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WHAT DO THEY CARE FOR LAW OR HUMAN LIFE?

Four remarkable, identical suits have been begun in the United States courts. The complainants are railway corporations—the New Central, the Jersey Central, the Ontario and Western and the Lackawanna. The defendant in each case is the Interstate Commerce Commission.

There is a law on the Federal statute books limiting the number of hours any railway employee may be required to work in a day. The law ought to have been enacted and enforced many years ago. To say nothing of the interests of the railway workers themselves, it is necessary for the protection of the lives of passengers. When a man has been kept on duty for twelve or fifteen hours, he is in no condition to be trusted with the lives of his fellow men; even if he does not actually fall asleep, his senses become dulled and his mind gets fagged so that it does not work normally, and he is likely to make a mistake which will cause a horrible holocaust. But in practice, a shift of twelve or fifteen hours is not considered an unusual thing. Again and again, in the investigation following some great disaster, it has been shown that the train dispatcher, the switch tender, or the engineer to whose negligence the disaster was attributed, had been required to work for twenty, twenty-four, thirty hours, or even more. And the courts have held that the responsibility rested on the employee and not on the company. The employee was free, the courts said, to refuse to work too long—entirely ignoring the fact that a man who should refuse to obey orders would be discharged and would have little chance of getting work at his trade again.

At last, about a year and a half ago, in response to the urgent demands of the railway workers, and in view of the rapid growth of Socialism, a law was passed depriving the railway companies of their "sacred right" to "run their business in their own way" and putting a limit on the time they might keep their employees on duty.

But that law has not been enforced. And the companies do not intend to have it enforced.

The law allows the companies to keep men at work beyond the legal limit in exceptional cases, where observing it would involve danger or stoppage of traffic. In accordance with the law, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued an order requiring the companies to report under oath every case in which an employee was required to work beyond the legal limit.

And now the four companies named have filed suits asking for a decision from the courts that the Commission has no authority to compel them to make such reports. One of the grounds upon which such a ruling is asked is that the order requires them to give evidence which could be used against them in criminal proceedings to punish them for violation of the law.

That argument is itself a confession of guilt. The railway companies know that they are violating the law. They know that they intend to go on violating it so long as they dare, regardless of the danger to employees and passengers. They know that if they are not required to make reports to the Commission, it will be almost impossible to convict them when they do violate the law. And they propose to fight to the last ditch against the enforcement of a law whose enforcement would cost them a few thousand dollars and would save hundreds of lives every year.

And yet there are railway presidents who have the impudence to accuse the labor unions of disregard for law and order and, in the name of the constitution, to inveigh against the growth of Socialism!

A life of Li Hung Chang has just been published in one hundred volumes. Wonder if Roosevelt is getting busy on his autobiog-

raphy. Let's see; one hundred volumes at one dollar a word—but it's too much for our arithmetic. We give it up.

Mr. Chafin has been notified that he is a candidate for the Presidency. All that now remains is to notify the public.

THE RED SPECIAL IS ON ITS WAY.

The Red Special will go. It starts from Chicago on Monday, August 31, and will return to that city on September 25, after carrying the message of Socialism all through the West as far as the Pacific Coast. And then, unless our expectations are disappointed, it will at once leave Chicago again on a round trip through the East, ending just before Election Day.

When the National Executive met in Chicago on August 15, the National Secretary was able to report \$6,000 cash on hand and \$2,000 more pledged by the members and sympathizers of the party for this great undertaking. On this it was resolved to start the special train on its projected route, and it is believed that the money will keep flowing in so that when the first half of the trip is completed all will be ready for the second half.

The National Secretary must know by September 10 what he is to do in this matter. If the Red Special is to go through the East, the money must be ready by that day. We believe it will be. We believe that the comrades will see to it that the funds are kept flowing in, so that even before the date set the National Secretary may be able to announce that this, the boldest enterprise which our party organization ever undertook, is to be carried through to complete success.

Comrades, send in the funds to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 180 Washington street, Chicago. If you can send only a little, send it quickly, anyhow. But make your contribution as liberal as you can. If you can send in only a little now, but can spare more a little later, don't wait, but send in the cash and the pledge together. In any case, accompany your contribution with the statement that it is for the Red Special or for other campaign purposes, as the National Office may find best.

Let no one suggest that the famous \$6,000,000 deficit report of the Traction Trust receivers is a bare-faced lie. So far from being bare-faced, it had whiskers ten years ago. Whenever the franchise capitalists want to perpetrate a new steal they first perpetrate a new edition of this lie about their running the business at a loss.

PROFIT RULE AND THE LAW'S DELAY.

Candidate Taft professes to deplore the delays and procrastinations in the courts which make the name of justice a mockery in the United States. He says there is "no absolute remedy," but makes certain propositions for the improvement of conditions. With those suggestions we shall deal later; suffice it to say here that, so far from improving the administration of justice, they would prostitute the courts still more completely to the propertied classes than they now are—and that is unnecessary.

But how about a positive remedy? Mr. Taft says there is none—that we must always suffer the law's delays and the injustice which they work. He is right—from his point of view. Considering private profit-making property as the most important basic institution of human society—considering capitalism as a natural and eternal system—considering, in fact, as he does, that government and law exist primarily for the protection of profitable property—he is right in saying that legal procrastination is a necessary evil, which we may be able somewhat to moderate, but which we can never cure.

We Socialists, who not only think but know that capitalism is a passing system, that the rule of profit is not destined to be eternal—we have a different view. We see a future, and a near future, in which the business of the courts will be so reduced that it can easily be expedited by even a much smaller force of judges and other officials than we now have; and beyond that we see a more remote future—more remote, but perhaps not very remote, as historic epochs are counted—in which the business of the courts as now conceived will altogether disappear.

Did it ever occur to you that three-fourths of the work of the courts grows directly out of the institution of private profit-making property? (Observe that phrase. We do not say merely "private property." Private property as such is not considered sacred under our existing system. It is PROFITABLE property, CAPITALIST property, the sort of property which enables its owner to GET AN INCOME WITHOUT WORKING by his control over the labor of the men who do work—that is the kind of property, and the only kind, that capitalist law regards as sacred.)

To repeat: Did it ever occur to you that three-fourths of the work of the courts grows DIRECTLY out of the institution of capitalist property. If you have ever served on jury or been called as a witness and had to wait around the courtroom a day or two, you have had the opportunity to learn that this is so. Or you can verify it by watching the court calendars as printed in some of the daily papers—not the news columns, in which only the more sensational criminal cases are reported, but the formal record of all the matters coming before the various courts. Or you can appeal to the experience of any lawyer or any reporter who has done courthouse work, and, if you once make him understand what you mean by the question, he will inform you that it is unquestionably true that seventy-five per cent. of the time of the courts is given to cases arising directly out of the conflict of capitalist interests.

And of the remainder, at least three-fourths arises INDIRECTLY from the same source. In the criminal courts, for instance, far the greater part of the crimes and misdemeanors tried are clearly traceable either to the desperate and degrading poverty of one portion of society or to the demoralizing wealth and idleness of another portion.

While the masses of the people continue to live in poverty even when they have a chance to work and to be reduced to misery from time to time when capitalism denies them the opportunity to earn a bare living by hard labor; while a small class continues to live in luxury, to exercise practically arbitrary power over the workers, and to be free from the necessity of doing any productive labor; while industry is dominated and, through industry, all departments of public and private life are dominated by the interests of the propertied class; while workingmen are compelled to compete for the opportunity to work and live and capitalists are ever competing or threatening to compete for the control of the markets—while this system continues in which every man's hand is set against his brother, this system of "dog eat dog," this system in which "Every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" is the rule imposed by necessity upon most of the people—while this system of capitalism continues, we need not expect that there will be any reduction either in the amount of crime or in the controversies over business matters which occupy the attention of the courts.

Mr. Taft cannot conceive of a state of affairs in which the court calendars would not be overcrowded, in which causes of controversy would not be arising faster than judges and juries could dispose of them, in which men would not be kept waiting for weeks and months and years for the adjudication of their claims. He can only imagine that by limiting the right of appeal and the right of jury trial, business could be hurried along a little faster than it now is—at the expense, it is safe to say, of still greater injustice to the poorer and weaker litigants.

But the Socialists would strike at the root of this evil, as of a thousand and one other evils of which men complain to-day. By doing away with the complicated, fictitious, and fundamentally inequitable relations in which men stand under the rule of private profit, they would reduce to a minimum the causes of civil controversy and would at the same time reduce to a minimum the causes of crime and the need for penal law and policemen and prisons.

Vice-President Fairbanks went down to Missouri to deliver two campaign addresses, and a troop of United States cavalry was ordered from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to escort him. How is that for Caesarism in this free republic?

The dollar campaign fund scheme is "no go," the Nebraska Democrats say. Which simply shows that Socialism is the only thing that can enthuse the rank and file to the point of giving financial support to a political party. Far the greater part of our campaign

funds come in amounts even less than a dollar, in quarters and dimes and nickels from many thousands of supporters.

AN EXAMPLE OF HEARST METHODS.

Bryan, refused to comply and explained its action by the adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas we are convinced that the working class can never be helped politically by William J. Bryan, as he is the standard bearer of a party which represents the

interests of the capitalist class. "Be it therefore resolved, that we endorse the only party that deserves the support of the working class—the Socialist party."

Mr. Hearst's "American," champion of the "plain people," and chief organ of the so-called Independence party, reported this action in its Sunday issue as follows:

Local No. 53 of the International Women's Garment Makers' Union decided upon the repudiation of the circular sent out by President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, to the affiliated unions, asking them to contribute to the Bryan campaign fund. The union, after refusing to comply with the request

made by President Gompers, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, we are convinced that the working class can never be helped politically by William Jennings Bryan, as he is the standard bearer of a party which represents the interests of the capitalist class; be it therefore

"Resolved, That we endorse the only party that deserves the support of the working class."

It is possible to misquote by omission as well as by addition, and no one knows the art better than do the editors of the Hearst papers. The omission of the last three words of the resolution as adopted—the words "the Socialist party"—was no accident. It was intended to produce in the minds of readers of the "American" a certain effect, which it undoubtedly did produce except on the few who are "onto" the Hearst papers' methods—to convey the impression that this union, in repudiating Gompers' Bryan scheme, was endorsing the "Independence" ticket.

This is an old trick with the Hearst papers. In the campaign of 1900, when Mr. Hearst, along with Mr. Croker, was supporting Bryan for the Presidency, a local of the United Brewery Workers in this city adopted and gave to the press a resolution consisting of three paragraphs—the first condemning the Republican administration and declaring against McKinley, the second condemning the record of the Democratic party and declaring against Bryan, and the third approving the principles of Socialism and declaring the intention of the members of the union to vote the Socialist ticket. The Hearst papers printed the first paragraph and omitted the other two, and headed the article, "Brewery Workers for Bryan." And no efforts of the officers of the union could prevail upon the Hearst editors to correct the misstatement.

Can anyone believe that a party whose leader uses such methods to befool its readers can be a safe party for workingmen to support?

Don't just growl at the extortions of the street-car companies. Your growls don't hurt them. Leave a Socialist paper or leaflet in the seat every time you ride. It will reach a discontented passenger or an exploited conductor and teach him to vote against the system he now blindly complains of.

"I AIN'T AFRAID," SAYS THE "TIMES." Anent the dispatch (an inaccurate one, by the way) that Keir Hardie is coming to the United States "to amalgamate the American and Canadian trade unionists and Socialists into one political organization like the British Labor party;" the New York "Times" editorializes very much in the style of the small boy who shouts "I ain't afraid!" because he really is scared out of his wits.

There is nothing else that so thoroughly frightens and enrages the Belmont-Morgan-Rockefeller press as the suggestion that the masses of the working class of the United States may follow the lead already set by the bolder and more thoughtful minority among them and by the majority of their brothers in various European countries and array themselves against their masters as effectively on the political field in the Socialist party as they do in the labor unions on the economic field. They see it coming, and it makes them wild. And, with their individualistic psychology, they cannot understand it as a natural result of economic conditions, but think it is the work of some wicked agitators, such as Eugene Debs in America or Keir Hardie in England.

The "Times" reassures itself by the statement that "the Western Federation of Miners are the only Socialist workmen in the United States" (a statement which it would be pretty hard to reconcile with the election returns) and the prediction that "Mr. Hardie will no more make Socialists of our trade unionists than Mr. Gom-

pers can make them Democrats or Republicans as a class." To which we have to reply that of course Mr. Hardie will not make them Socialists, any more than any other individual could; he will do his share in explaining to them the object-lessons which the capitalists are setting before them and helping them as a class to understand their true interests; Mr. Gompers could do the same, if he were wise enough to turn his face to the future instead of twisting it around to the past.

The "Times" finds great comfort in the fact that, while the recent conference of the Anglican church at Lambeth was permeated with socialistic thought and feeling and openly expressed in sympathy with the Socialist movement, the convention of the American Roman Catholic Societies at Boston declared hostilities against Socialism. Just what this has to do with the question of American union men becoming Socialists, we do not know, except that a church ruled from above is less accessible to new and progressive ideals than one in which the guidance comes to some extent from the rank and file of the communicants.

With that unquestionable fact in view, we find the attitude of the two churches very encouraging. We cherish no illusions about the Catholic hierarchy. It will fight Socialism on the political field as long as it can, just as, in various Catholic countries, it has fought the unions on the economic field, organizing rival unions and supplying strikebreakers to the bosses, so long as it dared to do so. But we know that the Roman Catholic workingmen have stomachs to feel hunger and eyes to read newspapers and brains to think of what they feel and read, just as well as the workingmen of any other faith or of none. Contradicting its own preceding statement, the "Times" says that the Catholic church "confines itself to matters of religion" and does not meddle in politics. It would be well for the church, in the long run, if it did so. But it does not. It attempts, directly or indirectly, to dictate in political and other secular affairs. And by so doing, far from preventing the growth of Socialism, it succeeds only in arousing the antipathy of men who do not belong to the church and, what is more to the point, in exasperating workingmen within its own fold so that they will say, as we know of many devout and sincere Catholic workingmen saying, "The priest is all right so long as he keeps to religion, but we won't stand for him or anyone else to tell us how to vote or how to run our unions."

A Cincinnati brewing company has filed a bill in a Georgia court alleging the recently enacted prohibition law of that state to be unconstitutional, on the ground that it restricts people from worshipping God according to the dictates of their conscience—the point being that the ritual of several churches includes the drinking of wine in the communion service. The idea of a brewing company appearing as the champion of divine truth is rich. But religion is a ticklish subject and we refrain from comment.

Castro ought to be spanked. The Wall Street press says so, and that settles it. The only trouble is, Castro says he won't let anyone spank him. Well, that's just another reason why he ought to be spanked. It is Majestatsbeleidigung to object to a punishment decreed by the Asphalt Trust.

Say, you saffron-blooded apes, you yellow-flushed spaniels, you gelatine-spined shrimps, why don't you chip in more money for Lawson's stock-gambling pool? Hurry up with your dollars, or the friend of the people will invent some new names for you.

The Independence party of Schenectady County has repudiated the Hisgen-Graves ticket. They evidently took the first syllable of the party name in earnest. Some people never can understand a joke, anyhow.

President Van Cleave rises up in righteous indignation and declares that "there is not a vestige of truth in the pretense that any act of Congress or any ruling of any Federal court ever forbade any labor union to organize, to ask such wages from employers as the unions saw fit to ask, or to make any terms which would be agreeable to both parties."

Even if this were true—which it is not—it would not be saying much.

The right of workingmen to organize is nothing if they are forbidden to do what is necessary to effect the purposes of their organization.

The right to ASK for higher wages could hardly be questioned, even by the Russian Czar. But the right to use the united power of

the union to COMPEL the employer to pay the higher wages is something worth speaking of.

And of course the capitalists have never desired the government or the courts to prevent the workingmen from making such terms with their employers as would be agreeable to both parties. They would be great fools if they did. If the workingmen are satisfied with such terms it will be satisfactory to the employers, of course the employers are not going to object to those terms being made. But, in fact, "TERMS AGREEABLE TO BOTH PARTIES" NEVER EXIST. The capitalists naturally always want low wages in order to have big profits. The workingmen rightly want big wages, even though that means small profits. And the question between them is one of POWER—the financial and legal power of the employers against the power of united action among the workingmen. When the employers succeed in imposing their own terms, they speak of them as "terms agreeable to parties." When they have to concede something to the workingmen's demands, they always protest that the terms are unreasonable and use all the influence of their money and of their political pull to disorganize and paralyze the unions and cancel the existing agreements and force the workingmen to accept terms agreeable to the bosses.

If it were possible to have terms of employment agreeable to both parties, there would be no need for the existence of labor unions and, incidentally, no reason for the existence of the National Association of Manufacturers—and Mr. Van Cleave's good graft would be gone.

But what Mr. Van Cleave says is not only senseless; it is also untrue.

There HAVE been orders of the courts forbidding carpenters engaged on outside work to strike on behalf of carpenters employed in the shops, and forbidding other sympathetic strikes.

There HAVE been orders of the courts forbidding unions to pay benefits out of their own treasuries to members of the unions who were on strike.

There HAVE been orders of the courts forbidding the unions to inform their fellow workingmen of the fact that a strike or lockout existed in certain shops.

There HAVE been orders of the courts forbidding the unions to advertise the fact that certain goods were made under non-union conditions and asking them to help the union by refusing to buy such goods.

There HAVE been orders forbidding the organization of certain workingmen—notably the order forbidding Eugene V. Debs to come into the state of West Virginia for fear he should help in organizing the mine workers there and the order forbidding John Mitchell or any of the officers or members of the United Mine Workers to make any attempt to organize the employees of certain specified mine-owning companies.

The Republican party stands for all these court orders.

The Democratic party stands for the issuance of such court orders, but only says that no man should be punished for violating them unless a jury says he actually has violated them.

The Socialist party stands irrevocably opposed to the issuance of any such orders or to the observance of them if any judge is shameless enough to issue them. The Socialist party holds, not only that the power of the law should not be used to impede the efforts of the unions to extort better terms of employment from the capitalists, but that it SHOULD BE USED TO ASSIST THE UNIONS IN SUCH ATTEMPTS.

"Thou Fool!" is the title of a novel published this week. It ought to have a circulation of 7,623,486. That is the number of persons who voted for Roosevelt and Prosperity.

A Wilkes-Barre grocer, unable to collect a bill from one of his customers, seized the baby as security. But the scheme didn't work. Of course not. It is a dozen years now since a New Jersey judge ruled that a workingman's child is not worth more than a dollar.

So long as workingmen do not respect themselves enough to vote for members of their own class, why should capitalists show them any consideration? Fools are born to be fleeced, they say.

Suppose the people of New York should take the traction magnets at their word and say to them: "We do not wish you to run the street-cars at a loss for our convenience. So we will take the system off your hands and run it for ourselves." Wouldn't Ryan and his pals quickly discover that the trolley lines are a valuable property and that they must be compensated to the tune of a few hundred millions? But of course we would not be so disrespectful to the court as to suggest that the receivers' report is a lie. It is merely a masterpiece of capitalistic bookkeeping.

FIND YOUR FRIENDS.

By ROBERT HUNTER.

"Reward your friends and punish your enemies." That is Gompers' last word.

It sounds well. It appears wise. And it looks practical. Certainly no man would be foolish enough to disagree with that advice.

Would any man suggest that Labor should reward its enemies and punish its friends? By all means reward your friends. Stand by them through thick and thin.

But having said that we are no further forward. It is a general tactic as difficult to render practical as the command "Love your brother as yourself."

We must first find our friends. Who are they? Where shall we seek them, so that we may bring them our reward? This is the practical question.

Governor Hughes of New York wanted last year to pass an anti-gambling bill. He found many in his own party at odds with him. Some were his own enemies; and he sought to punish his enemies. But his enemies were not alone in his own party; there were quite as many in the other party.

He thought at one time that he would try to prevent the re-election of some of the enemies in his own party, but he discovered very shortly that he was only adding his enemies in the other party. He was in the position of a man who had few if any friends to reward, and so many enemies that he could not punish one without profiting another.

After a short campaign he quit that method of trying to reward his friends and punish his enemies. He found there was nothing to be gained by defeating his Republican enemies and electing his Democratic enemies.

Abraham Lincoln once saw a slave sold at the block. He knelt there and then and made a vow that if it were ever within his power that thing would cease in the United States. He was in politics, and he wanted to reward the friends of the negro and to punish their enemies.

But there were almost as many enemies of the negro in the Whig party as there were in the Democratic party. To vote for either party meant to reward not the friends but the enemies of the negro.

Abe was honest, and he declared for the establishment of a party wherein there should be only the friends of the negro. He did not want to make a mistake; he did not want to punish friends and reward enemies; so he got all the enemies in front of him and all the friends back of him.

There was then a clear-cut fight between the friends of the negro and the enemies of the negro. He who voted for the new party could do no other than reward friends and punish enemies.

Now who are the friends of labor?

If labor's friends were in the Democratic party, labor would have no problem to solve in the states controlled by the Democratic party. The states of the South, the states of the North, the cities, towns and hamlets controlled by the followers of Bryan would be model labor communities.

If labor's enemies were only in the Republican states, cities and hamlets would present a frightful warning to labor.

Why then do we find in the Democratic South the condition of labor about the most deplorable in the world?

No; the record of both parties shows that the enemies of labor pretty well dominate both parties.

The voter then who accepts Mr. Gompers' advice will hardly be able to vote for either the Republican or the Democratic party.

Well, then, who are labor's friends? They are those about you. They are in the cabins with you. They work at the bench beside you. They are the comrades in this and all other lands, they are those that fight the same battle that you fight; who struggle as you struggle for a righteous share of the earth's plenty.

They are those who want tolerable conditions to work in; who want wages increased and houses lessened; who want to abolish unemployment, misery and want.

They are your union brothers and your Socialist brothers.

Let any man who labors go into the lobby of Congress or into the halls of any legislature in this country.

And then let him go to any union or Socialist meeting.

Has anyone doubt where the friends are to be found?

Reward your friends, yes; punish your enemies, yes. But first of all find your friends.

IN INDEPENDENCE SQUARE.

By HORACE S. REIS.

Independence Hall, Philadelphia! What patriotic emotions are awakened at the mention of this historic place! What noble memories of proud ancestors hurling defiance into the teeth of a tyrant king, and entering into the struggle of the Revolution! What admiration for those who, over a century ago, fought and bled for their conception of freedom!

These thoughts came to me one sultry night, a week ago, as I passed Independence Hall and walked through the square. Looking up at the tower where had hung the old bell, I was reminded of the past battle for liberty. Battle! It needed no stretch of imagination to recall those battles, as I looked about me. Stretched out at full length, thickly dotting the lawns, were the forms of the fighters in the modern battle, the fallen in the battle for bread. Out-of-workers, "hoboes," driven from their ten-cent beds in the vermin-infested lodging houses, seeking to escape the heat, and snatching a night's fitful rest in the square.

In Independence Square, under the shadow of the tower where the old bell had rung out to "proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof"—there they lay, the victims of a vicious social order. And their liberty? Gone. No liberties left them but to seek work or starve. No chance, no hope, no opportunity, no independence. Has the gallant struggle of their forefathers been in vain?

Capitalism has but one god, and his name is profit. In the worship of their god the upholders of capitalism reek not of the lives and liberties of their fellow-men. They need the workers for profit; they employ the workers for profit, and, when their insane system of production has wrecked itself, they discharge the workers, for profit. They control the powers of government, subsidize the courts, bribe legislators and executives, for profit. Every move of the capitalist class is made with an eye to profit. And here is its result! On every public square, in every city of the land, thousands of victims of profit are making their beds on the grass; thousands are wanderers, vainly seeking employment. Thousands of homes are destroyed, husbands and wives, parents and children, separated. For the profit of a few. How long will it be till the spark of manhood, that glows in the breast of even the most degraded being, will flame up into a roaring fire, till the slaves of capitalism arouse themselves and throw off the yoke of profit? How long will it be till the old bell again rings out liberty, real liberty, industrial liberty?

THE DISUSE OF THE CLASSICS.

"Classical quotations are not as much employed by great orators as they used to be."

"No," answered Senator Sorghum. "It's hard enough to get a stenographer who will keep your English grammar straight, without expecting Latin and Greek."—Washington Star.

THE POOR MEN.

Nell—A girl shouldn't marry a man till she knows all about him.

Belle—Good gracious! If she knew all about him she wouldn't want to marry him.—Philadelphia Record.

SARATOGA IN 1907 AND 1908.

By ALEXANDER IRVINE.

I went to Saratoga Springs last summer when the racing season was at its height, to study the psychology of the crowd—the gambling crowd. Saratoga was gay then and money flowed like water. Her beautiful Broadway was a blaze of finery by day and illuminated as for the triumphal entry of a king by night.

There was an abandonment in the betting ring that resembled that other ring called the Stock Exchange. A crowd of 2,000 men, jauntily dressed, thronged the enclosure around the grandstand. Hundreds of ladies with sparkling diamonds and Paris fashions played the ponies and went into hysterics every time they came up the home stretch.

Judges, Senators, priests, and politicians were there and playing high "Society," or a part of it, played by proxy. But it was a phase of "frenzied finance" from the "dead line" in the field to the stalls or boxes of the club house.

This colossal gambling scheme on all the Eastern tracks is managed by the Pinkertons.

This year at Saratoga is different. There is a chance for a Socialist to observe how devotedly the patriotic Democrats and Republicans are wedded to "the majesty of the law."

Book making is a crime this year. The lawmakers have been dealing in the "dear moralities" and Saratoga wants to be let alone!

Last year the bookies stood beside their tin boxes handing out or taking in sheaves of greenbacks. The winners formed lines—single file, bread-line-like—and took their turns.

This year the bookie stands with his hands in his pockets and makes his wagers with the bat of an eye, the wave of a hand, or a nod of the head.

Each bookie has a crew of touts or runners, and when the customer gets the odds and names his sum the tout retreats and records the affair on the inside of a cigarette box, a white cuff, or a racing program.

Imagine a score of the "old guard" of the bookmaking fraternity standing there and around them two thousand well dressed patriotic gamblers doing business without a dollar! Of course one has to be known to do business.

Half the big crowd wears a button—and on the button the Statue of Liberty and around the Goddess these words—"Personal Liberty League." To the beautiful town of Saratoga the words mean business prosperity—thousands of visitors.

The town is like a country village this year and the town doesn't like that. Only fifteen days of gambling this year—a whole month last! Canned gone for good and the lid down tight on the lesser brood! Poor Saratoga!

Last year prostitutes paraded Broadway—this year not one! Poor Saratoga!

Last year Bacchanalla—a besotted drunken throng that made the welkin ring far into the night for a whole month—this year the streets are quiet and orderly at ten p. m. and the order has to be borne for fifteen days!

As I looked at the throng yesterday I thought of the other throng—that blackened multitude of lollers on whose backs these parasites were sticking like a jockey to his horse!

As I looked at the green lawns where the ponies were aired—a lackey to each horse—I thought of the stinking hovels, the fire escapes and gutter ways where panted the children of the proletariat!

Saturday last I saw a jockey boy from Mississippi thrown from his horse and killed. As his bones cracked the men who were betting on his horse swore and blasphemed God. The mass followed eagerly the fortune of the other horses and screamed with delight or raged and swore as their money came or went on the result. The lifeless form of the boy in white lay stretched on the green turf and the brass band crashed a crescendo of music called "The President's Choice!"

I thought of vulgar, brutal Rome in the days of the Caesars. Was it worse?

The papers gave big headlines to the winning horses and their owners, and scarcely a line to the boy.

Of course it is only a part of that

bigger brutal system of inhuman capitalism where the life of the toiling human is as cheap as dirt.

Democrats and Republicans are working together now in the Personal Liberty League and say if their respective candidates are against this form of gambling they will vote the Socialist ticket. But we are preparing for a bigger line-up than the race track. We will see how they feel about it when we are in the act of abolishing Wall Street!

THE PEOPLE.

The people is a beast of muddy brim, That knows not its own force and therefore stands

Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;

One kick would be enough to break the chain; But the beast fears, and what the child demands

It does; nor its own terror understands. Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.

Most wonderful! with its own hand it ties And gags itself—gives itself death and war

For pence doled out by kings from its own store. Its own are all things between earth and heaven;

But this it knows not; and if one arise To tell this truth, it kills him unfor-

given. —Thomas Campanella, 1612.

POSSESSORS' STRATEGY

This has been the tactic of the possessing class in all history—to precipitate premature revolt on the part of the disinherited or enslaved class when sheer brute conservatism no longer answered, and when compromise could no longer put off inevitable revolution. Whenever a great initiative begins to grow into a menacing movement toward liberty, its defeat or deflection often comes from the precipitation of conflicts for which it is not ready. The oppressed are prone to let their oppressors fix the day and the hour when the yoke shall be broken. The world's rulers have always been imbued with the evil wisdom of how and when to incite the disinherited to premature and futile revolt, in order that the revolt that is final and fruitful might be postponed or destroyed. Millions of workers, through many red centuries, have fruitlessly died in the very revolts against their masters which the masters themselves had secretly arranged or inspired. And this will continue to be so until the workers shall consciously, intelligently and deliberately choose the day and hour and method of their own deliverance. —George D. Herron, in "From Revolution to Revolution!"

COMPLYING WITH THE LAW.

The demand that the Sultan of Turkey dispense with his harem recalls the story of the cannibal chief who became converted and asked the missionary to admit him to the church.

"But you have more than one wife," objected the missionary. "My church does not allow that."

The chief departed in dejection, but returned again in a few days and announced, with evident satisfaction, that he now had only one wife and was ready for baptism.

"But," objected the clergyman, doubtfully, "where are your other wives?"

"Oh," replied the convert, "I have eaten them!"—New York Tribune.

CARES OF THE LEGITIMATE

"What is the most difficult thing about dramatic art?"

"It has many difficulties," answered Mr. Stormington Barnes. "One of the most perplexing is the necessity of keeping your mind simultaneously on a time table, a date book, a box-office statement and the language of the poet whom you may be interpreting." —Washington Star.

WHAT SARGENT WROTE OF TAFT IN 1893.

We print below what Frank P. Sargent, then grand master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, wrote in the North American Review of May, 1893, concerning the injunction issued by William Howard Taft, then a United States district judge of Ohio, against the striking workmen of the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railway.

Sargent now holds a political job as the appointee of a Republican President. And he now advises the workmen to vote to put into the White House this same Taft, whom he, as a labor leader, justly branded as a usurper and a tyrant.

Let our readers judge whether we are right or wrong in opposing the leadership of such men as Sargent, who could thus change his tune when the masters gave him a good job.

And let them read what Sargent said of the Taft injunction of 1893 and judge whether any workman ought to vote for Taft or for any candidate who stands on the same platform with him.

Against this judicial usurper the Socialist party has named as its candidate Eugene V. Debs, a man who has learned the rights and wrongs of the workingman during his eight years of labor in the locomotive cab, and who has stood true to the working class, while Sargent and his like have gone over to the service of the exploiters.

This is Sargent's article:

"In the case of the strike on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railroad, which occurred on March 8, every precaution was taken, and every movement on the part of the members of the order was deliberate and lawful. There was not an instance of insubordination; nothing turbulent or seditious. Men had appealed to their employers, like men, to have serious and grievous wrongs redressed in a manly way, as become good and law-abiding citizens. They had been over-worked and under-paid. Their employers had violated contracts and had subjected them to outrageous treatment, and mocked at their complaints. Their pleadings and protests had availed not, and when endurance and patience had ceased to be virtues, when all efforts to find redress had utterly failed, then, and only then, did they strike; only then did they assert their manhood, their rights as citizens and abandon their work, preferring idleness and the sacrifices which idleness entails to the degradation which injustice and insolence force upon the unresisting.

"The strike on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railroad had no extraordinary features, but the interferences of the United States judges have given it national prominence, and if the dictum of these judges is to stand as the law, the dearest rights of the citizen are swept away and an autocracy is established. This view of the situation is not strained, but is strictly in consonance with the avowals of the press throughout the country. The questions of law involved are fundamental and are commanding, as they should command, the best thought of the nation. It has hitherto been conceded that railroad employees possessed all the rights as citizens which attached to the employers, that is to say, that if employers possessed the right to discharge employees, when it pleased them to exercise such authority, the employees also possessed the right unchallenged, to quit work when they elected to exercise that right. If a judge of the United States court may abolish this right of an employee, he remands him, unequivocally, to a servitude as degrading as the Spartans imposed upon their helots, and it is this phase of the strike which has aroused such intense concern and alarm.

"It will not be expected that I should enter upon a discussion of the legal points involved; at best I can only voice the sentiments of a body of law-abiding men who have been trained by their organizations to respect the laws and the decisions of courts, and who find themselves suddenly reduced to the condition of

peonage by the decision of a United States judge. The learned judge, in his decision, finds it convenient to omit all reference to the duties of railroad magnates, and devotes all his attention to employees, intimating to them that, having sought employment upon railroads, they have become, by some legal hocus-pocus, a part of its machinery to remain during the pleasure of their employer. In handing down such a judicial opinion, the judge seeks to bury out of sight the inalienable right of a railroad employee to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If an engineer, he is welded to the throttle of his engine; if a fireman, he can lay down his pick and scoop only when his master gives him permission. The interstate commerce law is invoked, it is true, and the whys and wherefores of the boycott are involved, but the judge, disdaining to be exact, gives employees to understand that once becoming engineers or firemen, they part with their rights as citizens and are links in a chain gang of railroad employees, because they are in some sense public servants, and the exercise of the prerogative to quit work is productive of inconvenience. But it will be observed that no reference is made to public needs or inconvenience, when an official, without notice or warning, at his own sweet pleasure, discharges an employee.

"It has been suggested that a railroad employee, when he accepts service, enlists—something after the manner of a private soldier in the regular army of the United States—placing himself under the control of officers, from corporal to the commander of the company, regiment or division, and therefore can neither quit nor resign, but is held by some mysterious power recently discovered by a United States judge. True, it may be, that neither railroad men nor the public profess to understand clearly what the judge means, but the best efforts that have been made to comprehend his declarations lead to the conclusion that they restrict the rights of employees and indefinitely enlarge the rights of the employers. For myself, I do not regret that a United States judge has forced upon public attention questions of such acknowledged gravity. The time has come for workingmen to know if they have rights which the courts are bound to respect, or if these rights may be at any time abrogated to meet the demands of corporations or the combined capitalistic power. The United States judge at Toledo has started the controversy, and I desire to have it proceed until the unquestioned rights of railroad employees, if rights they have, are established, as also the rights of their employers.

"It is asserted that railroads become common carriers, but are unable to perform their obligations without men. They must have men, and it should be stated they must have engines, fuel, water, steam, tracks, etc. The locomotives and equipments can be purchased and become the property of the road, but they are useless without men, and these, once secured, the general manager, speaking as if by authority, intimates that they become fixtures, because without them, as without engines, the obligations of the railroads cannot be performed; such is the newfangled logic relied upon to reduce railroad trainmen to machines, to do the bidding of masters with authority conferred by a United States judge. In at least one notable instance a United States judge has shown his utter contempt for a sovereign state and the laws made in conformity with the constitution, and has sent county officials to prison because they would not disregard their oaths and obey his mandate—and it will readily be conceded, if such a high-handed outrage can be perpetrated and the judge remain unimpeached, that a judge may, with equal impunity, subject railroad employees to autocratic indignities. Such acts on the part of judges may lead to a movement to define the limits of judicial power, since, if it is far-reaching as I have indicated, the demand to know the worst will grow in emphasis until worst is known, and the present is as favorable a period as will ever occur in the history of workingmen

or of the country for adjustments and readjustments.

"The language of the judge, it would be prudent to say, creates general alarm; like the phenomena that precede cyclones and earthquakes, it presages other troubles, compared with which the Toledo strike will be insignificant.

"Fortunately, it is held that the court has assumed authority which it does not possess; that its dictum is extra-judicial; that it does not possess the authority to reduce men to machines or to a commodity; that rights acquired by revolution, war and legislation cannot be crushed and overwhelmed by a district judge at his pleasure. But it so happens that while men debate such propositions, embodying self-evident truths, the court, with an iron grip, holds freemen in bondage, and the victims are as powerless as when, under another exhibition of power, men were sold at the auction block."

THE DIRTY WORK.

There would be no one to do the dirty and the menial work, says another objector to Socialism. Under the Co-operative Commonwealth where economic equality prevails there would be no menial work. Labor becomes menial only under conditions where wealth and poverty are found side by side—where one individual has power over another through economic necessity for the means to support life. As to the dirty work, so called, we observe that sanitary appliances and machinery are in a large measure solving that problem.

However, we admit that there will be certain forms of work, such as trenches to excavate and roads to build, which to-day we leave to the socially inferior. Yet with the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth, objection to this kind of labor would largely disappear. With human effort systematized and our prodigious waste eliminated so that we could supply abundantly our economic wants in two to four hours' daily application, these arduous forms of labor would be reduced to a healthy exercise. Such labor to the extent required would not be drudgery for any healthy person.

It is the excess of work, the long hours of steady, unremitting toil to which most of mankind are obliged to submit, which makes labor drudgery.

Yet it must be conceded that there may be some forms of labor less desirable than others. If there are not a sufficient number of individuals whose tastes naturally lead them to choose the forms of labor alluded to, such toil can be made attractive by sufficient reduction of the hours of application to these duties, until the equilibrium is found.

Thus it is, we claim, that with the menial nature of certain forms of labor eliminated through the economic equality of a people and drudgery abolished by a great reduction in the hours assigned to arduous forms of manual labor, our objectors are fully answered.—Charles C. Hitchcock.

PRACTICAL MAN.

"Did you hear about Stayathome? He told his wife that if she went to her club and remained all day he would turn on the gas."

"And did she go?"

"Yes."

"Great Scott! Did he turn on the gas?"

"You bet he did. He turned on the gas and poached his own eggs and cooked his own coffee."

A POOR ONE.

Towne—Now, there's Dimley; his wife does all his shopping for him, and—

Browne—Yes, I suspected that the first time I met him.

Towne—Why?

Browne—He gave me one of his cigars.

BOWERY BOYS.

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

It was after midnight last night, when I was returning from an East Side meeting, and having resolved to walk home to get the air, I took the Bowery. The street was quiet, as is usual at that hour, so the little boy's weeping was heard more than two blocks away.

When I reached him a couple of "fellers" had already got to him from the opposite direction.

"Say, kid! what's the trouble?" asked one of the twg boys.

The kid, dressed in the dirtiest, raggedest clothes imaginable, was sobbing heartbreakingly; his tear-stained little face was lifted, and his child's eyes, red and swollen with weeping, were raised in tearful supplication to the gaping blackness of a second-story window.

"What's the trouble, hey?" repeated the youth.

"My—my mother! She won't let me in," sobbed the child.

"Won't let y' in! Where y' been so late? almost serves y' right, kid!" exclaimed his questioner.

Here the gaping blackness of the window was pierced by a bit of white muslin and a woman's pale face.

It was the mother; but not a word from child to mother or from mother to child!

The child wept more softly now, and the mother addressed herself to the crowd of six Bowery boys and myself and companion.

"You feel sorry for him, yes! but not for me or his father. He is a bad boy and his father ran around three hours looking for him to-day, and couldn't find him.

"We work hard all day and at night we want to rest, and that boy is going to kill us with worry some-day."

"Aw!" cried one of the Bowery lads, "give the kid another chance, go on!"

"Throw down the key, will ye!" shouted up another.

"Ye're not goin' to let yer own child stay out in the streets all night, are ye?" asked the third.

"G'wan! come down an' open th' door for th' kid," cried still a fourth.

The pressure of public sentiment was too great; the poor, hardened mother yielded. She disappeared from the window; and by the time the crowd of street boys had half succeeded in quieting the little fellow with their half-rough and half-gentle caresses (all the while admonishing the boy to "be good," as a rough father would who essayed to be gentle with his child) the mother appeared at the door.

What a story of struggling poverty she told the little group of us as we crowded around the door! The old, old story it was of trying to keep the wolf from the door and at the same time endeavoring to take care of the children.

She was so apologetic! It was not their fault, the parents! They tried to do all they could to keep the boy right! It was really the crook of a boy who lives downstairs who caused all the trouble—the crook of a boy who led her boy into all sorts of bad ways.

The unfortunate little citizen of the future slipped through the partly opened door, and the darkness swallowed him.

The pale mother, who could not have been more than twenty-five years of age, said good-night to us as if she were glad to get rid of the crowd who interfered with her individual liberty to do as she would with her child.

"Curse poverty!" I exclaimed.

The boys looked at me wonderingly, and one of them simply remarked with regret, "He'll get his alright when he gets upstairs."

Yes, he'll get his, alright, when he grows to man's age, too; if ignorance continues to vote as these ignorant but kindhearted Bowery boys are voting.

APPEASING A THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE.

Caller—I wish you would tell me what the real difference is between a Stradivarius and any other violin.

Information Editor—Well, sometimes it is as much as \$5,000.—Chicago Tribune.

If you want to reach the people that buy, advertise in The Evening Call.

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 II.

A NECESSARY CONTRAST.

If the whole might of government was used in the aggrandizement and perpetuation of a propertied aristocracy, what was its specific attitude toward the working class? Of the powerful few, whether political or industrial, the conventional histories hand down grossly biased and distorted chronicles. These few are isolated from the multitude, and their importance magnified, while the millions of obscure are nowhere described. Such sterile historians proceed upon the perfunctory plan, derived from ancient usage in the days when kingship was supremely exalted; that it is only the mighty few whose acts are of any consequence, and that the doings of the masses are of no account.

Government by Property.

Hence it is that most histories are mere registers of names and dates, dull or highly colored hackneyed splurges of print which give no insight into actual conditions.

In this respect most of the prevailing histories of the United States are the most egregious offenders. They fix the idea that this or that alleged statesman, this or that President or politician or set of politicians, have been the dominating factors in the decision and sway of public affairs. No greater error could be formulated. Behind the ostentatious and imposing public personages of the different periods, the arbiters of laws and policies have been the men of property. They it was who really ruled both the arena and the arcana of politics; it was they sometimes openly, but more usually in the background, who influenced and manipulated the entire sphere of government; it was they who raised the issues which divided the people into contesting camps and which often beclouded and bemuddled the popular mind; it was their material ideals and interests which were engrafted upon the fabric of society and made the prevailing standards of the day.

From the start the United States government was what may be called a regime swayed by property.

The Revolution, as we have seen, was a movement by the native property interests to work out their own destiny without interference by the trading classes of Great Britain, and it was won by the muskets of the working class. The Constitution of the United States, the various State constitutions, and the laws were, we have set forth, all reflexes of the interests, aims, castes and prejudices of the property owners, as opposed to the non-propertied. At first the landholders and the shipping merchants were the dictators of laws. Then from these two classes and from the tradesmen sprang a third class, the bankers, who, after a continuous orgy of bribery, rose to a high pitch of power. At the same time other classes of property owners were sharers in varying degrees in directing government. One of these was the slaveholders of the South, desperately increasing their clutch on government administration the more their institutions were threatened. The factory owners were likewise participants. However bitterly some of these propertied interests might war upon one another for supremacy, there was never a time when the majority of the men who sat in Congress, the legislatures or on the bench did not represent or respond to either the interests or the mercenary ideals of one or more of these divisions of the propertied classes. Finally, out of landowners, slaveowners, bankers, shippers, factory masters and tradesmen a new class of great power developed. This was the railroad-owning class.

From about the year 1845 to 1890 it was the most puissant governing class in the United States, and only ceased being distinctly so when the industrial trusts became even mightier, and a time came when one trust alone, the Standard Oil Company, was able to possess itself of vast railroad systems.

These different components of the railroad-owning class had gathered in their money by either outright fraud or by the customary exploitative processes of the times. We have noted how many of the landholders secured their estates at one time or another by bribery or by invidiously fraudulent transactions; and how the bankers, who originally were either tradesmen, factory owners or landowners, had gotten their charters and privileges by widespread bribery. In turn, the portion of the money thus acquired was often used in bribing Congress and legislatures to give them railroad charters, public funds, immense areas of land including forests and mines, and to pass for their benefit special laws of the most extraordinary character.

Conditions of Non-Propertied.

Since government was actually, although not avowedly or apparently, a property regime, what was the condition of the millions of non-propertied?

It has been clearly brought out how the machinery of government was employed in the presenting to a comparatively few a large part of the standing and potential resources of the country, with laws guaranteeing them a drastic, tightening hold upon the labor of the workers for untold generations to come. But, in order to get a correct understanding of both the philosophy and significance of what manner of property rule was in force, it is necessary to give at least an accompanying sketch of the life of the millions of producers and what kind of laws related to them. Merely to narrate the acts of the capitalists of the period is of no enduring value unless it be accompanied by a necessary contrast of how government and capitalist acted toward the worker. It was the worker who tilled the ground and harvested the produce nourishing nations; whose labor, mental or manual, brought forth the thousand and one commodities, utensils, implements, articles and luxuries conducive to the material wants of civilization. Verily, what of the great hosts of toilers who have done their work and shuffled off to oblivion? What were their aspirations, difficulties, movements and struggles? While government, controlled by both the men and the standards of property, was being used as a distributing instrument for centering resources and laws in the hands of a mere minority, what were its methods in dealing with the lowly and propertyless?

Furthermore, this contrast is indispensable for another reason. Posterity ever has a blunt way of asking the most inquisitive questions. The inquirer for truth will not be content with the simple statement that many of the factory owners and tradesmen bribed representative bodies to give them railroad charters and bountiful largess. He will seek to know how, as specifically as the records allow, they got together that money. Their nominal methods are of no weight; it is the portrayal of their real, basic methods which alone will satisfy the delver for actual facts.

A Passing Glance.

This is not the place for a voluminous account of the industrial development of the United States. We cannot halt here to give the full account of the origin and growth of that factory system which has culminated in the gigantic trusts of to-day. Nor can we pause to deal with the manifold circumstances and methods involved in that expansion. The full tale of

the rise and climax of industrial establishments; how they subverted the functions of government to their own ends; stole inventions right and left and drove inventors to poverty and to the grave; defrauded the community of incredible amounts by evading taxation; oppressed their workers to a degree which in future times will read like the acts of a class outsavaging the savage; bribed without intermission; slaughtered legions of men, women and children in the pursuit of profit; exploited the peoples of the globe remorselessly—all of this and more, constituting a weird chapter of horrors in the progress of the race, will be fully described in a later part of this work. (1)

But in order to contribute a clear perspective of the methods and morals of a period when government was but the mannikin of property—a period even more pronounced now—and to give a deeper insight into the conditions against which millions had to contend at a time when the railroad oligarchy was blown into life by government edict, a few important facts will be presented here.

II.

The sonorous doctrines of the Declaration of Independence read well, but they were not meant to be applied to the worker. The independence so much vaunted was the independence of the capitalist to do as he pleased. Few, if any, restrictions were placed upon him; such pseudo restrictions as were passed from time to time were not enforced. On the other hand, the severest laws were enacted against the worker. For a long time it was a crime for him to go on a strike. In the first strike in this country of which there is any record—that of a number of sailors in New York City in 1805, for better wages—the leader was arrested, indicted and sent to prison. The formidable machinery of government was employed by the ruling commercial and landed classes for a double purpose. On the one hand they insisted that it should encourage capital, which phrase translated into action meant that it should confer on them grants of land, immense loans of public funds without interest, virtual immunity from taxation, an extra-legal taxing power, sweeping privileges, protective laws and clearly defined statute rights.

The Supremacy of Employers.

At the same time, while enriching themselves in every direction by transferring, through the powers of government, public resources to themselves, they declared it to be a settled principle that government should not be paternalistic; they asserted that it was not only not a proper governmental function to look out for the interests of the masses of workers, but they went even further. With the precedents of the English laws as an example, they held that it devolved upon government to keep the workers sternly within the bounds established by employers. In plain words this meant that the capitalist was to be allowed to run his business as he desired; he could overwork his employees, pay them the lowest wages, and kill them off by forcing them to work under conditions in which the sacrifice of human life was held subordinate to the gathering of profits, or to live in disease-breeding habitations. The law, which was the distinct expression of the interests of the capitalist, upheld his right to do all this. Yet if the workers protested; if they sought to improve their condition by joining in that community of action called a strike, the same code of laws adjudged them criminals. At once the whole power of law, with its police, military and judges, descended upon them, and either drove them back to their tasks or consigned them to prison.

The conditions under which the capitalists made their profits, and under which the workers had to toil, were horrible in the extreme. The hours of work at that period were from sunrise to sunset. Usually this rule, especially in the seasons of long days, required twelve, and very often fourteen and sixteen hours a day. Yet the so-called statesmen, the pretentious cultured and refined classes of the day, saw nothing wrong in this

1. See "Great Fortunes from Industries."

exploitation. The reason was obvious. Their power, their elegant mansions, their silks and satins, their equipage and superior opportunities for enjoyment all were based upon the sweat and blood of these so-called free white men, women and children of the North who toiled even harder than the chattel black slave of the South, and who did not receive a fraction of the care and thought bestowed, as a corollary of property, upon the black slave. Already the capitalists of the North had a slavery system in force far more effective than the chattel system of the South—a system the economic superiority of which was destined to overthrow that of black slavery.

Most historians taking their cue from the intellectual subservieny demanded of them by the ruling propertied classes, delight in picturing those times as "the good old times," when the capitalists were benevolent and amiable, and the workers lived in peace and plenty.

An Incessant Warfare.

History in the main thus far has been an institution for the propagation of lies. The truth is that for thousands of years back, since the private property system came into existence, an incessant, uncompromising warfare has been going on between oppressors and oppressed. Apart from the class distinctions and the bitterness manifested in settlement and colonial times in this country—reference to which has been given in earlier chapters—the whole of the nineteenth century and thus far of this century has been a continuous industrial struggle. It has been the real warfare of modern times.

In this struggle the propertied classes had the great advantage from the start; centuries of rulership had taught them that the control of government was the crux of the mastery. By possession of government they had the power of making laws; of the enforcement or non-enforcement of those laws; of the directorship of police, army, navy, courts, jails and prisons—all terrible instruments for suppressing any attempt at protest, peaceful or otherwise. Notwithstanding this massing of power and force, the working class has at no time been passive or acquiescent. It has allowed itself to be duped; it has permitted its ranks to be divided by false issues; it has often been blind at critical times, and has made no concerted effort as yet to get intelligent possession of the great strategic point, governmental power. Nevertheless, despite these mistakes it has been in a state of constant rebellion; and the fact that it has been so, that its aspirations could not be squelched by jails, prisons and cannon nor by destitution or starvation, furnishes the sublimest sight in all the annals of mankind.

(To be continued.)

A LION REBUCKED.

There was once a hunter so mighty, whose fame had so penetrated to the four corners of the earth, that when he at length came up with a lion the beast was seized with stage-fright and trembled in every limb.

The hunter was at no pains to conceal his impatience.

"Come, now! Don't be a molly-coddle!" he cried. "The publishers are paying a dollar a word for the story of what is about to happen, and they've a right to expect some ginger."

The lion, as it proved, was not without a certain nobility of character, and the appeal to his sense of fairness had its effect. True, he was killed, but only after a scuffle.—Life.

CARLYLE ON CAPITALISM.

A man with an income of a million a year eats the whole fruit of 6,000 men's labor through a whole year. For you can get a stout apachesman to work and maintain himself for a sum of \$200. Thus we have private individuals whose wages are equal to the wages of 7,000 or 8,000 other individuals. What do these highly paid individuals do for society for their wages? Kill partridges. Can this last? No, by the soul of man, it cannot and will not and shall not.—Thomas Carlyle.

THE SOCIALIST SABBATH.

By E. W. W.

The Socialists are the only considerable political party which favors such legislation as would make possible the keeping of the Sabbath Day holy—and in their platform they have a plank which demands for "every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week." And let it be borne in mind that this immediate demand of a day and a half is but a stepping-stone to a demand for two, or perhaps even three, days which would be perfectly practicable under a system which would guarantee to the worker the full product of his labor for the other four days instead of only a fraction thereof as at present.

We are sometimes severely criticized for holding our business meetings, picnics, and other gatherings on Sunday. Willingly and gladly would we hold them on some other day; but we have no other day! Nor does it seem likely that we ever shall have any other day unless we earnestly set about getting it for ourselves. Now, in order to get this and other things that we need, it is absolutely necessary that we organize, and also that we raise sufficient funds for carrying on our work.

An organization must hold meetings, and these meetings must be held when those who are to participate can

attend; therefore they must be held on Sunday, the only day that most of us have.

To raise funds, the only practicable way at times is by holding picnics, for it is a fact that most of the workers not only will and do attend Sunday picnics and outings, but that when they have met this extra drain upon their slender income they seldom have much money left for other purposes. It is idle to say that they should contribute their money direct rather than spend it on a picnic, for they will not do it. The human animal must have recreation or it will die mentally, at least, if not physically. Therefore our picnics are so arranged that we may "kill two birds with one stone." We not only provide our members and sympathizers with entertainment less harmful than they might find elsewhere, and at these large "family reunions" cultivate the spirit of comradeship and brotherhood, but we get their money as well, and are thus enabled to do more effective work toward doing away with the necessity of holding our picnics on Sunday. They are a means to an end.

We have a choice of two evils; it is impossible for us to choose neither—we must choose one or we shall have the other. Therefore we choose that which we deem the less.

"Judge not thy neighbor until thou standest in his place" (Rabbi Hillel).

EUGENE AGAIN.

By ELLIS B. HARRIS, in Appeal to Reason.

Eugene again, Eugene again,
Dear old friend!
A fearless knight to lead the fight,
A comrade to the end.
Be with him, ever in the van,
To meet the lords of grab,
And show them you're a union man
But not a union scab.

Eugene again, Eugene again,
Dear old pard!
Come rally 'round the battle ground,
That same old guard,
That swore allegiance to the cause,
Each comrade loyal and brave,
A victim of the spoliators' laws,
But not a cowardly slave.

Eugene again, Eugene again,
Dear old chum!
Were others true as he to you
Then liberty would come,
And life for all be just and sweet,
No lords of lust to stamp
Your girl a woman of the street,
Your boy a homeless tramp.

Eugene again, Eugene again,
'Gene once more!
Go tell the world 'tis still unfurled—
The flag of '94,
And memory shall ever hold,
Beneath its crimson sheen,
That favors doled, nor lure of gold,
Could ever buy our 'Gene.

THE HIRED BRAIN.

(Miles N. Williams of Dover, N. J., was reminded by our editorial, "Brains Cheap as Dirt, Says 'Flngy,'" of the following anonymous verses which we reprint at his suggestion.)

A man there was who would fain
be great
And with men of minds stand pat.
So he started him out on a quiet hunt,
And he rented a brain, with its mental
stunt,
And this great man lived in a brown-
stone front,
And his brains lived up in a flat.

He worked this brain both early and
late,
And its thoughts through the wide
world spread.
He allowed it a little a week for pay—
'Twas as little as possible, by the
way—
And this great man dined in a grand
cafe,
And his brains thanked God for
bread.

But it chanced one day that the
hand of fate
Cut both from this sphere mundane,
And this great man's funeral cortege
swept
The streets for a mile, and a nation
wept.
And they planted a monument where
he slept—
And the county buried his brain.

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MONKEYING WITH ETYMOLOGY.

Uncle Obediah (at the zoo)—I don't
see no monkeys in here.
Aunt Sabina—No. There ain't
nothin' but birds.
Uncle Obediah—That's funny. The
sign on the dern building said
"Apiary."

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IN THE CHORUS GIRL MARKET.

For a brazen exhibition of the brutal cynicism which is taking possession of all strata of society under the existing regime of unearned wealth and undeserved poverty, the following extract from a Chicago daily paper is about the limit:

FAMINE OF STAGE "BROILERS."

Scarcity of Chorus Girls Alarms Managers of Musical Shows.

"RAH-RAH" BOYS BLAMED.

"Million Dollar Kids" Playing Havoc Among Footlight Beauties.

You may not have noticed it, but there is a chorus girls' famine.

The big show towns like Chicago, New York, Boston and Philadelphia, where companies are rehearsing for the opening of the season, are suffering from the lack of shapely young women who can dance and sing.

Stage folk say that never before was there such a scarcity of chorus girls. New York managers have sent emissaries to Chicago during the last two weeks to engage all the girls they could get.

Herbert Glickauf, representing the Sam Rork Amusement Company of New York, left for the East last night after a week's stay in Chicago, dur-

ing which he tried ineffectually to hire experienced girls for a musical production. He lays the famine in chorus girls to what he terms "the live ones."

"The million dollar kids are putting the show business on the bum," said Glickauf. "All the chorus girls—that is, those who are any good—have been grabbed off by these rah-rah boys, and the managers are up against it for girls who can walk across the stage without falling over themselves.

"During the last week I met half a dozen men in Chicago who came on here from the East to hire chorus girls. Only one of them succeeded in getting any girls who had experience, and all he could round up was two.

"It is next to impossible to get chorus girls in New York who will go with the show on the road. They think Broadway is the only street in the world, and you can't pry them away from it. Before I came on to Chicago I had some experience with New York chorus girls that was enough to drive a man to drink.

"It's the million dollar kids who are to blame for the arrogance of this type of chorus girl. Twenty dollars a week has always been considered fairly good salary for the minor members of a company. This season they want \$30 and transportation to the place of rehearsal."

But Socialism, which would put an end both to the competitive labor market and to the "million dollar kids"—Socialism, you know, would destroy the home and undermine morality.

SOCIALISM IS HERE.

By MARY BURT MESSER.

When President Eliot of Harvard said, apropos of the magazine article entitled, "America's Trouble-Makers," that "Socialism hasn't a chance in this country because wealth is too diffuse," he was dealing with a theory and ignoring the rather startling fact that Socialism, in its real sense is already in our midst, and making all kinds of trouble because we don't know what to do with it.

It is already the dominant principle of our national life—a force so strong that protest is entirely futile; the only practical question is how shall we direct it? At no time have men been able to create a particular kind of political or industrial life (so that anxiety over any form of radicalism is usually without foundation). All that they have been able to do has been to make more or less feeble attempts at governing it. Such an attempt is politics; how feeble an attempt in one instance is indicated by the advent of capitalism.

Capitalism is runaway Socialism; Socialism not so much as "halter-broke," a force that stands quivering in its sense of power and liberty like the young broncho not yet subdued to any service.

In one sense capitalism is a splendid and healthy demonstration of the power of organization; in another sense it is a humiliating expose of the feebleness of our popular government, and of the incapacity of the American majority, who suffer themselves to be submerged and pauperized by a minority absurdly small.

In that combination does positively increase the sum of wealth; it (potentially) positively decreases privation; and organized industry, however, perverted to private ends, has in it the elements of great public good. Rightly controlled it means a lightening of material pressure and necessity, which means in turn an opportunity for the human being to emerge; for evolution to shift to a more spiritual plane; for a real civilization to manifest itself at last. It stands for that dominion over the material world promised to man in a very old and significant allegory: a dominion certainly not realized in the life of the average man, who is almost wholly the victim of economic necessity.

Disregarding for a moment its mis-

use, the trust itself is the very plant of Socialism, the perfected dynamo. That it should have been appropriated by the individual but superficially disguises its socialistic character. That it ought to be appropriated by a people who pronounced "taxation without representation tyranny" is clear to anyone facing the proposition squarely—and should be clear to one with even the faintest sentimental sense that the government should attempt to protect "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." When the American people once realize that every penny they pay over and above a certain economic value for gas, water, telephone, transit, food, garments—every possible commodity—is "taxation without representation" in its simplest form, they will proceed as promptly in the direction of independence as they did not quite a century and a half ago.

It is a fault of realization, and the campaign of Socialism is at present largely a campaign of enlightenment. It is the campaign of tracts and arguments which is the prelude to every revolution—here a revolution to a socialistic form which shall correspond to the present socialistic fact.

That the Socialists are able to offer no perfect and familiar method by which the people may come into their own is little to the point. That method—by their own principle—must originate in the roused consciousness of the people collectively. And the people are both plucky and resourceful when the time comes to act.

When Mr. Carnegie writes that "upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends," he forgets that the very America which has been his opportunity was precipitated into independence by a group of plucky colonists who found somewhere in their consciences a bigger principle—illustrated most picturesquely on the occasion of a certain tea party, when the waters of Boston harbor closed serenely over a considerable cargo of "sacred property" the moment it became the symbol of industrial oppression.

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AGREED WITH HER.

"You ought to have more consideration," sobbed the unhappy American countess.

"True," exclaimed the representative of the effete aristocracy, "the beggarly ten millions your father passed over in exchange for my epousal of you were hardly sufficient consideration to make a valid contract."—New Orleans Times-Democrat.

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THE GAME.

Making money under the present system is like a gambling game that four men sit into until it has been played long enough for one man to get all the money. When they begin each has more or less of the mazuma, but in time one man goes broke and there is a financial stringency that lasts until the embarrassed one has pawned something for enough funds to get back into it. These little tightnesses of the money market continue until the winner has raked all the money possessed by the three losers across the green. He may then prolong the agony for awhile if he so chooses by lending to the three; but is not likely to do so unless those to whom he lends have other property that he may win by so doing. But the time comes, if they play long enough, when the one has absorbed all the money and property of the three and the game comes to an end because it can't be played unless more than one man has money to bet. For like reason the capitalist game must come to an end. The nature of the game prevents its continuation. When one, or a few who stand as one, own all the wealth there is nothing for them to play for and nothing for the others to play with. The three find that they can't make money by swapping what they haven't or gambling on wealth that they can neither get as winners nor pay as losers. Then comes the social revolution, when all must go out and honestly produce with their labor what they are no longer able to get with their wits. And that time is nearly here.—Appeal to Reason.

TOO BAD!

"My husband kissed the housemaid the other day, but he said he thought it was I, because we look so much alike!"

"Indeed? So you've lost that pretty Bertha, who used to work for you?" —Meggendorfer Blaetter.

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"OUT OF A JOB!"

By ROBERT ANDREWS SIMONSON.

(With apologies to Rudyard Kipling, who knows a thing or two himself.)

A fool there was, and he made his plea,

(Even as you, or I),

To a man in an office, who sat carefree,
A cigar in his mouth, and a book on his knee;
"No time to bother with fools!" said he,
(Even as you might, or I).

O, the fool had pride, but it quickly died
As he offered his head and hand,

And pleaded with people who did not know,
(But he did not know that they never could know,
And never could understand)

A fool there was, and he vainly tried
(Even as you, or I),

To make some mark on the saurian hide
Of the Men who Rule, but he lost his pride;
And he lost his soul, but was still denied,
(Even as you, or I).

O, the fool was young, and the insults stung,
But he still had grit, and sand,
And he thought he would try till he made them know,
(But he did not know that they would not know,
And would not understand).

So the fool grew thin and the fool grew pale,
(Even as you, or I),
But his quest was hopeless, and could but fail,
Tho' he offered his body and soul for sale;
And at last the fool landed himself in jail—
(Of course you wouldn't do that, or I!).

And the days went past, till it happened at last
That the fool found a happier land,
Where One was the ruler who really did know,
(Who had suffered and died for the chance to know,
And the power to understand).

But the fool let his body remain where it lay,
(Even as you must, or I),
And the gray-headed doctors turned wisely away,
"Heart disease!" they said gravely and went on their way;
And the fool, being happy, had nothing to say,
(Neither would you, friend, or I).

Yet it isn't the sneers, and it isn't the jeers
That sting like a white-hot brand;
It's the getting to know that on earth they can't know,
(For the truth of it is, it "don't pay" to know,
And "don't pay" to understand).

POLITICS, PREJUDICE AND SOCIOLOGY.

By ALBERT STROUT.

Political animosities must be mitigated before the producing class in society will take cohesive action for its own emancipation. No psychologist has fathomed the abyss of the dark prejudices which the average man has against those who would improve his understanding.

The best interest of the working man is just the thing he is conscious of not knowing, and he would give anything in a quiet way to find out. Yet when a candid friend ventures to instruct him the old irrational resentment flashes out. The art of withholding, on certain occasions, information which even a Democratic politician knows would be good for him, is what the Republicans call tact.

There is a close relationship between the phenomena treated by political economy and by sociology. If the Socialist could confine his sociological investigations to the study of primitive peoples, far away from the prejudices of to-day's complex questions, he would escape the political odium that he must now endure. The most eminent contemporary sociologists are Socialists; likewise the Socialists are sociologists, and for this reason they never waste tissue in unproductive worry. They know that through psychology of the individual we come to know something of the individuals through whom are to be realized the ends that Socialism contemplates.

The human mind to a Socialist is like a city. It has its streets, its places of business and amusement, its citizens of every degree. For convenience of expression, it might be said that in each of us there exist two beings. The one is made up of all the mental states which refer only to ourselves and to incidents of our personal life. The other is a system of ideas, of sentiments, of habits, which acquaint us, not with our own personality, but with the group or the different groups of which we are a

part; such are the collective opinions of all sorts.

In the latter part of the intellect is a certain section known to the Socialist as the Forbidden City. It is inhabited, not by orderly citizens under the rule of right reason, but by a lawless crowd known as the prejudices. The majority, perhaps, are harmless folk who are content with their own little spheres, and the worst that can be said is that they have a knack of living without visible means of support. But there are others, however, who are militantly imperialistic. They are ambitious to become world powers. The ones I wish to especially make mention of are those which grow out of differences in politics. They are bold, roistering blades, who will not stand a question; dangerous fellows, these, to meet in the dark!

Do you possess any of this class? Have you allowed this irrational resentment against your intellectual benefactors to survive, in spite of all discipline, into mature life? I will not deny that our prejudices may make good study for the moralist, and possibly the artist might find instruction by viewing them, but that they contribute to our material welfare I emphatically deny.

When an intellectually slothful neighbor of mine points with pride to portions of his untilled mental ground I do not take a pharisaic attitude toward his prejudices, because I have myself felt a tenderness when the ploughshare of criticism has turned up a prejudice of my own. And it is very probable that I may yet possess patches of mental ground that are more picturesque than useful!

But truth is mighty and must prevail. Though the beginning of Socialist agitation has been humble, its volume small, its motive unperceived, it has at last won a hearing. You yourself, kind reader, are not now as prejudiced against Socialism as you were before you read this article. And I feel safe in saying, after the smoke of this November's campaign has

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HOW ONE PAINTER WORKED FOR PEACE.

By CLARENCE DARROW.

(From "Realism in Literature and Art.")

Verestchagin painted war; he painted war so true to life that as we look upon the scene we long for peace.

He painted war as war has ever been, and as war will ever be—a horrible and ghastly scene where men drunk with blind frenzy, which rulers say is patriotic pride, and made mad by drums and fifes and smoke and shot and shell and flowing blood, seek to maim and wound and kill, because a ruler gives the word. He paints a battlefield, a field of life and death, a field of carnage and of blood; and who are these that fight like fiends and devils driven to despair?

What cause is this that makes these men forget that they are men, and vie with beasts to show their cruel thirst for blood? They shout of home and native land, but they have no homes, and the owners of their native land exist upon their toil and blood. The nobles and princes for whom this fight is waged are far away upon a hill beyond the reach of shot and shell, and from this spot they watch their slaves pour out their blood to satisfy their rulers' pride and lust of power.

What is the enemy they fight? Men like themselves, who blindly go to death at another king's command; slaves, who have no land, who freely give their toil or blood, whichever one their rulers may demand. These fighting soldiers have no cause for strife, but their rulers live by kindling in their hearts a love of native land—a love that makes them hate their brother laborers of other lands, and humbly march to death to satisfy a king's caprice.

But let us look once more, after the battle has been fought. Here we see the wreck and ruin of the strife; the field is silent now, given to the dead, the beast of prey and night. A young soldier lies upon the ground; the snow is falling fast around his form; the lonely mountain peaks rise up on every side; the wreck of war is all about. His uniform is soiled and stained, a spot of red is seen upon his breast. It is not the color that his country wove upon his coat to catch his eye and bait him to his death; it is hard and jagged and cold. It is his life's blood, which leaked out through a hole that followed the point of a sabre to his heart. His form is stiff and cold, for he is dead. The cruel wound and lay air have done their work.

The government that took his life taught this poor boy to love his native land; as a child he dreamed of scenes of glory and of power and the great, wide world just waiting to fall captive to his magic strength. He dreamed of war and strife, of victory and fame; if he should die kind hands would smooth his brow, and loving hearts would keep his grave and memory green, because he died in war. But no human eye is there at last, as the mist of night and mist of death shut out the bloody mountains from his sight. The snow is all around and the air above is gray with falling flakes, which soon will hide him from the world; and when the summer time shall come again none can tell his bleaching bones from all the rest. The only life upon the scene is the buzzard slowly circling in the air above his head, waiting to make sure that death has come. The bird looks down upon the boy into the eyes through which he first looked out upon the great, wide world and which his mother fondly kissed; upon these eyes the buzzard will commence his meal.

THE BITTER CRY OF THE PARENTS.

By L. D.

When the conservative and respectable interests betake themselves to combat some liberal law, they usually raise a cry about the hardships and sufferings it is going to cause to innocent parties. When a bill is introduced for government supervision of a financial or industrial institution, the corporation lawyer is sure to shed bitter tears in behalf of the innocent investors, mostly poor widows and orphans, who seem to own all the railways and banks in the country. When a child labor law is mildly suggested, the "individualistic" citizen rises in bitter protest against the cruelties of a law that is going to deprive countless widows and crippled fathers of their bread winners. And thus the cruelties and alleged absurdities of liberal legislation are pointed out by a willing press for the information of the American people, and the "demagogue" is held in check.

Readers of The Call who have read carefully the Republican national platform will probably recall the paragraph dealing with the child labor law passed at the last session of Congress for the District of Columbia. It is needless to say that the measure has been rendered as mild as possible, and while the District of Columbia constitutes a very small part of the United States, its child labor law was considered of sufficient importance to be embodied in the platform of a great political party. But available issues are rather scarce this campaign, and the credit side of the Republican ledger has got to be filled somehow or other. Well, be it as it may, the District of Columbia rejoices in the possession of a child labor law, which some enthusiasts like our idealistic senator from Indiana considers quite a victory for the forces of reform, and believe that it may serve as a model for state child labor laws. Of course, it was a mere coincidence that Congress failed to appropriate money for the enforcement of the law, or perhaps it merely shows its sublime faith in the integrity of the Washington employers of labor. The law was put into effect a few weeks ago, and its enforcement is looked after by volunteer inspectors. The local press has naturally manifested considerable interest in the

working of the law, and considerable "copy" has been turned out, describing the crowds of youngsters lined up to receive their badges of servitude from the Board of Education. But the novelty has worn off by this time, and we are beginning to see the matter in a more serious and business-like light and, regarded from this standpoint, the law assumes an entirely different aspect.

Consider, for an instant, the following case, which is pathetic enough to bring tears to the eyes of your flint-hearted Socialist readers, and which is at present exploited with great gusto by the local papers. A solid and respectable business man, with several butcher stands in the different markets, is desirous of training his two boys in his trade and, realizing the intricacies of the sausage business, believes that the training cannot begin too early. Who would take exception to the desires of this ambitious parent? But here is where the cruel law steps in and says that he must not train his children to become respectable sausage-makers and useful citizens, because he cannot show that their labor is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the family. Imagine, gentlemen, a law preventing a father from bringing up his children in industry and sobriety!

What does the poor father do? He indites a pathetic letter to the Honorable Commissioners, pleading for the "sacred right" of a parent to teach his children to make sausages before they are old enough to know better. The Honorable Commissioners, greatly affected by the plight of the unfortunate father, turn to the corporation counsel, who advises the father to make a "test" of the law.

And here you are, you cruel Socialists, who are clamoring for national child labor laws. Have you thought of the numberless pork butchers in the country who might be inconvenienced by such laws? Has it ever occurred to you that the growing South needs the children in its cotton mills (built mostly by Northern capital)? Or are your demands for child labor laws as well founded as your demands for "dividing up" the accumulations of the honest and abstemious capitalists?

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WHERE CLOCKS DON'T STRIKE.

It seems to me I'd like to go
Where bells don't ring, nor whistles
blow,
Nor clocks don't strike, nor gongs
don't sound,
And I'd have stillness all around—
Not real stillness, but the trees'
Low whisperings, or the hum of
bees,
Or brooks' faint babbling over stones
In strangely, softly tangled tones.
Or maybe a cricket or katydid,
Or the songs of birds in the hedges
hid,
Or just some such sweet sounds as
these
To fill a tired heart with ease.
If 'twern't for sight and sound and
smell
I'd like the city pretty well;
But when it comes to getting rest,
I like the country lots the best.

Sometimes it seems to me I must
Just quit the city's din and dust
And get out where the sky is blue,
And say, now, how does it seem to
you?
—Eugene Field.

BOTH WILL TELL THE TRUTH.

It will not be many moons before orators of the two dominant parties, Republican and Democratic, will be sent forth to tell the organized wage-workers how shamefully they have been treated by the opponent party. The Republican orators will accuse the Democrats and the Democratic orators the Republicans. The thinking and conscientious labor men know that both sets of

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orators are telling the truth. They will cast their votes accordingly.

The other labor men, it is said, will take the stump in an effort to not alone convince organized labor that the orators of both parties are wrong, but will endeavor to convince the orators themselves that they don't know what they are talking about and that the two parties are friendly to organized labor and merit organized labor vote.

We are inclined to accept the word of the Democratic and Republican orators in preference to the word of the "labor" orators. They evidently know with what degree of crookedness their respective parties are blessed.—Piano Workers' Journal.

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FROM A PHYSICIAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

Under the headline "From an Engineer's Point of View," a few days ago, we presented extracts from a paper read before an engineers' club in Philadelphia to show how Socialist thought has invaded the engineering profession, as indeed it is invading every field of human thought and action.

The medical profession is no exception to the rule. Trained to observe facts in a scientific manner; brought face to face in their daily work with striking examples of the evils produced by overwork and poverty among one class of the people and by excessive luxury and idleness among another; enabled by the intimacy of their professional relations to see much that is hidden from the ordinary observer—it is no wonder that great numbers of able and conscientious physicians are coming to accept the principles of Socialism and to use their influence toward putting them into practice.

One of these is Dr. Henry Leffmann, who has an international reputation as a scientific worker for the advancement of the healing profession. At a recent meeting of the Philadelphia County Medical Society, Dr. Leffmann read a paper which only the limitations of our space prevents us from reproducing in full, so well does it present the argument for the nationalization and socialization of medical education and, in general, the doctor's reasons for giving support to the Socialist movement as a whole.

Dr. Leffmann said in part: "I propose, in brief, to show that the American medical profession cannot be placed on a sound ethical and economic basis unless it follows the course which all human activities are now following, knowingly or unknowingly, willingly or unwillingly, namely, national control through the direct action of the people."

"In the work of advancing medical education carried on in this country during the last quarter century, the opposing force has been purely economic, that is, based on the fact that such advancement reduced the income of the professional chairs."

It is not opportune to present here an extended account of even the more important features of the uplift that medical college work has experienced. A considerable part of it has been the result of advancement in knowledge. Laboratories for bacteriology, clinical chemistry and pathology could not exist when these departments of science were undeveloped. Apart from this, however, the obvious insufficiency of the standards of admission and graduation in American schools began to be recognized as a national shame. The profession itself, through its national and state organizations, began to agitate for reform, but the agitators long remained in a despised minority. Some of us can remember when Bellevue College decided to break a path of reform, and adopted a compulsory three years' course, but finding its attendance much reduced, quickly returned to its vomit. The college could not live' was the excuse; but as Dr. Traill Green said in a paper before the State Medical Society of Pennsylvania, 'What need was there for the college to live if its existence was dependent on inferior methods of teaching.'

"The different influences for better college methods gradually won power, and, fighting selfish motives step by step, have at last secured substantial control and may look over the field to see if the campaign is to continue along the same lines or to take new directions."

"Owing to the peculiar government under which we live, reform is usually brought about piecemeal. This is a federated republic, not a true nation. More than two score independent sovereignties operate it, and each of these is jealous of its powers. It has, therefore, been necessary for friends of advancement in any line to deal with all these jurisdictions. Thus, at the present time, any movement in relation to medicine, dentistry or pharmacy must be adopted by forty-six different legislatures before it can have national scope."

"My first appeal is, therefore, for the nationalization of the control of medical practice. All state sovereignty should be abolished. The laws re-

lating to the practice of medicine in the United States and all places subject to their jurisdiction, should be enacted by Congress. The system of examination for license should be fully maintained. Without such a system many colleges would at once fall below a safe standard of training."

"Nationalization is, however, but a means to an end. It will do much towards elevating the American medical profession, now in an unsatisfactory state by reason of the many-headed jurisdiction to which it is subject, and will do much towards perfecting medical organization, and giving greater influence in the community, but it is a palliative, not a cure. The real advancement can only come when the education of the physician is taken entirely from private hands and made the business of the community; that is when medical education is under the phrase 'private hands' I intend to include institutions managed by corporate bodies, as well as the small medical schools owned by the members of the faculty and operated in their interest, as is the case with many schools in the United States to-day."

"In the final analysis of economic systems, but two phases are recognized: anarchy and Socialism. These stand respectively for selfishness and mutuality. In the field of political economy an individual is either an anarchist or a Socialist, in tendency. It is true that many, indeed, by far the most persons, believe themselves on a middle ground, in which they hope to find the proverbial safety, but this indifference does not affect the philosophy."

"I think that whoever looks with clear eyes upon modern civilized society will see that progress is strongly towards mutuality. Socialistic measures that would have aroused the greatest opposition a quarter of a century ago are now not only accepted quietly, but insisted upon."

"The medical profession is particularly concerned in promoting mutuality. No intelligent physician doubts that bodily conditions play a great part in the determination of moral tendencies. Nor is it improbable that the advancement of hygiene will before long greatly diminish the occurrence of disease and that the work of the physicians will be changed largely from attending the sick to protecting the well. One medical specialty, dentistry, has indeed arrived at this stage. No satisfactory results in practical sanitation can ever be accomplished without the full force of social support."

"Leaving to one side the question of socialization of all natural monopolies, I want to direct attention to some results that will follow the placing of the medical profession on a strictly Socialistic basis."

"All private educational institutions find the financial question the dominant one. Their governing bodies are continually seeking donations for current expenses and endowments. To secure these care must be taken not to offend the persons or corporations who have excess of wealth or power to grant appropriations. Hence arises a capitalistic or a political control of education. Plenty of instances of both these evil influences are to be found in the recent history of this country. Freedom of teaching has been often restrained, and professors who do not submit to such restraint get their discharge promptly. The influence is often exerted before the gift is made, the hope of it determining that no teaching shall be given that will prevent the gift. In medical schools but little trouble has so far occurred along these lines because the topics of the medical course are but remotely connected with the great stresses in modern economic life. Such antagonism might arise at any time through special conditions. We can easily imagine, for instance, a professor of pediatrics denouncing child labor in a locality where such labor was largely used. We have then only to suppose that that college was receiving or expecting to receive donations from beneficiaries of child labor and the indiscretion of the reforming professor would become painfully evident to his colleagues and more so to the governing body of the institution."

"When medical schools are relieved, by community support, from all necessity for soliciting students and seeking endowments, the profes-

sors will be under no necessity of deferring to any outside influences or to students' fancies."

"I offer this paper as a contribution to the discussion of a movement that I believe is destined to progress until it will change materially the methods of life. We cannot hope to have a political democracy until we have an economic one. Individualistic methods so much lauded by orators at college commencements, corner-stone layings and statue unveilings, have failed entirely to bring happiness to the mass of the people. A steady squeezing of a large portion of the community to the form of an oppressed proletariat is going on. It is a condition that confronts us, not a theory. While it is only within the span of a human life that the specific remedy for economic ills has been widely discussed and taken the form of active and constantly widening propaganda, yet philosophers have in many periods of the world's history perceived the evils of the individualistic system and sought methods for relief. Just as the writings of Darwin have impressed so deeply and affected so largely the whole science of biology, so the works of Karl Marx have influenced the field of political economy. Another similarity between the two leaders is to be noted. Both have been the subjects of outrageous misrepresentation by those who are either too inert to study the literature or those whose interests, sentimental or material, are unfavorably affected by the principles that these men laid down. Darwin has been anathema to the cult that regards independent creation of species as an essential part of its creed, and Marx has been anathema to those whose vested interests will be affected by the economic reforms he advocated. The laws of nature are inexorable; human nature is no exception. The evolution of species goes on steadily and so the evolution of human society goes on. If we contrast the present period and its tendencies with the period just preceding the Civil War we will see how much progress has been made towards recognizing and applying the science of mutuality in life, and I believe that no portion of mankind will be more benefited by the success of the Socialistic propaganda than the medical profession, the members of which will then be on simple non-competitive relations with each other and with the community at large."

REMINDED HIM OF HOME.

Pat—"An' who is that at the play singing?
Mike—"That's me daughter, Katie, shure.
"Ah, her voice reminds me of my own wife's.
"Katie! Katie! Shut up yer mouth. I want Mike to enjoy himself while he's here!"

OUR DAILY ICE.

Once more, altogether,
In sorrow we're sunk;
The warmer the weather
The smaller the chunk.
—Washington Star.

NOTHING CAN STOP THE REVOLUTION.

I stood some years ago near an avalanche in the Alps which could not be stopped by an injunction. I fled from a blizzard in South Dakota which could not be thwarted by any court. I felt the rumble of an earthquake in Sicily which could not be quelled by an editorial in all the Chicago papers. I saw the floods of the Niagara which mock the army—aye, even the militia. Against the sweep of the comet what could Cleveland do, though he were a Pope and sent a bull after it? Let us disapprove of all these forces of nature, but what is your lack? It makes no difference whether or not you favor an earthquake. Let the court enjoin it. Let the squibblers of the soldier-satrap hold up their guns against it. It is coming! Crack! goes the earthquake while the Hebrew slaves march out of Egypt and Pharaoh sinks in the Red Sea. Crack! it goes again and the agrarians of Rome seize their short swords. Crack! and the serfs of Germany and Hungary carry everything before them. Crack! once more and the force of the French Revolution give death to monarchs. Louis' head falls into the basket. Crack again! And George Washington confronts George III. Crack again! And old Abe rides the earthquake, till chattel slavery falls, though buttressed by Supreme Court and church and editors and capital and Congress and poor old Buchanan. Crack again! And Garibaldi is in his red shirt! Crack! goes the earthquake now and then again and again, the wide world over. We have heard it twice in our own country within little more than a century and God help us to hear it again. The sovereignty of nabobs must be overthrown.—John Swinton.

A HELPING HAND.

Give him a lift; don't kneel in prayer,
Nor moralize with his despair;
The man is down, and his great need
Is ready help—not prayer or creed.

One grain of aid just now is more
To him than tomes of saintly lore;
Pray if you must, in your full heart,
But give him help, give him a start.

The world is full of good advice,
Of prayer and praise and preaching nice?
But generous souls who aid mankind
Are scarce as gold and hard to find.

—Hugh O. Pentecost.

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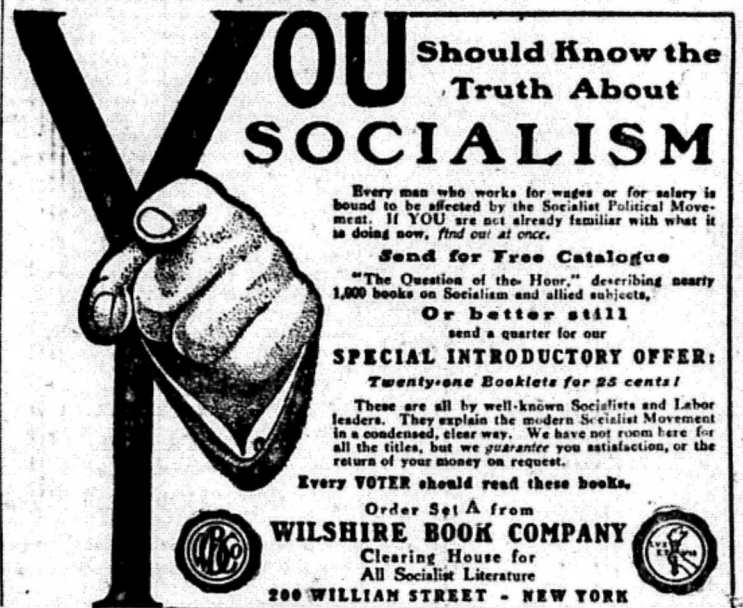
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NEW YORK, AUGUST 29, 1908.

THE LAW GIVES NO RELIEF.

By WILLIAM HARD.

(From an article in Everybody's Magazine for September.)

Professor Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago, who is a lifelong student of the subject of workmen's compensation, and who is regarded as an authority on all matters relating to accidents, says, in his unpublished book on "Industrial Insurance in America," that out of every one hundred American industrial accidents there are only from ten to fifteen that entitle the victim to compensation in the courts.

Professor Henderson's scholarly conclusion is corroborated by the practical conclusion of Mr. Harrison F. Jones, attorney for the Chicago & Eastern Illinois. Mr. Jones has handled accident cases for the Chicago & Eastern Illinois for many years. He is a man of experience. In addressing the City Club of Chicago last year he said:

"In perhaps eighty or ninety per

cent. of the accidents resulting in personal injury neither the employer nor the employee is at fault. The law says there is no remedy for that class of accidents.

"In about eighty per cent. of accidents resulting in personal injury, therefore, no liability is thrown upon the employer. In another ten per cent., while the employer may be to blame, the employee cannot make his case good in court. Perhaps in the remaining ten per cent. of accidents there is a recovery of damages."

But if the injured employee cannot recover damages except in ten cases out of a hundred, why all these claim departments? Why all these damage suits clogging the progress of the courts and impeding the execution of justice? Why all these employer's liability companies? Why all these expensive lawyers hired to defend the employer against the personal injury claims of his employees?

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS.

The saying that "politics makes strange bedfellows" has had many striking proofs in American history. Seldom, however, has a stranger combination been developed than that which has been brought about by the action of the officials of the American Federation of Labor in endorsing the Democratic ticket.

Gompers has intimated that he might take the stump for Bryan. Gompers is a cigarmaker, a member of the Cigarmakers' International Union. The most bitter enemy of that union is the Tobacco Trust. This trust in all its branches is on the blacklist of the union. Any member of the union who patronizes a United Cigar store is subject to a fine. A large amount of money has been expended by the union in pushing this boycott and fighting the trust.

The second vice president of that trust is Moses T. Wetmore, of St. Louis, who is high in the councils of the Democratic party. Indeed, it is now announced that he will be the chairman of the finance committee of the Democratic party during the campaign.

If Samuel Gompers should decide to take the stump for Bryan his expense and salary vouchers would be signed by an official of the Tobacco Trust.

That is not all. If he comes into Illinois his campaign will be managed by Francis Peabody, of the Peabody Coal Company, an official of the Coal Trust and a partner of Frederick Upham, the Republican boss in Chicago.

Do you think that such bedfellows are quite the proper ones for a representative of organized labor?—Chicago Daily Socialist.

THE TIME WILL COME.

By ARTHUR GOODENOUGH.

The time will come, believe me,
When justice shall be done
To every human creature
Beneath the shining sun.
And Nemesis, seen dimly,
Through battle smoke and tears,
Will walk earth's highways grimly
In the red after-years.

The time will come, I know it,
The peerless golden time
Foretold of seer and poet,
When human greed and crime
With rightful retribution
In His good hour shall meet,
And the dread grapes of Vengeance
Are crushed in fine defeat.

The time will come—oh, hear me!
Ye wronged ones of the earth—
When fetters shall be broken
And all in bonds go forth;
When kings no more shall threaten,
Nor subjects walk in dread;
And none shall rook/less wander,
Nor any lack for bread.

The time will come, I say it;
Though tyrants plot and strive
To hinder and delay it,
It must at last arrive.
And dread as heaven's thunder,
The race that is to be,
Will burst its bonds asunder
And dwell forever free.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The State Conference of Socialist Locals will take place in Boston Sunday, August 30, and the State convention will be held in the same city the next day.

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	96,961
	1904		409,230

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The National Executive Committee met at headquarters in Chicago on August 15 and 16, with Comrades Floaten, Simons, Stokes and Work present. Comrades Berger and Hillquit excused themselves by letter.

After hearing the national secretary's report, the committee instructed him to complete the arrangements and sign the contract for the "Red Special" for the tour as planned, up to September 25; that is, from Chicago to the Pacific Coast and back; if additional funds are received in time the second or Eastern half of the route will be arranged for. The national secretary stated that 95 per cent. of the contributors had said that if the "Red Special" should not go their contributions were to be used for general campaign purposes.

He reported that 200,000 copies of the first campaign leaflet had been sent out and 200,000 more would go out each fifteen days.

A proposition for a tour by Ignatz Daszynski, Socialist member of the Austrian Parliament, was declined on account of the large expense it would involve. Thirty dollars was granted to aid the Vermont state committee. A request from Louisiana for an organizer at the expense of the national office was considered and it was decided that it should not be granted at this time. The national secretary was instructed to write the Nebraska locals advising that they postpone the formation of a state organization till after election.

Max Hayes and Robert Bandlow were elected a committee to attend the convention of the Jewish National Agitation Bureau, to be held in Cleveland on September 5.

The national secretary reported that Anna A. Maley having resigned the position of national woman organizer, the women's committee had chosen Marguerite Prevey, of Ohio, to succeed her. Mrs. Prevey, having accordingly resigned from the women's committee, the national committee is called upon to elect her successor.

The national secretary reported that Illinois, New York and Massachusetts had not yet made satisfactory returns on the assessment stamps for covering the expenses of delegates to the national convention. He was instructed to inform the state organizations that unless settlement was made within sixty days they would be considered in bad standing.

On motion of Stokes, the national secretary was instructed to publish the fact that the vote in the last meeting on the appointment of Comrade Wagenknecht, of Washington, as a national organizer, stood as follows: For the appointment—Hillquit, Simons, Work; against—Berger, Floaten, Stokes.

It was decided that, instead of the series of leaflets provided for at the last meeting, the articles by Comrade Simons in the Chicago Daily Socialist be printed along with the party's declaration of principles and platform as a pamphlet. It was reported that Comrade Patterson is making good progress on the campaign book.

The N. E. C. will meet again on September 19.

The national platform and constitution, as adopted by the Chicago convention, have both been approved by referendum. On the platform the highest affirmative vote on any division was 8,677 and the highest nega-

tive vote 538. On the constitution the highest affirmative vote was 8,450 and the highest negative vote 2,014.

The platform has been printed in leaflet form and can be had from the national office at \$1.50 a thousand. It will also be printed in Bohemian, Croatian, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Jewish, Hungarian, Italian, Lettish, Norwegian, Polish, Slavonic, Slovak and Swedish; the price in these languages will be \$2 a thousand.

The national committee has defeated by a vote of 32 to 22, the proposition that no comrade be appointed a national organizer unless he has the endorsement of his state committee.

Twenty-two national organizers are now in the field.

MEETING OF LOCAL N. Y.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The general committee met Saturday evening at the Labor Temple. M. Oppenheimer was elected chairman and M. Bartholomew, vice chairman. Credentials were received from S. Lipkowitz and I. Tarlow, from the Eighth District, in place of Margolles and Belkowitz. Sixty-two applications for membership were acted on.

The charges made by the secretary of the Russian American S. D. League against M. Schenck and W. Russel, to the effect that they had published in a Russian paper slanderous attacks on Russian revolutionary organizations, were referred to the grievance committee.

M. Oppenheimer presented a resolution calling for action on the Jan Pouren outrage, which was adopted. The acting state secretary was instructed to communicate with the national secretary in the matter. Oppenheimer and Egerton were elected as delegates to the Pouren conference.

Sol Fieldman was censured for accepting a challenge and arranging a debate with a Single Taxer from the party platform without first consulting the local office. The Organizer was instructed to prefer charges against Fieldman for utterances on the floor of the General Committee which had not been retracted.

DEMAND THE UNION LABEL.

In these days of injunctions and misrepresentations, when the courts seek to enjoin the rights of union labor to truthfully bring to public attention the products of union and non-union concerns, it would be well for all union men and sympathizers to bear in mind that this stand of the judiciary can be met to a great degree of success by boosting only union label goods. Under all conditions and circumstances demand the union label. It is the emblem of honest union labor for whose recognition men and women are struggling night and day. It means goods that have been produced under the best working conditions organizations of labor could obtain under the present capitalistic system. Union label goods are free from the stigma of the unsanitary foul sweatshop. By boosting the label of every trade you aid hundreds of thousands to maintain decent conditions and you are safe from supreme court injunctions.

KINGS COUNTY COMMITTEE.

The central committee of Local Kings met last Saturday evening, with Comrade Zwarts in the chair. The report of the executive committee was concurred in. Seventeen applications for membership were accepted. The organizer is arranging to have the Debs' meeting at the Academy of Music. The financial secretary reported income, \$63.40; expenses, \$65.20; cash on hand, \$59.55.