framed in this ugly box, and what is worse, oh, far worse to me than my own discomfort, is to see those pale, worn and distressed girls sitting there day after day, sewing away their joy and mirth and hope by stitches, for a mere intolerable existence—and on the other hand my sister clock, hanging there gracefully in her luxuriant repose, and with, what is still more than her own comfort, the beauty and peace and rest of all those around her.

I feel a hot wave of rebellion rise within me—I hear a voice cry loud that there must be a change, a change so sud-

den and complete—as to thoroughly revolutionize our conditions and eradicate and annihilate all that tends to create these chasms which divide and keep asunder the great human family, which should and WILL live some day in one united brotherhood.

SOCIALISTS DEFEND RIGHT TO PARADE

QUINCY, Mass., Aug. 12.—The Socialist party of this city adopted resolutions condemning the local authorities for their recent interference with a parade of Finnish workmen. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That this Local hereby condemns autocratic and unwarranted action of the Mayor and Chief of Police in their attempt to incite disturbance by forbidding the Finnish Workmen's Society the privilege of exercising their legal and constitutional right to parade the streets of this city with the emblems and banners of their organization.

We consider this action on the part of these city officials un-American and a gross injustice to a peaceable, law abiding society of workmen, and an insult to all liberty-loving citizens of Quincy. This society has heretofore never denied the privilege of marching the streets with their flags and banners.

TAKEN BACK.

He said he was a Democrat,
And then he paused a while,
When someone laid him rather flat
By asking with a smile,
"A Democrat?"

"Pray, what is that?"
He hawed and hemmed,
He deuced and demmed,
He rolled his eyes and thunk.
His brow with beads of sweat was gemmed.

His heart went plinky-plunk!
He clawed and scratched his aged head,
He stroked his chin, and then he said,
"Just what it is I cannot say,
It makes no difference, anyway."

I'm only saying that
I am a Democrat."
His keeper came along. Anon,
They led him back to Matteawan.
—Horace Dodd Gastit in Judge.

SUBLIME FAITH.

"A man of sterling integrity and sublime faith he was," said the minister.

"Yes," replied the judge, "I guess he was—at least there can be no doubt about his faith. He believed the tariff would be revised by its friends."—Chicago Record-Herald.

HER IDEAL.

"What is your ideal husband?"
"One who is long on money and short on advice."

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WHAT OF MY CHILD?

By EDWIN W. WHEAT.

As I sit writing I hear children singing in sweet unison. Their fresh, joyous voices are an inspiration to me. They encourage me to renewed energy, for as I listen to them I hear also the voices of other children who, instead of singing glad joy-songs, are shouting: "Woold! Joinal! baseball pehpah!"—children who know no songs except such as are heard in the cheap show-houses. Children who crowd around the cent-a-glass milk depots, begging the passersby to buy them a ticket. Children who never have eaten a clean, well-cooked meal. Children who never have a bath or clean clothes. Children who toil in the shop from morning to night, or from night to morning. Children who never have seen the inside of a schoolroom. Children who would stare in amazement if by chance they should get a kind word and a kiss instead of a curse and a blow. Children who would be frightened if set down in a green field. Children who know absolutely no difference between right and wrong. Children who are stunted in both body and mind.

Oh, that THESE children might sing the glad joy-songs! Oh, that these children might have milk without begging and fighting for tickets! Oh, that these children might be clean, well-fed and happy! Oh, that these children might play in the green fields and pick the daisies as I did when I was a child! Oh, that these children might have an opportunity to grow up to be good, intelligent, honest citizens, instead of the ignorant, drunken, shiftless beggars and criminals that it must be the lot of many of them to become!

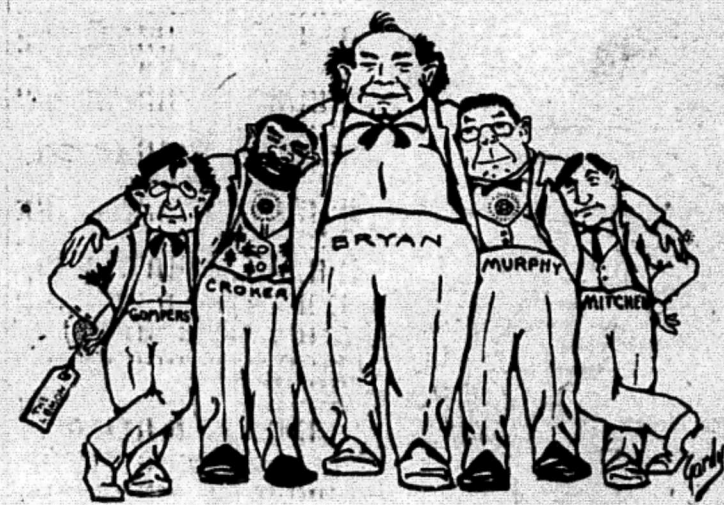
I have a little boy not yet a year and a half old. Thus far he has had a good home, good food to eat, clean clothes to wear. Suppose those who are caring for him should meet with misfortune? Suppose they should meet with death? Would my child play in green fields and sing glad songs, or would he live in a vile tenement and sell papers on the street? I wonder which it would be, but I cannot know.

But—if I live I WILL know, or I will die trying to secure such a condition of society that I MAY know—so help me comrades!

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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 233 local branches with 31,397 male and 6,408 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively, \$25.00 death benefit guaranteed to the beneficiaries of every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the third class upon payment of an initiation fee of \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but all candidates have to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists a new branch can be formed by 15 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invite to do so. Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third avenue, Room 2, New York City.



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The Question of the Hour!

AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE.

BY ROBERT HUNTER.

In all the early writings of the Socialist movement you will find again and again the rallying cries—Agitate, Educate, Organize.

These calls to action express a comprehensive and constructive movement.

Agitation without education and organization results in insurrection.

Most of the progressive political leaders of to-day agitate. Their success, therefore, depends very largely upon momentary insurrections of the people.

Tom Johnson, for instance, has done brilliant agitational work. He has aroused the people again and again to fight the traction monopoly. Again and again they have followed Johnson as leader of the insurrection, and have made him Mayor.

Hardly had he begun his new plans before some of his followers went on strike, and now it is said he refuses to take a referendum vote for fear that the people might insurrect again and put the traction monopoly back into power.

Johnson has agitated, but he has neither educated nor organized.

The Socialists a few years ago captured two or three cities in Massachusetts. It was a momentary insurrection. They were in control of these large cities BEFORE their followers were properly organized and educated, and they were soon out again.

Often in Europe Socialists have been sent into power before the people were prepared, and after brilliant electoral successes have come very bitter administrative failures.

In London the Fabians educated the few. Disguised in Liberal top hats and frock coats they got into power. The people did not know or care, and as soon as taxes went up the people sent the Socialists about their business, and London was handed back to the reactionaries and private monopolists.

Hearst agitates and has twice led popular insurrections. Like a flash in

the pan the people of New York rushed to his standard, and if he had been elected he would probably be now an extremely unpopular man.

How many times in the last decade have we seen reform, labor, good government and other insurrections momentarily successful against the rule of Tammany Hall. They were successes due to agitation, but the people were neither sufficiently educated nor organized to hold PERMANENTLY the ground they had gained.

The Socialist party is wise in not depending for success upon agitation alone. It knows that revolution in the insurrectionary sense is followed by counter-revolution. The workers must be gradually educated, trained and prepared.

The party issues millions of books, pamphlets and leaflets. Its weekly papers go to hundreds of thousands throughout the land. It has lectures, study classes, Sunday schools, and colleges for educating its members.

In one city over two thousand workmen are ready to go to the office of the party before dawn and distribute leaflets at the door of every house.

The rank and file themselves ADMINISTER the affairs of the party. They control and finance the party, so that when it comes into power every man connected with the party will know what it intends to do.

It is this work of education and organization that makes the growth of the Socialist party so slow. Agitation is a simple matter, and to get into power during moments of excitement is easy if one cares only for momentary success.

Where Socialists have gone into power on that basis they have gone out of power as failures.

But whenever Socialists have come into power after having followed up agitation with EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION, THEY HAVE COME INTO POWER TO STAY.

The victory of the people can only be complete when THEY understand exactly what they want.

It is for the people to decide what they want THEIR representatives to do; not for representatives to decide what THEY WANT TO DO FOR THE PEOPLE.

WHEN BILL FORGOT.

Bill Bryan once majestic stood,
In Democratic crowd,
Arrayed in Democratic garb,
Bill Bryan's voice was loud.

This crown of thorns on labor's brow
You must forbear to bind,
You must forbear on cross of gold
To crucify mankind.

They laughed at Bill, on labor's brow
They placed the crown, with jeers,
And nailed mankind upon the cross
While Bill was shedding tears.

Still labor wears the same old thorns,
Men, as crucified, remain,
Still yell at Bryan, "Loose me, Bill,"
But yell at Bill in vain.

"Hang on the cross of gold," says Bill,
"From labor's bleeding brow
I can't remove a single thorn,
For I am busy now.

"Of all my youthful heresies
I ardently repent,
I'm grasping gold in this campaign
And run for President."
—Denver Republican.

DIFFERENT NAMES.

"I understand," said the old-time friend, "that you are gettin' right exclusive."

"Well," answered Mr. Cumrox, "that's what mother and the girls call it."

"What do you call it?"
"Plain 'lonesome.'"—Washington Star.

"HE'S ALL RIGHT!"



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WHY WE OPPOSE INJUNCTIONS.

FROM TOLEDO UNION LEADER.

Labor injunctions will be one of the issues during the coming campaign, and it behooves all workers to "book up" on this usurpation of courts.

Here are a few points that will "floor" any defender of labor injunctions:

From the foundation of our government, injunctions have been recognized for the protection of PROPERTY. Section 917 of the United States Revised Statutes empowers the Supreme Court to prescribe rules for its application. Rule 55, promulgated in 1866, provides that special injunctions shall be grantable only upon due notice to the other party.

Labor injunctions are capitalistic applications of justice, masking under a hypocritical love for courts.

The labor injunction was invented by Alex Smith, attorney for the Ann Arbor railway in the strike of 1894. It was applied by Federal Judge Taft, who committed Frank Phelan to jail for six months, and since then nearly every court has granted these writs on demand.

Labor injunctions are not authorized or recognized by any legislature.

LABOR INJUNCTIONS DENY WORKERS A TRIAL BY JURY—A RIGHT ACCORDED THE MEANEST CRIMINAL.

Labor injunctions outlaw acts committed at strike times but legal at all other times.

Labor Injunctions empower the

court to act as lawmaker, judge and executor.

LABOR INJUNCTIONS CLASS WORKERS AS PROPERTY.

Labor injunctions make no distinction between property rights and PERSONAL rights.

Labor injunctions rest on the theory that when an action by workers injures PROPERTY, fundamental PERSONAL rights can be enjoined.

LABOR INJUNCTIONS PROTECT DOLLARS AT THE COST OF A FREE PRESS AND FREE SPEECH.

Labor injunctions disregard the wrongs of workers in a desire to protect gold.

Labor injunctions are issued on the sole affidavits of men who place spies in unions.

Labor injunctions class the patronage of workers and sympathizers as a property right that cannot be jeopardized by a statement of facts.

Labor injunctions still the voice of protest against the grinding policy of unfair employers.

Labor injunctions differ from injunctions for the protection of IMPERSONAL rights.

Labor injunctions GUESS a violation of the criminal code will be committed.

LABOR INJUNCTIONS ARE STRIKE-TIME "LAWS."

Labor injunctions are not entitled to the respect of a liberty-loving people.

Labor injunctions are judge-made laws, thanks to William Howard Taft.

FROM AN ENGINEER'S POINT OF VIEW.

Socialism is invading every field of human thought and action.

Engineers are commonly thought of as the most practical and hard-headed of men, who have no patience with theories unless those theories are founded on fact and can be put into practice.

It is interesting, therefore, to note an article on Socialism in the midst of the technical discussions on road construction, transmission of electric power, and articulated locomotives, in a well-established engineering magazine. "Socialism in Club Papers," by John C. Trautwine, Jr., appears in the "Proceedings of the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia," and is devoted to showing socialistic tendencies are steadily and rapidly gaining ground among men who deal with the practical work of the world.

We quote in part:

"One of the striking peculiarities of the human animal is the readiness with which it accepts improved conditions and forgets that previous conditions ever existed. We laugh at the man who spells 'although' with the 'ugh,' and we forget our debt of gratitude to the crank who braved the ridicule of our ancestors by dropping the 'k,' which is equally necessary and beautiful at end of 'music'."

"If we consider recent developments in the business and engineering world, including notably several papers recently read before this Club, we must be forcibly impressed: 1. With the extent to which the methods of Socialism are in operation in civilized countries; 2. With the increasingly rapid growth of this feature, especially during recent years; 3. With the obtuseness of the general public in failing to discern these signs of the times."

"From time immemorial we have enjoyed highways used by the improvident and shiftless equally with the provident and thrifty, although constructed and maintained at public expense."

For years we have enjoyed public parks, similarly constructed and maintained; and public schools, which struggle only too hopelessly to undo the mischief done in the individual home. The state still seems to think she can afford to let millions of her citizens go underfed, but she has at least learned that she cannot afford to allow them to go unwashed; so she already provides at her own expense public baths which any citizen may enjoy free of charge.

"Orthodox economy denounces, as inimical to the public welfare, any interference with the fullest and freest individualism; and yet at our meeting of Dec. 21, Mr. Sterling, Forester, of

the Pennsylvania Railroad, told us how the general government was striving to avert the ruin of our forests, threatened by the crimes of individualism. * * * The Secretary of Agriculture has just made a report upon the advisability of the purchase of the Southern Appalachian and White Mountain watersheds for national forests. * * *

"At this moment the general government, in total disregard of the supposed fact that all prosperity depends upon competition between individuals, is digging a socialistic international canal connecting two oceans for the benefit, not only of all its own citizens, but of the human race. * * *

"At the meeting of Feb. 7, Mr. Hunter, our State Highway Commissioner, told us how our own state government is substituting intelligent central control of public roads for the haphazard and relatively individualistic efforts of local supervisors. * * *

"A hundred years ago the iron industries of our country were operated by a handful of obscure individuals, each with his little bloomery or forge or baby charcoal furnace. Fifty years ago infant corporations had begun to take hold of this business. To-day, by reason of mergers, we find this interest in the hands of a few giant corporations which, by concentration of capital and by organization of industry, have brought about improvement and uniformity of output and reduction of cost, hopelessly impossible under the old conditions and much the same thing has happened with the transportation interests; until we now find the states and the general government waging the battle to determine whether the governments are to control the corporations or vice versa. Thus the corporations are rendering double service. They are teaching us, at one operation: 1. The overwhelming economies obtained by co-operation, by the organization of individuals into masses; 2. The folly of entrusting to private interests these matters of public concern."

TWO OF A KIND.

"Yes," he said, after explaining to his wife that the lodge meeting had been a very important and a somewhat protracted one, thus making it impossible for him to get home a minute earlier than he did, "and there were two fellows there who made the worst fools of themselves you could imagine. You couldn't find two worse chumps in a row of counties clear across this State."

"I suppose not," she replied. "Who was the other one? I'd like to sympathize with his wife."—Chicago Recrd-Herald

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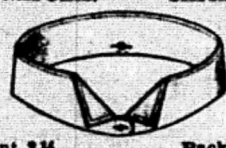
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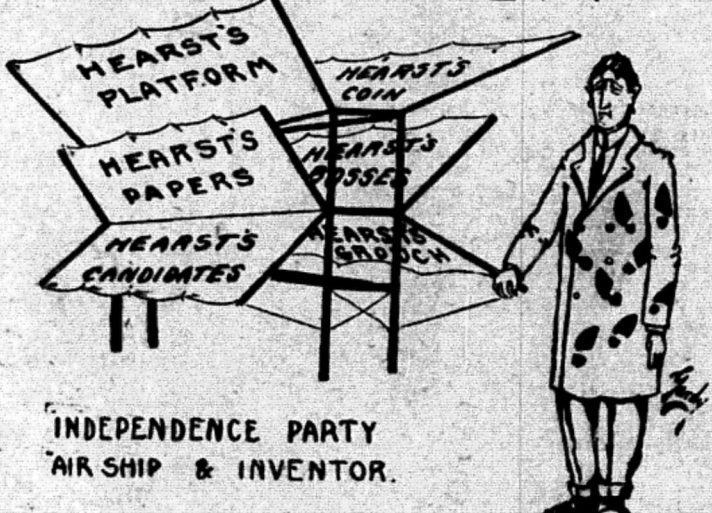
THAT'S THE SECRET.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

"Why is it that Harriman, Ryan, Rogers and the rest of the gang are more arrogant than ever?" "They have the courage of their non-convictions."—Life.

"They say you're making plenty of money in the stock market." "Yes; I never lose anything." "Ah! You get straight tips, eh?" "No; I sell them."—Exchange.

WILL IT FLY?



THE LABOR PRESS ON PRESIDENT GOMPERS

The labor press is by no means enthusiastic in its support of Samuel Gompers's recommendation that Bryan be supported for President this year. The vast majority of the labor papers remain non-committal; and, with few exceptions, it is only those that have leaned toward the Democratic party all along that are inclined to accept the advice.

The Toledo Union Leader has strongly opposed the Gompers slogan to "reward your friends and punish your enemies." It declares that the policy is ineffective and is likely to do more damage to the unions than good. The Leader has consistently stood for direct action through a Labor party or the Socialist party and is at present delivering hammer blows for the legislative ticket of the Socialist party, which was endorsed by referendum vote of the local unions.

The Akron People rips the anti-injunction pretenses of the Democratic party into tatters, and points out to Gompers the utter absurdity of placing any reliance in a party that declares in favor of restricting injunctions in one plank and follows it up with a declaration that "IT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE COURTS TO INTERPRET THE LAWS WHICH THE PEOPLE CREATE."

Greater Issues Than Injunctions.

The Zanesville Labor Journal concludes that labor is confronted by far greater questions than injunctions, and that "the labor vote has never been delivered or deliverable by any man or set of men."

The Brewers' Journal, of Cincinnati, ridicules the growing tameness of Bryan, declaring that he is no more feared by the special interests than is Roosevelt or Taft, and calls upon the working people to stand by workmen in the coming election, something that Gompers will not do.

The Switchmen's Journal, printed at Buffalo, praises 'Gene Debs as one of the greatest figures of our time, and the man to whom the railway workers of this country owe a debt of gratitude for his splendid work in their behalf.

Bakers Will Not Be "Delivered."

The Bakers' Journal, published in Chicago, in behalf of its readers "emphatically protests against having our international organization classed with those 'who work and vote for the success of the Democratic ticket.' We are for Socialism first, last and all the time; we are anxious to see the Socialist principles realized and consequently we are for those aiming to bring about this realization, two of our noblest fighters for the cause, 'Gene Debs and Ben Hanford.'

The Stove Mounters' Journal, of Detroit, dismisses the subject with the conclusion: "These are the times the workmen find themselves close to the hearts of the Republican and Democratic parties. After election their usual position will be assumed again."

The Pueblo (Colo.) Union Label Bulletin remarks that "Bro. Gompers expresses himself as highly pleased with the Democratic labor program, but from this distance we fail to see anything to get particularly enthusiastic about. We are presented with the same old alternative of choosing the lesser of two evils, with mighty little choice in the matter.

Position of Piano Workers.

The Piano and Organ Workers' Official Journal, printed in Chicago, edited by Secretary Dold, formerly president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, says, in part, speaking of Gompers' action urging union people to support Bryan and the Democratic party:

"As an excuse for this unusual, unconstitutional and heretofore unheard of procedure he offers the labor plank recently adopted by the Democrats at their Denver convention.

"We deem it to be our duty to enter a most emphatic protest against this, a most wanton disregard for well-established trades union law and ethics.

"The constitution of the A. F. of L. forbids participation in party politics.

"President Gompers must and does know that both the Republican and Democratic parties have in times past

not hesitated to crush the hopes and aspirations of the wage-workers with an iron heel whenever and wherever it suited their purpose to do so. * * *

"And this in lieu of a 'promise,' a chimerical or at best questionable anti-injunction plank.

"Ante-election promises have ever been looked upon with scorn by labor leaders—until now.

"We believe in political action of the wage-workers; we believe it to be their only salvation.

"We do not believe in the kind of politics that will boost a party or parties to which we are indebted for all of labor's ills, no matter what 'promises' may be made.

"The fifty, hundred or more years of experience had by organized labor should preclude the possibility of turning the workers' economic movement into an adjunct of political party corruptionists.

"We believe in the ballot; we long for the day when labor will become a political unit.

"We long for a party of, for and by the wage-worker.

"Let it be said that President Gompers meant well—but he erred."

SLAVERY IN INDIA.

Discussing the East Indian situation. Mme. Bhikhajji Rustom Cama, an East Indian Reformer and lecturer, said recently to a Washington Herald reporter, that the dawn of freedom for the Indian people is rapidly approaching.

"We are in slavery," said Mme. Cama. "You see, England drains our country of its money; £30,000,000 sterling go out of India yearly without any return. We have famines and die off by the thousands in consequence and subsist partly on American charity. We want to educate our people in the practical Western way. We have culture; oh, yes, our commonest, poorest peasants have stored in their memories all of the great spiritual truths of the Mahabarata and the Ramayana. They recite songs which inspire them to a devotion and zest similar to that engendered in the French by the Mar-seillaise. Education, or rather the desire for it in the fullest, richest sense, is the bond of unity holding together Indians of every caste to-day. It is a passion with us.

"Popular education like that in America is our ideal. We know that your civilization has its faults. We are horrified at the rush and hustle and nervous strain, but we desire progress in every legitimate way. We do feel, however, that it is inconsistent to force Christianity upon a harmless and deeply spiritual people at the point of a bayonet, and we believe that we can work out our modern problems ourselves, as has Japan, from within.

"No one conceives how much we are persecuted. I could not return to India, I am sure. Only recently two cultivated men were arrested and deported without trial for speaking the truth about our country's condition. Now they are locked up in Burma. Talk about Siberia and its injustices. The most hopeful thing is the enthusiasm that is spreading over our entire people. Starved and uneducated, as many of us are, the past few years have shown an increase of millions of patriots. We shall have liberty, fraternity and equality some day. We hope for freedom within ten years."

"THE WEAKLING MUST GO."

"The physically unfit should be removed," declared the new thinker of old thoughts.

"I'm glad to hear you say so," responded the gentleman chauffeur. "It will make me feel easier in my mind when running over a decrepit pedestrian."—Philadelphia Ledger.

Judge—My boy, do you think that hunger is a sufficient excuse for theft?

Culprit Prisoner—Go without it for a few days—and see for yourself, Judge.

SOCIALIST SPEAKER ARRESTED IN PITTSFIELD

PITTSFIELD, Mass., Aug. 18.—

Believing that in Massachusetts the right of free speech prevailed, R. T. Paine, of Hoboken, N. J., secured permission from the chief of police, W. G. White, to hold street meetings. While addressing an interested crowd at North and Depot streets, where the Salvation Army holds its meetings and where all the open-air meetings are held, two officers arrested Paine.

After having been detained about a quarter of an hour, Paine was released, but was soon rearrested on the charge of "obstructing the sidewalk." He was bailed out by L. N. Kimball, an electrical worker organizer.

When arraigned in court Saturday morning Paine was fined \$6. The case has been appealed and will be contested vigorously. Many of the leading citizens do not hesitate to denounce Paine's arrest as an outrage and will assist in maintaining the right of free speech in Pittsfield.

ORDERED AROUND.

"Sorry, sir," telephoned the butcher, "but we are out of sirloin. Why don't your wife order you a round?"

"What's that?" exploded Harker at the other end of the line.

"I say, why don't your wife order you a round?"

"Why don't my wife order me around? Man, that is all she does from morning until night! If you were nearer, I'd—" But the startled butcher had hung up the receiver.—The Children's Visitor.

WE KNOW HOW IT FEELS.

Until he won Count Zeppelin was a crank and a nuisance. Now the money is rolling his way and kings send him messages. Success is worth the cost.—Baltimore American.

"Jimmie," said the merchant solemnly, at the eleventh hour, "we have forgotten to get a fresh supply of stamps."

And the office boy, in his excitement, responded: "Goodness, sir, so we have! If we ain't a couple of blunder-headed idiots!"

THE EXCEPTION.

"Are his matrimonial relations pleasant?"
"All except his mother-in-law."

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- Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.
- The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.
- Class Struggles in America, by A. M. Simons.

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NEW YORK, AUGUST 22, 1908.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

One of the commonest criticisms offered against the Socialists is that they are not practical. Socialism is all right, but it is a dream. And the American people, you know, are intensely practical.

Very well!

But how about the other parties? Oh, they are all practical, you say.

Let's see about that.

The Republican party, overlooking the hard times, boasts of its achievements, and then proposes certain practical measures.

The Democratic party, overlooking the hard times, deploras the plutocratic tendencies and abuses of the Republican party, and then proposes certain practical measures.

The Independence party and the Populist party, overlooking the hard times, declare the two old parties corrupt to the core, and then propose certain practical measures.

There is one peculiar feature about all of the practical measures proposed by all four of these parties. And that is this:

Just to the extent that these measures approximate being of real value to the working class, just to that extent are they "Socialistic"; that is, taken from the Socialist party program.

That proves this one thing. The Socialist party is not an aggregation of dreamers, of men who are possessed of some crazy or laudable notion which can never be realized.

On the contrary, it is the Republican, Democratic, Independence and Populist parties who are incapable of handling present conditions and who, instead of accepting the practical proposals of the Socialist party just as they come, imagine they can delude the public into accepting their own adulterated and inferior article.

But the working class, the class to whom the Socialist party addresses itself, is coming to the fountain source of political wisdom—the Socialist party.

Because the Socialist party not only has an aim, an ideal that appeals to the working class and to every man who places the good of all the people above any personal profit, the Socialist party, based upon a scientific explanation of society, is able, and is the only party able, to formulate practical measures whereby we can receive the benefit of all the achievements of the past, while at the same time removing the burdens that oppress the working class and, ultimately, accomplish the emancipation of labor and all mankind. Furthermore, the Socialist party is the only party that dares face the question of hard times. It is the only party that does this because Socialism is the only remedy.

The Socialist party alone is practical because Socialism alone is practical.

Let the other parties steal from the Socialist party. They have wit enough only to steal the shadow. The sub-

stance remains to the Socialist movement.

That substance is the growing class-consciousness of the working class, upon whom further progress awaits.

That can never be stolen!

LABOR IN ALABAMA.

Duncan McDonald, member of the executive board of the United Mine Workers for Illinois, is in the strike region of Alabama and writes of the fearful oppression that exists in that State. McDonald says that the miners are compelled to live in hovels that would not be used as chicken coops in Illinois; that the men are compelled to dig 2,400 to 3,500 pounds of coal for a ton in defiance of State law, and that they must trade at truck stores owned by the companies, many of them having worked for years and are still in debt to the operators. And on top of this hellish condition the operators are seeking to enforce a 20 per cent. reduction of wages! McDonald concludes:

"After what I have seen here I don't want anyone to come to me to talk Bryan and Democracy, as this solid Democratic South is more corruption-cursed and more corrupt even than the trust-owned Republican party. And if Gompers and his colleagues were to tour this district with us I think he would hang his head in shame for what he has said in defense of the Democratic party.

"If I get out of here with my head whole I intend to tell something of what I have seen here."

SOCIALISM PROGRESSES IN SMOKY CITY.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Aug. 18.—As the result of the active propaganda work carried on here during the past eighteen months the membership of the Socialist party local has increased over 200 per cent. and the audiences that attend the Sunday morning lectures have become so large that the party organization has been obliged to hire a hall that seats over a thousand people, in order to accommodate the crowds that come to listen to the Socialist doctrine expounded by J. W. Slayton.

Smith—Excuse me Jones, but may I ask how you manage to have such delicious things to eat?

Jones—Its quite simple. I always kiss the cook before dinner and hold her on my knee after dinner.

Smith—But what does your wife say?

Jones—Oh, she doesn't object. She's the cook.

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	2,038	1896	26,564
1892	21,157	1900	86,961
1904			406,380

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The National Executive Committee met at headquarters last Saturday and Sunday.

The National Committee has defeated a motion providing for the sending out of new ballots for the referendum on the party constitution, and has adopted four other motions, as follows: 1. Providing for the publication of a leaflet dealing with the issuance of injunctions by Judge Taft. 2. Providing for the withdrawal of G. C. Porter as National Organizer in Nebraska. 3. Revoking the provision of the N. E. C. that each Socialist paper publishing the appeal for campaign funds might keep for itself half the amount received. 4. Providing that no further motions for the publication of leaflets be entertained by the N. C., in order that the executive may carry out a consistent plan.

J. O. Bentall of 180 Washington Street, Chicago, has been elected State Secretary of the party in Illinois.

Geneva H. Fryer of Globe has been elected State Secretary of the party in Arizona in place of Comrade Kroon, who resigned.

Twenty-four comrades and sympathizers who are residents of the National Military Home at Leavenworth, Kan., sent in \$17 for the "Red Special." When old soldiers come to the front like this it ought to inspire the younger generation.

The payment of dues during the month of July indicated a party membership of over 45,000. This is more than double the membership of four years ago.

The party has twenty National Organizers in the field in various parts of the country, including one Italian speaker and one Dane.

Contributions for the "Red Special" should be sent without delay to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 180 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. The Socialist suggests that contributors should authorize the National Office to use the money for ordinary campaign purposes if, for any reason, it is not needed for the special train.

DEGRADING LABOR.


It was not enough that the newspapers and politicians all over the country have been shooting shafts of sarcasm at organized labor because of the servile act of the Steam Shoemakers' Union in handing Taft a union membership card, but now comes the Lincoln Typographical Union, an organization whose members ought to know better, and peddles honorary cards to Bryan and Governor Sheldon, a Republican. So far as we know none of these gentlemen—neither Taft, Bryan or Sheldon—ever worked at a trade and are, therefore, ineligible to join a labor organization. Under those circumstances, and the further fact that these gentlemen are successful politicians, the union card peddlers not only lower the dignity of labor in the eyes of onlookers, but they are guilty of the most despicable belly-crawling act imaginable. No wonder that capitalists and politicians are constantly displaying more contempt for labor when they have such examples of hysterical mendicancy thrust before them. The dignity of labor, indeed! The next thing we know some unchained gang of fools masquerading as a union will hand "Uncle Joe" Cannon a card. Then there is Andy Carnegie and Frick and a few other kind masters that the cheap-skate card peddlers should not overlook.—Cleveland Citizen.

THE UNION LABEL.

A correspondent calls our attention to an error in The Socialist last week. We spoke of the label which appears in the upper right-hand corner of the first page of this paper, and readers who looked there for it did not find it. Those who looked further found it on the last page. The error was rather ridiculous, to be sure, but, anyhow, The Socialist bears the label of the Allied Printing Trades, and what we said of the meaning of that label is true.

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