

# THE SOCIALIST

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## SCHOOL BOOKS AND PRIVATE PROFIT.

Practically every non-Socialist daily paper in New York, last Wednesday, had an advertisement of from two and a half to three columns from the American Book Company, headed "Is there a School Book Trust?" So far as we have been able to observe, the same advertisement appeared pretty generally in the old-party press throughout the country.

Be it understood, we are not finding fault with the newspapers for accepting this advertisement. We wait to see whether their editorial policy will be affected by it, whether their columns will henceforth be closed against criticisms of the American Book Company. If not, there is, of course, no objection to their selling the company space in which to set forth its defense.

The apologist of the American Book Company devotes all his efforts to proving that the company is not a trust, in any strict sense of the word. On this point, let it be admitted, he makes out a fairly good case. There are other companies in the field, competing with the A. B. C. Some of them are pretty large, though none quite so large as it. Some of them have been formed by the merging of smaller concerns and, therefore, may be called trusts with as much propriety as is the A. B. C. Along with this, the apologist charges—what is undoubtedly true in part—that the outcry against the "School Book Trust" is stimulated by the agents of these competitors, who hope thus to discredit the A. B. C. and get a larger share of the market for themselves.

Even granting that the American Book Company has made out a complete defense on these lines, the advertisement remains a very interesting sign of the times. The fact that this corporation thinks it worth while to spend tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of dollars, to get this statement into the daily press, shows how seriously the great capitalists of the country are alarmed by the awakening of the masses, how seriously they fear that the people may decide to take the printing of school books into their own hands, instead of leaving it as a source of profit for private concerns. The enormous expenditure for this advertising shows, too, how vast must be the profits which the American Book Company realizes every year out of the educational needs of the country.

From the Socialist point of view, the defender of the American Book Company does not touch the real question, nor do most of those who attack that company as a trust.

The real question, as it seems to us—the only question that is worth the attention of those who are sincerely interested in promoting public integrity and sound educational methods—is not the question whether or not the American Book Company is a trust, but the question whether or not it is well to leave it to this or any other private concern or concerns to control the supply of school books and make profit out of the business of supplying them.

We do not see that it makes any particular difference whether educators and public officials are corrupted or "influenced" by one company or by twenty.

We do not see that it is any better to have good text-books side-tracked and inferior ones put in the children's hands by a lot of competing companies than to have the same thing done by one combine or trust.

We are not interested in the conflict of interests between the American Book Company and its competitors; we are interested only in the freeing of our educational system from all the malign influences of profit-making business, big and little. And we see but one way to accomplish this.

Just as we declare that the school buildings should be erected

by workmen employed directly by the municipalities, without the intervention of contractors, whose sole function is to get profit for themselves out of other people's labor and other people's needs, so we declare that the school books should be manufactured under the direct control of the educational authorities, without the intervention of publishing companies and their host of agents, salesmen and manipulators.

In a word, in the education of children, just as in the supplying of food and clothing and fuel and houses, production for use must take the place of production for profit, the public good must take the place of business interest as the controlling force in the world's work, in order that we may have efficient service honestly performed.

As an examiner for the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia is now busy taking testimony in the injunction case of the Buck Stove and Range Company against Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, it is timely to remind our readers that the stoves and ranges bearing the name of that company are products of scab labor, that the company is notably hostile to the labor movement, and that, accordingly, loyal workingmen and persons in sympathy with the labor movement should not patronize it.

A vote for the Republican ticket is a vote in favor of continuing the rule of the trusts. A vote for the Democratic ticket is a vote in favor of trying (in vain) to go back to the days of rule by and for small capitalists. A vote for the Socialist ticket is a vote in favor of going forward to the day when all shall be workers and the workers shall rule themselves.

The ticket agents and ticket choppers on the New York subway have taken to writing letters to the management asking for time to eat their meals and one free day a week. Their letters have been studiously ignored. Let us suggest that each of them can drop a letter into the ballot box on November 3, which will make the Traction Gang sit up and take notice.

Mr. Chanler has exactly the same qualifications to be candidate for Governor of New York on the regular Democratic ticket this year that he had to be candidate for Lieutenant-Governor on the Hearst ticket two years ago. The qualifications are numerous—one hundred thousand of them, it is said.

See if your newsdealer handles the Butterick publications. If he does, gently but firmly indicate to him that you will have to buy your papers elsewhere unless he withdraws his support from a firm that is fighting the eight-hour day for men in the printing trades.

A vote for Socialism is a vote for a shorter workday for those who work, employment for those who are now begging for a chance to live, and the necessity of doing some useful work for those who now live in luxury without producing anything.

Samuel Gompers has gone to the Republican Chicago "Tribune" and reiterated the slanderous attack upon the Socialist party which he first published in the "Federationist" some two weeks ago, adding to it some further misstatements which he has since had time to invent.

We have often criticised Mr. Gompers, expressing our opinion that he lacks the insight, the breadth of sympathy, and the boldness necessary to qualify a man for the high position he holds. But until

DARE YOU MAKE THE TEST, MR. GOMPERS?



now we have not had occasion to impeach his personal integrity. By his conduct since he allied himself with Murphy, Connors, Taggart, MacLean and the other bosses of the Democratic party in the support of Mr. Bryan, however, he has made it impossible for us any longer to treat him with the consideration due to an honestly timid and mistaken man. He has written himself down a wilful and spiteful falsifier, and as such he must be treated.

The National Secretary has authorized the Socialist press to state that all the books, letters, contracts and other records or documents pertaining to the "Red Special" are open for full inspection by Mr. Gompers or any committee he may appoint for the purpose, and to challenge him to make this inspection, since he has made the direct charge that the funds for the special train are derived from capitalist sources.

It is up to Mr. Gompers. We should advise him to take up the challenge. That will be the least uncomfortable of the two horns of the dilemma he has prepared for himself. It is bad enough to be branded as a liar. But to be branded as a cowardly liar would be even worse.

The capitalist's patriotism does not restrain him from selling guns and warships to a nation which may within six months begin war against his own country. But the Socialist attempt to prevent war by drawing the working people of all lands into closer sympathy and understanding of their common interest is, in the capitalist's opinion, not only unpatriotic, it is criminal, blasphemous, and contrary to all the laws of God and Natur

#### ONE QUESTION IS SETTLED AT LAST.

Now at last we know what the Democracy stands for—or, what is just as good, we know what it doesn't stand for. Mr. Bryan has left us in doubt on that point. He has confused us with the profusion and the variety of his declarations. After being nominated on a platform that meant anything or nothing, he has proceeded to define his position so very frequently and with such charming breadth and versatility that we have been unable to come to any conclusion except that the Democracy was something like a rainbow, or the aurora borealis, or a chameleon, or a kaleidoscope, or shell-game at the county fair. We learned from Mr. Bryan's acceptance speech that the Democracy is thoroughly "safe and sane;" but then came Mr. Kern's notification, and Mr. Bryan made a speech from which we gathered that the Democracy has all the peculiar virtues of Socialism, without any of its faults; and then Mr. Bryan made yet another speech which assured us that the Democracy is just Roosevelt Republicanism with Mr. Taft left out.

All this has puzzled us and pained us. We like to know where we are at. We like to know what a word means, when we are bound to hear and use that word every hour in the day. We have hungered and thirsted for assurance as to what the Democracy really and truly isn't.

And now we have got it, from an undoubted authority.

Morgan J. O'Brien is a Democrat. No one can doubt that. His intimate associations, domestic, professional and political, with gentlemen who put up the campaign funds for the Democracy and keep the machine in running order leave no room for doubt. Also, he is a learned judge, and judges ALWAYS know what they are talking about. Judge O'Brien says:

After years of division the party has again united upon principles and ideas which bring it back to its original moorings as the representative of Democracy against plutocracy, a Democracy pure and undefiled by the shifting doctrines of socialism, anarchy and populism, which not alone have injured the party in the past, but which all intelligent citizens must regard as a menace to free institutions.

When Mr. Bryan ran for the Presidency in 1896, when he ran again in 1900, and even now, since he has started on his third try, we have been kept busy by the guileless folk who assured us that Bryan's Democracy was just Socialism nicely sugar-coated, so that the middle classes could swallow it without knowing what was inside. In spite of Mr. Bryan's habit of occasionally making goo-goo eyes at us and dropping sidelong hints that, if we would give him a chance, we would find him the real goods, we never believed it. But we had great difficulty in convincing the hard-headed "practical man," who didn't want to "throw his vote away," and who hypnotized himself into the belief that the Democracy represented "Americanized Socialism"—or, as they say in the drug stores, "something just as good and a great deal cheaper."

Well, we pin our faith on Judge O'Brien. He knows what the Democracy is, because he is on the inside—HE BELONGS TO THE CROWD THAT WOULD TELL THE PRESIDENT WHAT TO DO, IF, BY ANY MIRACLE, A DEMOCRAT EVER COULD BE ELECTED TO THAT OFFICE.

The Democracy does not stand for Socialism, nor for anything a bit like it. The Democracy stands absolutely opposed to Socialism—just as much as does the Republican party. AND ANYONE WHO WILL TAKE THE TROUBLE TO LOOK UP JUDGE O'BRIEN'S JUDICIAL RECORD WILL FIND THAT IT ALSO STANDS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO LABOR UNIONISM AND TO EVERYTHING THAT COULD BE OF ANY BENEFIT TO THE WORKING PEOPLE.

There is something tragic in the history of Mr. Hughes—tragic and also comical. He really showed himself as a man for a little while, when, as counsel for the committee investigating the insurance companies, he went boldly and truthfully forward and forced revelations which exposed the most eminent citizens of the land as perjurers, forgers, bribers, swindlers and embezzlers. On the strength of that, the party which had profited most by the perjury, forgery, bribery, fraud and embezzlement made him Governor. Once in that office, he threw away the chance to pursue the good work he had begun and spent his energies in a quixotic warfare against a gang of racetrack swindlers—a contemptible enough gang, indeed, but infinitely less injurious to the public weal than the eminent citizens whom he had started to expose and whom he then apparently forgot. And now, instead of being given the honor of defeat in a machine-controlled convention, he is put up by the very rascals, big and little, whom he has attacked, in order that he may undergo the humiliation of a defeat at the polls.

#### RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY HELPS THE MASTERS.

It is safe to say that the rowdies and bigots who hooted and annoyed the Catholic procession in London last Sunday did not fairly represent the masses of the English people, and still less the masses of the English working people. Such demonstrations can only cause regret to right-thinking persons, and can only react to the advantage of the church against which they are directed, by giving to it the glamor of persecution and martyrdom.

We can understand and sympathize with a popular demonstration against the state church in countries where church and state are united and the clergy of the favored sect are supported at the public expense and vested with official authority and privileges. When there are demonstrations against the Roman church in Spain or against the Greek church in Russia, we understand them as popular protests against the tyrannical governments with which these churches are there identified. But the Catholic church is not supported by law in England; on the contrary, it is still under certain legal disabilities. The outcry against the procession was, therefore, simply an expression of stupid sectarian prejudice, such as the rulers of the world well know how to cultivate in order to keep the masses quarreling about religion and so prevent them from uniting to win political and economic freedom.

The demagogues who stirred up the trouble in London last Sunday were working the same kind of dirty game that Commissioner Bingham in New York has been trying to work with his sweeping accusations against the Jews and the Italians.

"Socialism is in the air," they say. Well, the way to get it down to earth is to vote for it on Election Day.

#### SUCH LIES AS THIS HAVE THEIR PURPOSE.

An excellent example of the insolent and untruthful manner in which the old-party press deals with the labor movement is given in the alleged "report" in the New York "World" upon the opening session of the national convention of the United Brewery Workers. No reporter of the "World" was present at the session. Such papers as this do not think it necessary to go to any trouble to get facts about matters of labor news. A "smart" chap simply sits down in the office and writes a "report" out of his inner consciousness, and writes it in such a way as to please his capitalist patrons.

Here is a part of the "World" story:

"Prosit" and "Good luck" filled the air as glasses clinked and beer vanished. The amber flowed all through the session, thanks to a plentiful supply contributed by the bosses of this city. The convention hall looked like a merry beer garden. The more serious discussions of the convention will begin this morning. The delegates are in no hurry to get away from New York. The convention will last two weeks.

This is what is called in plain English "a lie out of the whole cloth." Not only did the boss brewers not donate beer for the convention, but as a matter of fact there was no drinking during the session, which was devoted to serious consideration of business proper to such a body. The convention looked, not like a merry beer



garden, but like a much more thoughtful and honest convention than the Democratic and Republican parties assemble from time to time. The insinuation that the delegates are trying to prolong their sessions as much as possible is equally false and malicious. And the rest of the article is quite in keeping with what we have quoted.

The animus of such misrepresentations is easily seen. The capitalists wish the masses of the working people to believe that union officers and delegates to union conventions are a set of lazy, grafting, beer-guzzlers, enjoying drunken orgies at the expense of the rank and file of the union members, because that will tend to deter workingmen from joining the unions and to stir up dissension among those who are already members.

The incident is just one more of the many illustrations of the imperative need for a strong daily press belonging to, controlled and supported by, and devoted to the interests of the working class.

The President's secret service men can keep anyone but capitalists, corrupt politicians and crooked labor leaders from having a personal interview with him. But they will hardly prevent him from knowing what comes in his mail. A few thousand brief, courteous, but firm and clear letters informing him that American citizens object to the return of Jan Janoff Pouren or any other refugee to the Czar's torture chambers will go far toward influencing him to do the decent thing.

The Supreme Court of the United States has done its best to destroy the Hatters' Union. Every man who buys a hat can help to defend the union and rebuke the court by refusing to purchase any hat that does not have the label of the United Hatters sewed in under the sweatband.

#### THE HALF-TIMERS AND THE HUNGRY ONES.

New York City's public schools opened yesterday and about 640,000 children took their places, prepared to begin their studies for the year. If we should stop with that statement, it would be a splendid picture we would have before us—that vast army of boys and girls, with the 17,000 teachers at work among them, guiding, instructing, stimulating them to develop their powers of mind and body and helping them to grow up into active, thoughtful, broad-minded men and women, fit for the work and the pleasure of life.

Less than a century ago, a few progressive and fearless men and women were advocating universal education at public expense. They were ridiculed as impracticable dreamers and denounced as enemies of religion, destroyers of the home, fanatics dangerous to society. Their fantastic scheme, they were told, could never be realized; and if it could, it would bankrupt the state, pauperize the children, paralyze business, and generally play the mischief with all the eternal verities and sacred institutions. In fact, these advocates of universal free public education were met with just about the same substitutes for argument that are now brought against the Socialists. And then, as now, it was the propertied classes, those who were able to live well without working because others worked without living well, who opposed the forward step.

Well, the world does move. It moves because conditions are always producing new desires and aspirations in the breasts of the masses and always bringing to the front men and women brave enough to work and fight for progress before it becomes popular.

But let us not boast too much of the progress we have made, even in this matter of public education. It is very well to rejoice over those 640,000 children in the public schools. But it is not to be forgotten that from 55,000 to 70,000 children are still on part time, for lack of sufficient buildings and teachers. And it is not to be forgotten that many thousands will come to school hungry and will be in no condition to study because of their empty stomachs, their thin blood, their ill-nourished bodies and brains.

We have a right to exult in the progress we have already made, only on one condition—that is, that we are striving with all our might to make still further progress.

The propertied classes are not doing that. They are opposing progress now, just as their prototypes were a century ago.

Superintendent Maxwell and other men who have a right to speak with authority have again and again urged the necessity of building and equipping schools more liberally, so as to provide for all the children, instead of leaving tens of thousands unprovided for. Dr. Maxwell has also again and again urged the necessity of providing meals for the children, not as a measure of charity, but as an essential part of the educational system under existing conditions, for the simple reason that hungry children cannot learn, no matter how hard they try, that it is foolish as well as cruel to set them in

schoolrooms with books before them when they have had no breakfast.

The Socialists, speaking for the working class to which these poor children belong, have strenuously demanded that the system of public education be made really universal by the erection of plenty of buildings and the employment of plenty of teachers to take care of all the children; and that it be made really free, really accessible to the poorest as well as those in more comfortable circumstances, by the provision of simple and wholesome meals, on exactly the same principle that buildings and books and teachers are already provided at the public cost.

We shall keep on demanding that until the demand is won. We expect the propertied classes to oppose it. But we call on the workers to rally to our support for the welfare of their children and of society.

It may not be out of order to remind our readers that contributions for the "Red Special" are to be sent to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, 180 Washington street, Chicago, and that the best way to answer Gompers' calumnies is to pour such a stream of dimes and quarters and dollars into the National Office of the party that the Socialist special train shall make its whole projected trip on schedule time, carrying Socialist speakers and literature everywhere to open the eyes of the working people to the folly of allowing alleged leaders to bargain with capitalist politicians in their name.

Alabama University men refuse to play football with Ohio students unless a clause barring colored men is inserted in the contract. It may be remarked that Alabama mine owners do not draw the color line when it is a question of getting men to break a miners' strike.

One way to help defeat the eight-hour demand is to buy the Butterick publications. One way to promote the movement for a shorter workday is to withdraw your patronage from any business man who handles the Butterick goods, and let him know why you do it.

Hope was roused in our breast by seeing an advertisement of "a new and improved method for hanging leaders." On further investigation, however, we found that it was not capitalist labor leaders that were referred to, but only tin water pipes.

#### TICKET SELLERS, TRACTION MAGNATES, AND THE PUBLIC.

The New York "Times" is a very enterprising newspaper. Its latest startling discovery is that a principal cause for the general feeling of hostility toward the railway and traction corporations is the discourteous treatment which the traveling public receives from the ticket sellers and other employees. To all the railway workers who come into contact with the passengers, therefore, it addresses a moral lesson on the grave responsibility resting upon them to treat the public well, so as to make friends for the corporations.

We hardly know which point to object to most strenuously—the blame heaped upon the employees, the theory that it is they who cause the hostile feeling against the corporations, or the assumption that they owe a debt of gratitude to their employers and ought to be courteous to the public in order to save the corporations from odium.

It cannot be denied that ticket sellers, ticket takers, guards and other employees on the railways and street-car lines are often curt and rough in their conduct toward passengers. This is to be regretted in every case. But it is highly unjust to make a sweeping condemnation of the whole body of these employees because some of them are sometimes lacking in courtesy. Every observing passenger must often have been struck with the patience and kindness of such employees under very trying circumstances, just as well as with the other cases of rudeness.

And what are we to expect of these men? Let the "Times" editorial writer put himself in their place. Let him be compelled to work long and irregular hours, in all kinds of weather; let him get very low pay for his work; let him have to face thousands of people every day, crowding and trampling like a herd of frightened steers, impatient, excited, discourteous to each other and doubly so to the workmen who serve them; let him, besides, be spied upon, driven and bullied by his superiors—and we should not expect to see this moralist behaving with the grace and dignity of a Chesterfield. IF THE RAILWAY EMPLOYEES ARE OFTEN RUDE, IT IS BECAUSE OF THE HARD CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY WORK, AND BECAUSE THEIR EMPLOYERS SET BEFORE THEM NO EXAMPLE BUT THAT OF UTTER DISREGARD FOR PUBLIC INTERESTS. FOR OUR PART, WE



**ARE ALWAYS WONDERING THAT THEY KEEP THEIR TEMPERS AS WELL AS THEY DO.**

The theory that public feeling against the railway and traction companies is due to the conduct of their workmen is too ridiculous to deserve a moment's serious consideration. The corporation magnates who heap up enormous fortunes by overworking their employees, by charging exorbitant fares, and by giving such inadequate service that the passengers are packed in like hogs in a stock car—**THESE MEN ARE IN NO POSITION TO LAY THE BLAME ON MEN WHO WORK HARD ALL DAY FOR A MISERABLE FIFTEEN DOLLARS A WEEK OR LESS, AND WHO HAVE NO CONTROL WHATEVER OVER THE CONDITIONS OF THE SERVICE.** A court of justice has ruled that it is libelous to say that the "Times" belongs to August Belmont. But, if it is not his paper, at any rate it appears in this instance as a shameless spokesman of the Traction Gang, of which Belmont is such a shining light.

And even granting that the employees could, by exercising more self-control and patience and courtesy, make the public feel more kindly to the corporations—why should they do it? What do these ticket sellers and ticket choppers and guards owe to the corporations? **THE CORPORATIONS OWE MUCH TO THEM.** They give the better part of their lives to the corporations' service, and in return they get a bare living and plenty of abuse, and are heartlessly thrown out as soon as they cease to be profitable servants. The corporations make their millions largely by the overwork and the poverty of these very men. If these men feel grateful to their masters and think they ought to try to promote their interests, then these men are "easy marks" quite on a par with the passengers who give up their nickels day after day for the privilege of hanging to straps and treading on each others' toes.

It is about time that everybody who is not a member of the Traction Trust should stop cussing the ticket seller and the guard and should begin to vote for **PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE TRACTION SYSTEM—WHICH, IF CARRIED OUT UNDER THE SOCIALIST PLAN, WOULD MEAN SHORTER WORKING DAYS AND BETTER PAY FOR THE EMPLOYEES, BETTER SERVICE FOR THE PUBLIC, AND A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF FARES IN THE BARGAIN.**

**THERE IS METHOD IN THEIR MADNESS.**

The arrest of Alexander Berkman and the sentence of five days in the workhouse pronounced upon him is an outrage worthy of the Dogberrys who who administer what they call justice in New York. Berkman interrupted a

speaker at a public meeting. That was foolish and discourteous. But it did not endanger any public interest, and, if the interrupter had been anyone but Berkman, it would have been overlooked. We Socialists consider Berkman a good deal of a nuisance, with his preaching of a futile and disorganizing anarchistic philosophy. But we decidedly object to the continued persecution to which he is subjected by the police and the capitalist press.

We object to it for two reasons. First, because he is a man—and, with all his faults, a good deal more of a man than most of his persecutors—and it is a shame that any man should be pursued, year after year, by the venal or vindictive hostility of a lot of bluecoats or in black robes.

In the second place, we object because this sort of thinking makes a martyr of Berkman and arouses sympathy with the ideas of the Anarchists, and is very likely to mislead some impulsive, warm-hearted, but not too clear-headed persons into accepting Anarchist talk in all seriousness and attempting to practice what is called the "propaganda of deed."

We are not sure that the police authorities, the judges and the capitalist reporters have not some method in their madness. It is a good thing for them to keep up the Anarchist scare. If Anarchists won't throw bombs, then the "saviors of society" must invent and discover plots for the throwing of bombs and nip them in the bud and get glory and cash for so doing.

**LET THE PRESIDENT KNOW YOUR DESIRES.**

From Dorpat, a city in the Baltic Provinces of Russia, where the people made such a splendid fight for liberty in the winter of 1905 and 1906, comes the following dispatch over the wires of the Associated Press, a news agency which cannot be accused of any undue partiality toward the forces of progress and revolution:

A sergeant of police and six wardens with the idea of extorting confessions, of the local prison were to-day convicted and were each sentenced to one year's vicied of torturing political prisoners imprisonment.

The Social Democratic members of the Second Duma were able to force an investigation which proved that torture had been regu-

larly used by the Czar's officers in the Baltic Provinces, and with the Czar's approval, to compel political prisoners to betray their associates. The convictions in Dorpat are a result of that investigation. The sentences inflicted are so light as to amount to a judicial approval of the use of torture. Men and women whose only crime was that they had striven to overthrow the autocracy and establish a republic were beaten, racked, burned and tormented in all the ways that the vicious imagination of their degenerate captors could devise, to force them to name others who had taken part in the same glorious attempt. And now that the Socialists have brought these horrors to the attention of the civilized world, and have forced the Czar's government to make a pretense of condemning the crimes committed in his service, by his appointees, and with his approval, the torturers are sentenced to a year's imprisonment—an imprisonment which the authorities know how to make into a pleasant vacation for such criminals as these, and which will very probably be remitted by imperial mercy.

Such a sentence is simply an announcement by the Czar's government that it approves the torturing of political prisoners; that it ought to be conducted more carefully, so as to avoid exposure; but that those who, in the service of Nicholas the Bloody, commit crimes worse than murder may rest assured that they will be protected.

In the Tombs prison in New York City lies a man from the Baltic Provinces. His name is Jan Janoff Pouren. He took part in the attempt to establish a Baltic Republic. When that attempt was defeated by the overpowering force of the Czar's soldiery and his spies and torturers, Pouren was one of those who took to the woods and for a time carried on a guerrilla warfare, hoping that the civilized powers, including this republic of ours, would come to the aid of an oppressed people and put an end to the Czar's rule. That hope failed, and Pouren, along with others, made his escape to the United States, trusting at least that this nation, itself born in revolution and boasting itself the refuge of the oppressed of every clime, would protect him from the vengeance of the Romanoff tyrant. But the Czar's emissaries ferreted him out. In the name of the Czar, the Russian Consul demanded that he be sent back to Russia, to be tortured and put to death. Officers wearing the uniform of the United States and acting under the shadow of the Stars and Stripes arrested him. For eight long months he has lain in prison in this land of the free. United States Commissioner Shields has blackened the records of the American republic with a decision in favor of sending him back.

This decision must be overruled. It will be overruled, if the President hears emphatically enough the voice of the American people, demanding that Pouren be set at liberty. Every one of our readers can help. Each one can sign the petition for the release of Pouren, a blank for which purpose has twice been published in *The Call*. Each one can get some friends and neighbors to sign that petition. Each one can write a letter to some newspaper in his locality, urging the editor to protest against the extradition. Each one can write a personal letter to the President, calling his attention to the facts and advising him to save his administration from the disgrace of returning a refugee to Russian dungeons. It is not likely that the President will act unless he is made aware of public sentiment. It is not likely that he will fail to act if this popular influence is brought to bear.

And, remember, there is no time to lose.

Every union workingman would laugh at the idea of admitting the bosses to membership in the union, to say nothing of making them union officers. Yet many a union workman sees nothing incongruous in his voting for capitalists to make and execute the laws of the nation, even at a time when he is on strike or locked out and the bosses are using the law against him.

We are sometimes inclined to think that Commissioner Bingham is more of a fool than a knave. His attack upon certain nationalities would be shameful, if it were not so silly. Here in New York, at least, people know that the Jews and Italians average up about the same as people of other races and nations, that men and women of all nationalities behave pretty much the same under like environments, and that the economic conditions here existing manufacture plenty of criminals, whether the raw material is Jewish or Gentile, Italian or Irish or German or native American.

A contemporary says that now that Keir Hardie is in our midst, the question of the hour is, How does he pronounce his given name? We are glad to give the needed information. "Keir" rhymes with "clear"—an adjective properly applied to Mr. Hardie's ideas and his record. It rhymes with "dear"—and he is dear to the hearts of millions in his own country and elsewhere. It rhymes with "fear"—which he inspires in the hearts of the aristocrats and the plutocrats of Britain. It rhymes with "hear"—something the workingmen gladly do when he speaks. It rhymes with "near"—and near is the triumph of the cause for which he fights. There, gentlemen, now will you remember how to pronounce it?



**A DEMOCRATIC "LABOR" CANARD EXPOSED.**

Editorial from the Brauer-Zeitung, Official Organ of The United Brewery Workmen of America.

The last issue of the "Chronicle," a labor paper published at Cincinnati, O., contained a reproduction of an item credited to "Labor News," as follows:

"According to a report from Lincoln, Neb., to the effect that a delegation of Brewery Workers had called on Mr. Bryan, at Fairview, for the purpose of assuring him of the support of the organization, it would seem that there is liable to be a break in the Socialist party favorable to the Nebraskan. There are many Socialists in the Brewery Workers' Union, especially in the West, and the official organ, the "Brauer-Zeitung," advocates Socialism. But this year the brewery workers are ready to place unionism above party politics, and it is evident are prepared to follow the advice of President Gompers, who asks trade unionists to support our friends and defeat our enemies."

To all appearances the above is a campaign lie manufactured in the Democratic camp. From where the report originated could not be ascertained; there are more than a dozen papers called "Labor News" in the United States.

Although it may be that some brewery workers paid Mr. Bryan a visit, and if that was done—there is not a single brewery and consequently not a single brewery worker in the capital city of the state of Nebraska—then the visitors went there as individual followers of the Democratic candidate and not as representatives of the Brewery Workers' organization, and no single member or no clique or combination of members can deliver the vote of the entire membership to any political party, any more

than President Gompers can deliver the vote of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to any party; they may assure Mr. Bryan of their individual support, but they cannot assure Mr. Bryan of the support of the organization.

The alleged report from Lincoln, Neb., is made up very cleverly, inasmuch as it leaves room for the supposition that the "delegation" visited Mr. Bryan by order of the organization. If that was the intention of the report, we can nail it down emphatically as a lie.

The brewery workers are at liberty to vote just as they think it best in accordance with the economic principles of their organizations; but it is the duty of their official organ to enlighten the members of the organization about their real interests, and we repeat here what we have said time and again, that the real interests of the brewery workers, as well as all other workmen, are not taken care of by the Republican or the Democratic parties, but by the Socialist Party.

In the alleged report from Lincoln is further very cleverly hidden the insinuation that the "Brauer-Zeitung" would this year, to please President Gompers and his wrong political tactics, deviate from its principles and turn over into the Democratic camp. Although this is really too ridiculous as to deserve an answer, we only want to say that the gentlemen who made up the report for the "Labor News" may rest assured that the "Brauer-Zeitung" is still devoting all its space and time to the real interests of the workmen, and will continue to do so, and that consequently not the candidates of the Republican or Democratic parties can count on its support, but that this support will go undivided to the candidates of the Socialist Party.

**WHERE ARTISTS FAIL.**

"How often you see artists of real merit struggling for a livelihood!"  
"It's mostly their own fault," answered Mr. Cumrox. "I'd be willing to give some of 'em a chance, but the trouble with a real artist is that he insists on painting pictures that don't advertise anybody except himself."—Washington Star.

**AYE, THERE'S THE RUB.**

The burning question is not "Shall the People Rule?" but "Will the People Contribute?"—Puck.

**THE SMILES WERE ON HER.**

"I assure you, my dear," he protested, "I do not care for the smiles of other women."  
"No," she sobbed, "but I do, and it's just hateful of you to make me wear such a dowdy bonnet."

**VALUABLE.**

Parson—Young man, I'm surprised to see you fishing on the Sabbath. I shall certainly make it the subject of a sermon.  
The Young Man—Waal, if it gives you an idea for a sermon, maybe it's wuth it!—Life.

**RIGHTING WRONGS.**

By ARTHUR GOODENOUGH.

Old wrongs are righted, not by weakly wailing  
Against the scourge and chain,  
But by strong hearts unbowed, un-  
bribed, unflinching,  
And skill of hand and brain.

Dost thou but dare from Fate's large  
store to borrow  
And boldly smite away,  
Some crown will crack, some throne  
will fall to-morrow  
That seems secure to-day.

Do ease and safety tempt thee now to  
falter  
Or dally by the way?  
Press on! The axe, the gibbet, and  
the halter  
White Truth can never slay.

The time is ripe; great souls are  
sorely wanted,  
Men who are born to lead—  
Sage souls, stout hands, by petty spite  
undaunted,  
Willing hands to guide or bleed.

Be thou no craven, crouching in a  
hollow  
To shun the battle's brunt!  
Set up a standard for the world to  
follow,  
And keep it at the front!

**THE DAWN OF PEACE.**

Put off, put off your mail, O kings,  
And beat your brands to dust!  
Your hands must learn a surer grasp,  
Your hearts a better trust.

Oh, bend aback the lance's point,  
And break the helmet bar;  
A noise is in the morning wind,  
But not the note of war.

Upon the grassy mountain paths  
The glittering hosts increase—  
They come! They come! How fair  
their feet!  
They come who publish peace.

And victory, fair victory,  
Our enemies are ours!  
For all the clouds are clasped in light,  
And all the earth with flowers.

Aye, still depressed and dim with dew,  
But wait a little while,  
And with the radiant, deathless rose  
The wilderness shall smile.

And every tender, living thing  
Shall feed by streams of rest,  
Nor lamb shall from the flock be lost,  
Nor nursing from the nest.

—John Ruskin.

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

**"Red Special" Makes a Hit  
in the Mountains.**

(Workers' Press Association.)

GRAND JUNCTION, Colo., Sept. 6.

—The largest theatre in town is jammed to the doors to-night with 1,800 persons to hear Debs and Simons. An overflow meeting of farmers and city workers also will be addressed by Simons.

The committee here had complete arrangements and a thousand persons heard the "Red Special" band give a concert upon our arrival. The Socialist candidate again proved one of the best "drawing cards" on the political platform to-day. Buffalo Bill called this evening and paid his respects to Debs. They had met before. At Leadville last evening 2,000 miners stood in the street and heard Debs and Simons.

Debs is well known in Leadville, having been an active figure in the strike of 1896, when the miners raised their wages from \$2 to \$3 per day and have held it.

At Glenwood Springs to-day the train stopped four hours and the mayor went with Debs to the manager of the Colorado Hotel and arranged to have the gathering in the grounds of that beautiful place.

This was a mistake, as understood too late. Glenwood Springs is a wealthy town and the summer resort of rich persons from Denver and Leadville. The meeting was held in their play place. Of course, there are many wage-earners there to wait on and do other work for the leisure class.

These workers seldom cross the bridge to the hotel grounds, unless they go to work for "their betters." This class distinction kept many from attending the meeting. On the town side several hundred workers, in the poor clothing that distinguished many wage-earners from others, stood and watched the meeting, of course unable to hear.

They would not even cross the bridge to hear their own candidate for President. After it was too late, Debs and the others realized the mistake. Debs pointed out that the beauties and luxury of Glenwood were ample to be enjoyed by millions, but now are for the very few. Under Socialism Glenwood and other beauty spots of the world will be developed to their full power, and will be for the millions instead of the hundreds.

Hot Springs at Glenwood pour out six thousand gallons of water a minute sufficient to make a mile of pools where now there is but one. When the working class is in power they will be developed and not held by two Englishmen as at present, and used to only a small fraction of their power.

**DIVISION OF LABOR.**

A pious man, entering business, was careful to say: "Remember, now, I cannot tell a lie!"

To which the general counsel of the concern, rubbing his hands unctuously, made answer: "Oh, certainly now! Really, it isn't in the least necessary, in modern business. We form a subsidiary corporation to attend to all that sort of thing."—Puck.

**FIT FOR FREEDOM.**

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water until he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.—Macaulay.

**WHO WILL BLACK THE BOOTS?**

The question of who will black boots under Socialism, curiously enough, mostly interests those who leudly prate of the dignity of labor. Socialism will not prohibit them from securing any dignity that is obtainable from that source.—Joshua Wan-  
hope.





# 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.

(Copyright, 1908, by Gustavus Myers).

#### CHAPTER II (Continued).

#### A NECESSARY CONTRAST.

#### III.

The year 1884 about marked the zenith of the era of the capitalist seizing of the public domain. By this time the railroad and other corporations had possessed themselves of a large part of the area now vested in their ownership. At this very time an army of workers, estimated at 2,000,000, were out of employment. Yet it was not considered a panic year; certainly the industrial establishments of the country were not in the throes of a commercial cataclysm such as happened in 1873 and previous periods. The cities were overcrowded with the destitute and homeless; along every country road and railroad track could be seen men, singly or in pairs, tramping from place to place looking for work.

#### Immigrants Disillusioned.

Many of these unemployed were native Americans; a large number were aliens who had been induced to migrate by the alluring statements of the steamship companies to whose profit it was to carry large batches; by the agents of American corporations, which corporations sought among the oppressed peoples of the Old World a generous supply of cheap, unorganized labor; or by the spontaneous prospects of bettering their condition politically or economically.

Millions of poor Europeans were thus persuaded to come over, only to find that the promises held out to them were hollow. They found that they were exploited in the United States even worse industrially than in their native country, and as for political freedom their sanguine hopes were soon shattered. They had voted after a certain period of residence, it was true, but they saw—or at least the intelligent of them soon discerned—that the personnel and laws of the United States government were determined by the great capitalists. The people were allowed to go through the form of voting; the moneyed interests, by controlling the machinery of the dominant political parties, dictated who the candidates and what the so-called principles of those parties should be. The same program was witnessed at every election. The electorate was stimulated with excitement and enthusiasm over false issues and dominated candidates. The more the power and wealth of the capitalist class increased, the more openly the government became ultra-capitalistic.

#### Wealth and Direct Power.

It was about this time that the Senate of the United States was undergoing a transformation clearly showing how impatient the great capitalists were of operating government through middlemen legislators. Previously the manufacturing, railroad and banking interests had, on the whole, deemed it wise not to exercise this power directly but indirectly. The representatives sent to Congress were largely lawyers elected by their influence and money. The people at large did not know the secret processes back of these legislators; the press, advocating, as a whole, the interests of the capitalist class, constantly portrayed the legislators as great and patriotic statesmen.

But the magnates saw that the time had arrived when some empty democratic forms of government could be waved aside, and the power exercised openly and directly by them. Presently we find such men as Leland Stanford, one of the Pacific railroad quartet, and one of the arch-bribers and thieves of the time, entering the United States Senate after debauching the California legislature; George Hearst, a mining magnate, and others of that class. More and more this assumption of direct power increased, until now it is

reckoned that there are at least eighty millionaires in Congress. Many of them are multi-millionaires controlling or having a controlling share in vast industries, transportation and banking systems—men such as Senators Elkins, of West Virginia; Clark, of Montana; Platt and Depew, of New York; Guggenheim, of Colorado; Knox, of Pennsylvania; Foraker, of Ohio, and a quota of others. The popular jest as to the United States Senate being a "millionaires' club" has become antiquated; much more appropriately it could be termed a "multi-millionaires' club." While in both houses of Congress are legislators who represent the almost extinguished middle class, their votes are as ineffective as their declamations are flat. The government of the United States, viewing it as an entirety, and not considering the impotent exceptions, is now more avowedly a capitalist government than ever before. As for the various legislatures, the magnates, coveting no seats in those bodies, are content to follow the old plan of mastering them by either direct bribery or by controlling the political bosses in charge of the political machines.

Since the interests of the capitalists from the start were acutely antagonistic to those of the workers and the people in general from whom their profits came, no cause for astonishment can be found in the refusal of government to look out, even in trivial ways, for the workers' welfare. But it is of the greatest and most instructive interest to give a succession of contrasts. And here some complex factors intervene. Those cold, unimpassioned academicians who can perpetuate fallacies and lies in the most polished and dispassionate language, will object to the statement that the whole of governing institutions was in the hands of thieves—great, not petty, thieves. And yet the facts, as we have seen, bear out this assertion. Government was run and ruled at basis by the great thieves, as it is conspicuously to-day.

#### Passing of the Middle Class.

Yet let us not go so fast. It is necessary to remember that the last few decades have constituted a period of startling transitions. The middle class, comprising the small business and factory men, stubbornly insisted on adhering to worn-out methods of doing business. Its only conception of industry was that of the methods of the year 1825. It refused to see that the centralization of industry was inevitable and that it meant progress. It lamented the decay of its own power, and tried by every means at its command to thwart the purposes of the trusts. This middle class had bribed and cheated and had exploited the worker. For decades it had shaped public opinion to support the dictum that "competition was the life of trade." It had, by this shaping of opinion, enrolled on its side a large number of workers who saw only the temporary evils and not the ultimate good involved in the scientific organization and centralization of industry. The middle class put through the anti-trust laws and measure after measure aimed at the great combinations.

These great combinations had, therefore, a double fight on their hands. On the one hand they had to resist the trades unions, on the other, the middle class. It was imperative to their interests that centralization of industry should continue. In fact it was historically and economically necessary. Consequently they had to bend every effort to make nugatory any effort of government, both national and State, to enforce the anti-trust laws. The thing had to be done no matter how. It was intolerable that industrial development could be stopped by a middle class which for self-interest would have kept matters at a standstill. Self-interest likewise demanded that the nascent com-

binations and trusts get and exercise governmental power by any means they could use.

For a while triumphant in passing certain laws which, it was fatuously expected, would wipe the trusts out of existence, the middle class was hopelessly beaten and routed. By their far greater command of resources and money the great magnates were able to frustrate the execution of those laws, and gradually to install themselves or their tools in practically supreme power. The middle class is now becoming a mere memory. Even the frantic efforts of President Roosevelt in its behalf have been of absolutely no avail; the trusts are mightier than ever before, and hold a sway the disputing of which is ineffective.

#### Trusts and Unemployed.

With this newer organization and centralization of industry the number of unemployed tremendously increased. In the panic of 1893 it reached about 3,000,000; in that of 1908 perhaps 6,000,000, certainly 5,000,000. To the appalling suffering on every hand the government remained indifferent. The reasons were two-fold: Government was administered by the capitalist class whose interest it was not to allow any measure to be passed which might strengthen the workers, or decrease the volume of surplus labor; the second was that government was basically the apotheosis of the current commercial idea that the claims of property were superior to those of human life.

It can be said without exaggeration that high functionary after high functionary in the legislative or executive branches of the government, and magnate after magnate had committed not only one but constant violations of the criminal law; they were unmolested; having the power to prevent it they assuredly would not suffer themselves to undergo even the farce of prosecution. Such few prosecutions as were started with suspicious bluster by the government against the Standard Oil Company, the Sugar Trust, the Tobacco Trust and other trusts proved to be absolutely harmless, and have no result except to strengthen the position of the trusts. The great magnates had reaped their wealth by an innumerable succession of frauds and thefts. But the moment that wealth or the basis of that wealth were threatened in the remotest by any law or movement, the whole body of government, executive, legislative and judicial, promptly stepped in to protect it intact.

The workers, however, from whom the wealth was robbed, were regarded in law as criminals the moment they became impoverished. If homeless and without visible means of support, they were subject to arrest as vagabonds. Numbers of them were constantly sent to prison or in some States to the chain-gang. If they ventured to hold a mass meeting to urge the government to start a series of public works to relieve the unemployed, their meetings were broken up and the assembled brutally clubbed as happened in Tompkins square in New York City in the panic of 1873, in Washington in 1892, and in Chicago and in Union square, New York City, in the panic of 1908. The newspapers represented these meetings as those of irresponsible agitators, inciting the "mob" to violence. The clubbing of the unemployed and the judicial murder of their spokesman, has long been a favorite repression method of the authorities. But as for allowing them freedom of speech, considering the grievances, putting forth every effort to relieve their condition, these do not seem to have come within the scope of that government whose every move has been one of intense hostility—now open, again covert—to the working class.

This running sketch which is to be supplemented by the most specific details, gives a sufficient insight into the debasement and despoiling of the working class while the capitalists were using the government as an expropriating machine. Meanwhile, how was the great farming class faring? What were the consequences to this large body of the seizure by a

few of the greater part of the public domain?

#### The Farming Population.

The conditions of the farming population along with that of the working class steadily grew worse. In the hope of improving their condition large numbers migrated from the Eastern States, and a constant influx of agriculturists poured in from Europe. A comparatively few of the whole were able to get land direct from the government. Naturally the course of this extensive migration followed the path of transportation, that is to say, of the railroads, which was exactly what the railroad corporations had anticipated. As a rule, the migrating farmers found the railroads or cattlemen already in possession of many of the best lands. To give a specific idea of how vast and widespread were the railroad holdings in the various States, this tabulation covering the years up to 1883 will suffice: In the states of Florida, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi about 9,000,000 acres in all; in Wisconsin, 3,553,865 acres; Missouri, 2,605,251 acres; Arkansas, 2,613,631 acres; Illinois, 2,595,953 acres; Iowa, 4,181,929 acres; Michigan, 3,355,943 acres; Minnesota, 9,830,450 acres; Nebraska, 6,409,376 acres; Colorado, 3,000,000 acres; the State of Washington, 11,700,000 acres; New Mexico, 11,500,000 acres; in the Dakotas, 8,000,000 acres; Oregon, 5,800,000 acres; Montana, 17,000,000 acres; California, 16,387,000; Idaho, 1,500,000, and Utah, 1,850,000. (6)

#### The Small Farmer's Exploitation.

Prospective farmers had to pay the railroads exorbitant prices for land. Very often they had not sufficient funds; a mortgage or two would be signed; and if the farmer had a bad season or two and could no longer pay the interest, foreclosure would result. But whether crops were good or bad, the American farmer constantly had to compete in the grain markets of the world with the cheap labor of India and Russia. And inexorably, East or West, North or South, he was caught between a double fire. On the one hand, in order to compete with the immense capitalist farms gradually developing, he had to give up primitive implements and buy the most improved agricultural machines. For these he was charged five and six times the sum it cost the manufacturers to make and market them. Usually if he could not pay for them outright, the manufacturers took out a mortgage on his farm. Large numbers of these mortgages were foreclosed. In addition, the time had passed when the farmer made his own clothes and many other articles. For everything that he bought he had to pay excessive prices. He, even more than the industrial working classes, had to pay an enormous manufacturer's profit and additionally the high freight railroad rate. On the other hand, the great capitalist agencies which directly dealt with the crops—the packing houses, the gambling cotton and produce exchanges—actually owned, by a series of manipulations, a large proportion of his crops, before they were out of the ground. In turn, these crops were sold to the working class at exorbitant prices. The small farmer labored incessantly, only to find himself getting poorer. It served political purpose well to describe glowingly the farmer's prosperity; but the greater the crops he raised the greater the profit to the railroad companies and to various other divisions of the capitalist class. His was the labor and worry; they gathered in the financial harvest.

(6) The Public Domain, 278.

(To be continued.)

#### THE ONE THING HE DREADED.

Mrs. Benham—Are you afraid to die?  
Benham—I wouldn't be if I felt sure that I wouldn't meet your mother.

#### WHAT?

"Pop!"  
"Yes, my son."  
"Did mamma ever punish you?"  
"Well, she married me, my boy."



**DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS OF LABOR.**

By ROBERT HUNTER.

If it were true that the Democratic party were friendly to labor, does anybody believe that during the last half century it could not have shown that friendliness somewhat more than it has?

During that period it has frequently had control of Congress. Was there any reason at such times why it should not have passed legislation in the interest of labor?

It has now 164 men in Congress. That is a larger number than the Socialists have in any parliament of Europe. But if you will compare the labor record of the Democratic and Socialist parties you will find that the latter have accomplished tremendous things while the Democrats have done well-nigh nothing.

For instance, in the English parliament the Socialist Labor party have only thirty men out of a total of 670. Yet Keir Hardie writes me that through the efforts and influence of that party complete protection for trade unions has been secured; no injunctions are possible; legislation providing meals for school children; and legislation affording some relief to the unemployed have been obtained. And now old-age pension will soon be an accomplished fact.

That is the record during a couple of years of thirty men working hopelessly in the minority.

It would seem then that the results obtained by a party is not so much to be measured by its number as by its determination.

The Democrats have been in control of the South almost continuously for a hundred years. Nearly all the northern states have passed a limit-

ed eight-hour law. For all those engaged in public work the hours are generally limited according to this trade union demand. NOT A SINGLE ONE of the FAR Southern states has even recognized such legislation. In Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas only the work on public highways is limited to eight hours, while West Virginia is alone in having a general law.

The National Child Labor committee has made extraordinary efforts to get the Southern Democrats to pass anti-child-labor bills. The effort has met with little success. The Democratic friends of labor who rule the South will not even lessen their grip upon weak and helpless children.

Alabama has a law PROHIBITING BOYCOTTING, and it and other Southern states have enacted laws PROHIBITING INTIMIDATION or any conspiracy of workmen to interfere with non-union workmen.

A number of northern states have laws prohibiting an employer from exacting an agreement from an employee not to join a union, but in all the southern states there IS NOT A SINGLE such measure.

Now, it is one thing for the Democrats to say what they would do if they had a majority in Congress, and it is another thing for them to do something for labor in those states which they control.

I will agree to take the labor legislation of the South and match every labor law to be found there with two more important measures from the labor legislation of autocratic Russia.

They say the hotbed of Bryanism is in the south. The permanent chairman of the convention was the most prominent Democrat in Alabama.

Well, if the legislation of the south is a good example of what enthusiastic Bryanites can do when they are in power, then God save this country from the Bryanites.

**OLIVE SCHREINER ON SUFFRAGE.**

The following is an extract from a letter by Olive Schreiner on Woman's Suffrage in South Africa. Most readers will remember her as the author of "Dreams," a collection of poems in prose that has been an inspiration to more than one woman. One woman in particular I know carried this little volume with her constantly for seven years, and at the end of these seven years the stains from tears that had fallen upon it were almost as many as the words in the book.

The woman who carried "Dreams" with her and consecrated the little treasure-volume with her tears, has written many books for women—has consecrated her life to the world of women—the "better halves" that are the "worse slaves." And though "Dreams" could not have meant so much to all who read it, I believe it could not fail to be a great inspiration to every one who has "dreamed" with Olive Schreiner. So I take occasion, in noticing her letter, to ask you to "dream" with her, if you have not done so already. Get her little volume. I think the libraries must surely keep it.

R. P. S.

male members of our society who in the past alone been entrusted with the duty of shaping laws and public institutions, have in South Africa often shown a sanity and breadth of insight not always shown by those of other countries.

"In the non-sexual basis of our university regulations we have the noblest example of this. This constitution recognizes that the best of the highest intellectual culture are as unwisely denied on the score of sex as of race, and that sound health demands that their enjoyment should depend entirely on the desire and ability of the individual citizen to make use of them. In the splendid use many of our younger women are now making of those advantages we have as a society the reward of the breadth and foresight shown by certain of our men in the past, and we have no need to fear that in the future South African men will be found falling behind those of other nations in the path of progressive and enlightened social development.

"I have never regarded the desire

(now as widespread as civilization itself) that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes towards each other.

"How deeply this movement is the expression of great social need felt equally by man and woman, is shown in our country by that large body of its most intelligent and advanced men, who not only stand shoulder to shoulder with woman in her struggle for this reform, but who have indeed often been leaders.

"There have been within the last few weeks councils held by certain of our men, seeking to forward what they hope will ultimately be a federation of our different States.

"We here to-day are met in an endeavor to forward an even deeper and wider measure of reform—the federation of the sexes.

"I believe they will ultimately succeed—I know we will.

"Yours ever,  
"OLIVE SCHREINER."

**JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.**

If we want men free, if we want self-sustaining, self-respecting, we must have a just civilization. We could have learned that a bad tree cannot bear good fruit. If we have a civilization based on equality, fraternity, liberty, then common life will supply its wants, it will build its own libraries and museums, it will do away with that monstrous habit of endowing institutions with the stolen fruits of a fellow-man's labor.—Geo. D. Herron.

**"THE BULWARK OF OUR LIBERTIES."**

Without a shadow of a doubt, the courts by their injunctions, their delays in favor of corporations, their annulling of laws made in favor of men

ESTABLISHED 1884.

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**HELP WANTED—MALE.**

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

and women workers, by their approval of the blacklist or the capitalist boycott, and their outlawing of the workers' boycott, have hit the most tremendous blows at labor organization in recent years. Yet one of the American political parties has the statement that "the courts are the bulwark of our liberties." Of whose liberties in the name of human freedom, are they a bulwark? For the liberties, or the license, of the capitalist class.—The Laborer, Dallas.

**LABOR DIRECTORY.**

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

**CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION**, No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 241 E. 84th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 8th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—316 E. 6th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 7.30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—5309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2059 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—325 E. 75th St., 6 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

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

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

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

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

**WORKMEN'S CHILDREN'S BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**—The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: WILLIAM SCHWARTZ, Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, New York City.

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**THE PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.**

Adopted by the National Convention in Chicago, May, 1908.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state law and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to speculations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called "Independence" parties and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed, and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave-owning aristocracy of the south, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the

slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interests of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

**OUR WORKING PROGRAMME.**

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following programme:

**GENERAL DEMANDS.**

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

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamboat lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

**INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.**

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

**POLITICAL DEMANDS.**

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—The abolition of the senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15—The enactment of further meas-

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Secretary to International Bureau—Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York.

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Wyoming—C. F. Hackenberg, Box 94, Kammerer.

ures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

**UNFORGETTABLE.**

Mrs. Scraggs (viciously)—It seems like a hundred years since we were married. I can't even remember when we first met.

Scraggs (wearily)—I can. It was at a dinner party, and there were thirteen at table.

**THE LEAST YOU SHOULD DO.**

Many years ago, the good Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, advised the young men of his day to "seek for some just and despised cause and attach themselves to it." To-day we call upon all men and women, young and old alike, who believe that the Socialist cause is just, to attach themselves to it. By voting for Socialism if they have votes, by urging others to vote for it if they have no votes themselves; by carefully studying its literature and equipping themselves to plead its cause successfully, either in private or in public, and to defend it whenever the need arises, it is possible for every man and woman who believes in Socialism to identify himself or herself with it. That is the minimum of service to be expected from the earnest man or woman who believes that the Socialist cause is just and true.—John Spargo.

**Arbeiter - Kranken - Sterbe - Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von America.**

**WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.**

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 233 local branches with 31,507 male and 6,408 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$3.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$2.00 and \$3.00 respectively. \$250 death benefit guaranteed to the beneficiaries of every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the third class upon payment of an initiation fee of \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but all candidates have to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third avenue, Room 2, New York City.

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**JACK LONDON'S LATEST NOVEL.**

Jack London's latest novel is running serially in The Pacific Monthly, beginning in the September issue. The hero, Martin Eden, whose name serves for title, is evidently to be a primitive chap, just as primitive as the suggestion of the surname to those familiar with the first chapter of a very much older book entitled "Genesis."

Jack (one cannot help being familiar with this cosmopolite of every sea and all lands), while confining his early chapters strictly to terra firma, still shows very evident traces of his former sea-loves, and his keen joy in the battling waves. Eden is a sailor ashore.

The book, apparently, is more story and less psychology than the reader expects from London. Were not comparisons always odious—to the party of the first part as well as to him of the second—one would be reminded forcibly by Kipling in some of the tropic scenes Jack paints with the off-hand stroke of an expert; as well as of Dickens in the final chapter of this first instalment.

The book, as so far printed, is a study in contrasts. It is like an old brocade design done by some master of the early Renaissance, the dark portion showing off the brilliance of the lighter, daintier ornament; the gayer part but emphasizing the wonderful depth and richness of the graver tones.

Martin Eden is a youth of twenty-one, educated in the streets, the holds of ships, the brothels of London and Yokohama, the moonlit strands of Mexico and Labrador. His book learning is as shallow as his knowledge of life, and the way to do things, not theorize them, is vast. He meets his contrast in a frail, delicate blond-haired product of a modern university. She is three years older than he and is "taking up a course in English." Yet the lad of the highways and byways of the world admires the greatness in Swinburne (whose name he can't pronounce), while the girl condemns his writings with a "Swinburne falls, when all is said, because he is—well, indelicate." Eden's criticism is: "I must a-missed 'em. What I read was the real goods. It was all lighted up an' shining, an' it shun right into me an' lighted me up inside, like the sun or a searchlight. That's the way it landed on me, but I guess I ain't up much on poetry, Miss!"

It is hard to form an estimate of a book from its first three chapters. The present instalment is decidedly entertaining. The entire book may be just so much, yet nothing more. The characters are drawn with a practised hand, evidently from living specimens at close range. Just whether Jack will give us an epoch-making book or a very delightful piece of fiction is a question which only time and the Pacific Monthly can answer.

M. M.

**"CONTRIBUTORY NEGLIGENCE."**

William Hard, writing under the title "The Law of the Killed and Wounded," in the September Everybody's, considers the two important doctrines of "Assumed Risk" and "Fellow Servant." He continues: "One more doctrine remains to be considered. It is the Doctrine of Contributory Negligence. This doctrine is dramatized, once for all, in the case of Smith of Seligman."

"Smith, an engineer for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, started out from Seligman, Arizona, one afternoon in the year 1903, about 4 o'clock. He had a long run and did not pull into Winslow, Arizona, till a quarter-past seven the next morning.

"Having then been on duty for more than fifteen hours, he started off to get some sleep. He was called back by the master mechanic. There was a train of oranges that had to be hauled to Pinto. Smith objected. He said he felt unable to manage an engine. The master mechanic insisted.

It was an urgent case. Smith climbed back on his engine.

"Smith reached Pinto at 3 o'clock that afternoon. At half-past eight in the evening he was in his way back to Winslow. It was then that he committed his act of contributory negligence. He got into a collision. He had been on duty thirty hours and thirty minutes. He fell into a doze. He forgot just where he was. He ought to have run his train at that point off the main track on to a side track. He didn't. He forgot about it. And in the midst of his contributory negligence another train ran into him.

"The Court of Appeals of Texas did not condone Smith's offense. The court admitted that in Arizona, where the accident happened, there was a law forbidding railway companies to work their employees more than sixteen hours at a stretch. Under that law, when a man had worked sixteen hours, he was entitled to enjoy nine hours' rest."

**AGAINST POUREN EXTRADITION.**

Among the few bourgeois publications that have so far ventured to speak editorially against the extradition of Jan Janoff Pouden to Russia is the "Outlook." It says editorially:

"To return the accused to Russia appears to us somewhat analogous to the return of a negro to slavery under the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. It was then assumed that the negro would have a trial in the state to which he was sent. It is now assumed that this peasant will have a trial in Russia. But all we know of Russia negatives this legal assumption. Executions without trial are common. Torture to coerce confessions is common. That he will have no trial and will be tortured to secure accusations against others is probable. That the depositions on which the decision here was based were obtained by torture is not improbable. That in the trial here much evidence for the defense could not be introduced without peril of implicating others whom this peasant would not implicate is certain. That the crimes charged were part of guerrilla warfare against the Russian Government can hardly be questioned.

"We cannot reflect upon the possible surrender of even a guilty revolutionary to a government justly indicted for committing the same crimes 'to an incomparably greater extent' without sharing with Count Tolstoy in his feeling of participation, and wishing to see America freed from so intolerable a position."

**THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country.—Frederic Harrison, p. 429, Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1886.

**MAYBE MR. FISH BELIEVES IT.**

Stuyvesant Fish says it is easier for a family to drop from \$15 to \$10 per week than it is to drop from \$200,000 to \$50,000 a year. Would like to ask Mr. Fish how about the thousands of families and individuals that dropped to nothing per week during the panic, which has by no means passed by to date?—International Musician.

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Call Picnic Committee meeting will be held Saturday night at Labor Temple, Room 3.



"BETTER AMERICA INSPIRED THAN AMERICA SOBER."

By THEODORE PAL.

The article on prohibition by Prof. Munsterberg in the August number of McClure's contains the most severe criticism of existing social conditions, the strongest condemnation of the class that perpetuates them. The tone of the article is gruesome and cheerless. It is depressing in its effect of dark and cynical pessimism.

The authority of law is crippled. It has lost its sanctity in the eyes of men for the reason that laws are no longer based on the principle of justice and equality of opportunities of life.

The spiritual incentive of religion is traded for pompous rites and ceremonies which serve to dull and to hypnotize or, to quote Prof. Munsterberg, "to inhibit" the mental faculties of the masses. "Emotional desire for a life in beauty, yielded to tyranny and cruelty, sexual over-indulgence and perversion, gambling and betting, mysticism and superstition," etc.

The physical instinct of activity in healthy flesh and normal muscles is stifled and smothered because "the American masses work hard throughout the day. The sharp physical and mental labor, the constant hurry and drudgery produce a state of tension and irritation which demands before the night's sleep some dulling inhibition, if a dangerous nest is not to set in."

This is the dark picture of present-day life, and there is only one remedy to awaken the world and to save it from complete decay. This is alcohol. There is more tragedy and cynicism in the remedy than in the evil itself.

Is this the true remedy, however? Is it true that alcohol is capable of raising the ethical conception of life beautiful? Is it true that only alcohol is able to "prepare the masses for a national career of effectiveness," that alcohol is to create an "America inspired" as against "America sober"?

The world would be crowded with Shakespeares, Darwins and Michael Angelos, if alcohol could actually be an instrument of inspiration. Prof. Munsterberg confesses that a glass of beer is sufficient to dull his intellect to an extent where writing a McClure Magazine essay would be an impossibility. The scholar and the minister may not need the stimulus of alcohol, but the masses can find no normal way of recovery from their fatigue. The intellect is continually poisoned by the products of the unhealthy air, which they themselves had exhaled, and by the products of breakdown of their own muscle. Their nervous system receives only one impression, that of pain from the "sharp physical work" and from the monotony of it. "And alcohol does not relieve that daily tension." The tragedy of the situation lies not in this, but in the fact that "the scholars and the ministers" and behind them a few other individuals hold out to the masses only this remedy, where nature furnishes many.

Pain and fatigue are the surest guardians of man's safety, and they call for rest, sleep and recreation. Alcohol, though quick in its action, is a poor substitute for these. It does not remove fatigue, nor the poisonous substances formed in the body by the process of overwork. It only adds a new poison which makes the body unconscious of its own needs.

Not the masses need the alcohol, but the masters for the masses. Physically man is the most helpless of all animals of his size. He has only one organ of self-defence and that is his intellect. This applies equally to individuals as well as masses.

And to-day alcohol is the surest means to rob man of his only weapon of defense. The end of one day finds the laborer in the same state of exhaustion that he was in the day previous, and the cause for the use of alcohol repeats itself with the regularity of a clock from day to day.

Thus the intellect is clubbed down during the hours of labor and drugged during the hours of rest, until it is completely atrophied.

Prof. Munsterberg correctly reminds us that other methods to crush and dull the intellect of the masses have been tried in the past. Catho-

lic countries tried the pomp of religious ceremonies; monarchic countries, the pomp of state functions. Prof. Munsterberg finds all this perfectly normal and desirable.

However, it is hard to conceive that Prof. Munsterberg actually sees in alcohol and in other inhibitory remedies a way toward the achievement of man's highest ideals. The world's progress was created not by the moments of inhibition, but by those of highest activity and exaltation. But Prof. Munsterberg trusts the future of human progress to men of his own class, and to them alcohol is only one of the means to make life "merry." There is little danger that alcohol will become their only mode of recreation, but for the masses he sees no other alternative than to dull their fatigue and this natural spirit of revolt against the drudgery of monotonous, cheerless, gainless work by the use of alcohol.

Fortunately this is not the view of the masses. They realize that their future cannot be entrusted to a class who created the gruesome condition of the present day, so vividly portrayed by Prof. Munsterberg. It is true prohibition can do little to improve the present condition of the masses, but it is also true that neither alcohol nor any other remedy which inhibits the development of man's intellect can be a trusted weapon in the struggle for human progress. Short hours, sufficient recreation, some opportunity for education, and the ideal of one-class society may sooner bring about the realization of "America inspired" than the most commendable form of alcohol.

OUR SOCIAL NATURE.

The closer we study the individual, the more do his alleged individualities cease, as such, and disappear in the general laws by virtue of which society exists; the less baggage does he prove to have which is really his own; the more do all his thoughts, traits, and features turn out to be those of others; so that, at last, he melts into the mass, and there is nothing left which he has a right to claim as his personal property. His pretended personal mind is the reflex of the group-minds around him, as his body is in every fibre and cell the repetition of his species and race. As an American writer strongly puts it: "Morally I am as much a part of society as physically I am a part of the world's fauna."—D. G. Brinton in "The Basis of Social Relations."

SOCIALISM AND INCENTIVE.

Joy of activity, joy of fame, joy of achievement, and joy of service—these are the joys that might play on the healthful, eager, sensitive organism and draw it into a due share in the great labor of the world. And it is claimed that they will not be sufficient under Socialism; that the fear of starvation must be added, or men, undeterred by vacant days or the pitying scorn of their fellows, will yield themselves to luxurious indolence, because forsooth, they know that society will treat them kindly as it would a stray cat, and will give them shelter and food. Such a contention is false to all faith in our common humanity; more than this, it is false to the facts of human experience.—Vida Scudder, in "Socialism and Spiritual Progress."



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TRADE VERSUS LIFE. People talk about the interests of trade being injured through the demands of union labor, as if trade was of greater importance than the health, happiness and prosperity of the wealth producers. Does it hurt the bituminous coal trade to have the miner work eight or nine hours a day for a living wage? Would it hurt the anthracite coal trade to take the boy of nine and ten years of age away from the breakers and put him into the schoolroom? If so, then for heaven's sake let's hurt the coal trade and save this enormous waste of human happiness and human life!—International Woodworker. WHITED SEPULCHRES. Yes, you are as orthodox as the devil, and you think to compound for the neglect of your wronged brothers and sisters by a little sentiment and a few offerings to their and your Father in heaven.—John Wesley.



**McFUDD ON GOVERNOR HUGHES.**

By J. A. G.

McFudd was resting picturesquely on the newly-painted red fire hydrant, his short-stemmed clay pipe gripped between his teeth with an intensity characteristic of him when the thought-waves are severely agitating the gray matter in his cranium.

"McFudd," said I, "have you read Hughes' speech?"

"The Guvnor's speech is a wonderful dockment," he replied. "O! hov read it frum th' beginnin' of alfalfa to th' ind of omega."

"It wuz a masterful perduction, an' hod all th' indications of an intilligint debater."

"Now, whilst O! don't ramiber th' most ov it in wurrds an' sintimints, O! hov a prominint recollection of th' smooth way th' language rolled out ov me mouth, as O! wuz aradin' it in th' noospaper. The sintences rolled aroun' bechune me tongue an' gooms loike a cud of swate twist plug; an' sez O!, well, th' manin' is a little thick an' dark loike, but did yez iver see swate molasses that yez could penetrate wid yer visual organs of observation? An' so, sez O!, it isn't fair to be lookin' fer th' bitter in th' swate."

"Th' Guvner is a great mon. Sez he, 'If a law were passed preventing the duplication of directors it would easily be evaded in the selection of men who would represent the same interests.' An', sez he, wid a gentle wink frum his off eye, an' wid recollections of his Public Service Commission passin' thru th' hidden portions of his mind: 'The most ordinary experience shows it is not necessary to serve on a board of directors in order to control its proceedings.'"

"Did yez iver see sich frankness in an office-holdin' politician? Here he comes an' tells th' people that th' laws fer directors is all humbug. That directors is th' nigger that holds his head up to th' hole in th' canvas fer th' taxpayers to foire at, while th' boss of th' show takes in th' money, an' laffs ivery toime wan of th' poor divils puts his head up befoore a man wid a shtrong arrum an' a straight eye fer throwin'."

"Now, th' nixt toime yez go to th' financial institution where yez money is deposited fer intherest an' safe-keepin', an' yez foind a nate an' attractive sign on th' dure radin': 'Bank suspended by order of the State Bank Examiner,' don't get red in th' face callin' th' officers names that wouldn't be an ornimint fer a baby at a christenin'; but just repate th' sintence frum th' Guvner's masterful effort at Youngstown three toimes, slowly an' deliberately, as inshtucted by Mrs. Eddy in 'Signs an' Health.'"

"Thin call on Senator La Follette an' get a list of th' hunderd min that controls th' United States, an' whin yez hov guessed wich wan of thim owns th' officers an' directors of th' particler financial institution in mind, peeced to unload yer choice epithets on his unwilling head—that is pervidin' yez kin get by th' twinty fellers wid brass buttons that persects th' august body of th' frozen-hearted individual who owns th' show."

"An' wot'll be th' consequence of yer indignation thus boldly expressed? Why, more commissions, av coorse. A commission to regulate th' financial institutions an sich loike."

"Th' commission idea is th' greatest strategical invention of th' science of modern politics. Th' commission is to th' Guvnor wot th' twinty-nine million dollar fine is to Prisdint Roosevelt, but wid this strikin' difference, ye don't hov to rescind a commission, wid all that th' implies, on th' ave of a campaign fund."

"Whin, nixt November, th' Guvner asks fer th' suffrages of a free an' enlightened people, he will say to th' shoutin' millions, in a voice loike Patrick Henry behind whiskers that resemble Controller Grout, an' th' creases in his trousers shtandin' out loike whipcords on his brow, 'See, see there'—as he points to his Public Service Commission—th' brave men who under my command hov shtood bechune th' people an' th' enemies of th' republic, unselfish, patriotic, loike th' soldiers of th' revolution at Valley Forge, they hov served an ongrateful public in these hard toimes fer a

miserable pittance of fourteen thousand dollars per year.'

"Thin he will relate how th' Public Service Commission defied th' grasspin' railroad corporations, an' tould thim that if th' transfers were abolished they wud appoint inspectors to count th' th' transfers no longer issued an' investigate th' subject all th' rest of their loives, aven if it tuk ivery dollar in th' State treasury."

"After wich he will repair, in th' dark ov th' moon, to where th' part ov th' wan hunderd men of La Follette's list as owns New York has its rendezvous, an' say to thim wid a winning shmole, 'We are practical men.' An' so, wid wan hand holdin' tight th' inside pocket of Capital an' th' other firmly holdin' Labor by th' neck, Labor an' Capital united by th' faithful friend of th' people will rally to th' standard of th' safe an' sane, placin' th' reins of government wance more in th' hands of him who proved thure to his trusts."

**AUSTRALIAN TEACHERS WIN.**

Simce the granting of the suffrage to the women of New South Wales, Australia, the woman suffrage society of that province, which no longer has any reason for existence, has been formally dissolved, and from its ashes has arisen the Woman's Progressive Association. This organization appears to be a body that has to be reckoned with, for it has just accomplished the most difficult of tasks, namely, the raising of the salaries of the women teachers. Parliament voted \$300,000 to increase teachers' salaries, and the men teachers tried to get the whole of the amount. The association, whose members are all voters, did not see the logic of such a division of the grant and objected to it so strongly that the men were forced to share the money with the women. The association is now trying to reform the university and to secure, among other things, the admission of women to the senate and faculty.

**THE PEACE OF THE TOMB.**

When men fall under despotism, they are bound to make efforts to shake it off; and those efforts are, at that period, the only property the unfortunate people have left. The height of misery is, not to be able to free ourselves from it, and to suffer without daring to complain. Where is the man barbarous and stupid enough to give the name of peace to the silence and forced tranquillity of slavery? It is, indeed, peace, but it is the peace of the tomb.—Helvetius.

**COMPLETED PROVERBS.**

"Labor overcometh all things," even the laborer.  
 "Possession is nine points of the law," and frequently all the profits.  
 "Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," is the cry of those who are well in front.  
 "Whate'er is best administered is best" for the one who administers.  
 "Employment brings enjoyment" when it brings the means to enjoy.—L. de V. Mathewman in Era.

**THE ROAD MAKERS.**

When our bodies are dust, in the wilderness blowing,  
 When our souls are red blooms, mid green foliage glowing,  
 When our names 'neath Oblivion's poppies have perished,  
 Happy children of children we fathered and cherished  
 Shall behold white vistas of freedom before them  
 On the walls we built well, for the love that we bore them.  
 —Robert Blatchford.

**A LITTLE STEALING.**

A little stealing is a dangerous part. But stealing largely is a noble art; 'Tis mean to rob a henroost or a pen, But stealing thousands makes us gentlemen.  
 —The Clarion.

**SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?**

By HORACE S. REIS.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, to the best of his somewhat limited ability, has been denouncing Republican misrule as the source of the present hard times. After he had caused himself to be nominated at Denver, his trusty followers—they that had stuck to him through populism and free silver—turned an attentive ear to catch the gems of political wisdom as they dropped from his ever-ready lips. Alas, their disillusionment! 'Tis true the Peerless Orator of the Platte "came to time" with a stack of ready-made platitudes and some cold-storage oratory, but nary a word did he say about hard times. And this was his "keynote speech," too. Sweet memories of '96! Shall the people rule?

Mr. Bryan is not speaking on the question. Were we in parliamentary session we would be compelled to raise a point of order against him. The question before this body—the voters of America—is not "Shall the people rule," but "SHALL THE PEOPLE EAT?" On this—the paramount issue at this time—Mr. Bryan, in company with the other capitalist candidates, maintains an eloquent silence. Having no solution to the problem of unemployment he is clever enough to keep quiet about it. He makes a feeble attempt to dodge the issue by trying to switch our train of thought from the main line of the bread and butter question onto the siding to consider the iniquities of the Republican political machine. The misdeeds of political parties may interest us at times, but just now the great majority of American voters are asking the momentous question, "Are we going to EAT this winter, or not?" They demand an answer. And Mr. Bryan has none to give. He should realize that the man out of a job isn't interested in his meaningless injunction plank, that the man out of a job isn't worried whether bank deposits

are guaranteed or not. The man out of work is concerned only about making a living; Mr. Bryan won't discuss this subject with him.

"Shall the People Rule?" Who are the people? Bathhouse John, Hinky Dink, Taggart, Murphy, Connors, Bryan and Tammany Hall? Or the working class? If Bryan means the working people, he is traveling in queer company to accomplish working class rule. That heterogeneous mess of professional politicians, gamblers, millionaires and Tammanyites who are masquerading as the Democratic party are not working people, and have no interests in common with the working class. They make their living by avoiding work, by working the workers. "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself."

The Socialist party says the working class shall come into its own, shall take possession of all the nation's industries and run them for the benefit of those who work. There shall be no more class rule.

To accomplish this the working class must first come into power, politically, must really RULE; then they will be able to establish industrial democracy, a state of society where NO ONE WILL RULE, wherein no man will own another's job to make a profit out of him, where there will be no more wage slavery, and where there CAN be no more hard times.

Mr. Workingman, which do you choose—Socialism or Capitalism?

**DEMOCRACY.**

If democracy means a state in which every man shall be a free man, neither in economic nor intellectual nor moral subjection, two processes at least are needed to render democracy possible—on the one hand a large and many-sided education; on the other the reasonable organization of life.—Havelock Ellis, in The New Spirit.

**DEBS**

When Everybody's Magazine had published a series of interviews with President Roosevelt, Secretary Taft, Senator La Follette, W. J. Bryan and John L. Johnson—candidates for the presidency, on "What the matter is in America and what to do about it," the Socialists asked in the name of a square deal for an interview with EUGENE V. DEBS, the Socialist candidate for President. We have had Mr. Debs interviewed by Lincoln Steffens, the same man who interviewed the others, and we think the Socialists have got a square deal; anyhow, Mr. Debs is satisfied.

**Here's what he thinks about it:**

Editor Everybody's Magazine.  
 Dear Sir—Enclosed please find copy of the Steffens article, as wired you this day. I have made but a couple of alterations of minor importance. The article is magnificent, a really wonderful piece of work, and I need hardly say that I am greatly pleased with it.

With all good wishes, I am,  
 Yours very truly,  
 EUGENE V. DEBS.

Don't miss the October Number of

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## HE ATE TOO MUCH.

By FLORENCE MARGOLIES.

To feel the pang of hunger, to feel the cry for food, and to be helpless, totally helpless to soothe that pang, to still that cry. Does not that seem horrible, dreadful?

And yet it took a long time, a very long time, for me to fully realize that it is really true, what I have heard time and again, that many, many people walk the streets day after day in quest of work; mind you, looking for honest work to do, in order to procure food and shelter, and are actually unable to find any. They are willing, anxious to give their strength and energy for something to do, so that they could get something to eat and a place to sleep in, and all doors are closed to them, and they must wander over the streets, hungry, hungry, bitterly hungry.

There is even a funny side to this. For when you think that in a great world like this, which abounds in all the good things of life, and could more than amply supply every individual that dwells thereon, with not only the necessities of life, but even with luxury, scores of people, on one hand, go hungry, really and dreadfully hungry, and, on the other, there are people who loll in the lap of luxury, and are satiated, surfeited with all the sweets of life—I say there is something incongruous, something decidedly funny and sad, and sets one a-thinking.

Now this train of thoughts was brought on by the following headline over a little column of what the New York Times apparently deemed unimportant news, judging by the tone and brevity of the report—"Took too much off the free lunch counter and stabbed the man behind it for telling him so."

This man, the one who took, you see, was hungry. He wanted to eat. That natural craving, you know, cannot possibly be resisted by the force of logic, and he took bread and perhaps some other uneatable edibles strewn there on that lunch counter. Oh, those free lunch counters in the saloons, haven of refuge.

Well, he took and ate, and ate, for he was hungry, very hungry, and he lost all sense of propriety. For, you see, it isn't very nice to take too much bread—and the man behind the counter told him so, not all too kindly or sympathetically, but told him in plain, cruel, harsh words that he must not eat all he wanted—the lunch was free, you see.

This man, exasperated by the pangs of hunger, now made frantic by the longing to still that cry, grasped his knife and plunged its cold steel blade in the man behind the counter, for he would not let him eat.

No, I don't seek to justify murder. But was not he, the hungry one, being murdered—slowly, cruelly murdered? And who are they, his murderers?

## A PLEA FOR UNITY.

By E. W. W.

Granting each of us is working for the freedom of mankind—

Granting each of us is striving for the right—

Granting each of us is seeking the abundant life to find;

Let us then, with hand in hand, as friends unite!

'Tis but human each should differ in his method—in his plan—

'Tis but just that we should each our life-path choose;

But we all need aid and counsel; let us then, my brother man,

Freely offer, freely take, and freely use!

Let us bury, then, the hatchet—let us light the pipe of peace—

Let us, shoulder unto shoulder, seek the goal;

Striving for impartial right, opposing only unearned ease—

To the end that all have life, and have it whole.

### SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALITY.

Does anybody contend for a single moment that since the state has undertaken so many public services there is less individuality in consequence? Is there less individuality to-day, in any real sense, than there was in the days of privately controlled roads and toll-gates? Have we less individuality than our grandfathers had because of our public schools, libraries, art galleries, museums, baths, parks and the like? Is our individuality lessened because we drink municipally supplied water, and depend upon municipal fire fighting forces to protect us from fire? Is any man robbed of his individual freedom because he pays only two cents to send a letter from Maine to California and the same amount to send a letter to an address in the next street? No man is compelled to use any municipal or state service if he can possibly do without it, or if he finds it more profitable to do so. If any citizen should prefer to send his letters by private messenger, the government would not try to stop him. All that the government does is to provide a letter-carrying service upon a plan infinitely more economical than any which private enterprise could possibly devise. It does not attempt to compel any person to use that service. If the municipality provides us with water it does not interfere with our personal liberties any more than the private corporation which supplies our gas does. That frightful bugbear of so many timorous souls, the great bureaucracy which they fear extensive public ownership would involve, has no justification in fact.—John Spargo in "The Socialists."

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National Secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, 190 Washington Street, Chicago.

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

### GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1908 .....	2,038	1896 .....	28,564
1902 .....	21,157	1900 .....	98,961
1904 .....			408,220

## STAND UP AND BE COUNTED.

By ERNEST UNTERMANN.

"Yes, I am a Socialist, but it wouldn't do for me to come out openly."—"I am in favor of Socialism, but it would hurt my business, if I said so."—"No, I can't join your local; it would cost me my job; but I vote the Socialist ticket all right."

These are the words which we now hear very frequently. They show that the world is not only full of unconscious Socialists, but also of conscious Socialists, who never take any active part at all in moulding the public mind. They go to the polls and register their protest against the capitalist system. But they do nothing whatever to assist the party that alone enables them to vote their protest.

It is a sad fact that many are dependent for their existence on the patronage of the slow-witted and prejudiced. And it is also true that many are so situated that they cannot dare to come out openly for Socialism, not so much for their own sake, as for the sake of those who are dependent upon them. But it is also true, that hundreds of thousands who make the above excuses can well afford to be avowed Socialists, and shrink from openly affiliating with the party from mere faintheartedness.

There are many who are young and strong, who can well risk losing money for the sake of standing up for a great principle. There are many who would find, if they had the courage, that they were afraid of a bogey. Granted that to be a Socialist means to be ostracized; granted that it means loss of business; granted that it means hardships and sacrifice. But unless aged or disabled or diseased persons depend on a man, unless a man himself is physically broken down and unable to share in the struggles of the manful, there is no excuse for shrinking from the ordeal.

Oh ye of little faith in the power of self-assertion! Who is your neighbor that he should have such influence over your soul? You are in favor of Socialism. Well, then, you see the

truth. You know that the world can only become better by the spread of this truth. And yet you lift not one finger to help in the victory of light over darkness. You say you vote the ticket? Yes, but how would you get a chance to vote your ticket if all behaved like you? There would be no Socialist party then.

It hurts your business to come out for Socialism? All right. But does it not hurt your manhood to bow to prejudice in spite of your better conviction? You lose money if you join the local of the party? Very well. But does it not cost you your individuality to prevent your best convictions from finding expression in vigorous action? It hurts your standing in the community to work for Socialism? Let it be so. But does it not hurt your soul to live a lie?

Inwardly you hate capitalism, yet you let others do the work of awakening enough minds to abolish it. You feel that you are a Socialist, and that it is a noble thing to be one, and yet you are ashamed to show your colors to a world that is bending under the burden of ignorance. You conceal your better knowledge. Verily, who-soever is not working for the victory of truth is against it!

Be a man and stand up for your principles! No faint heart ever commanded respect. You will never be free, unless you first are brave. If you bow meekly to the tyranny of those who are enslaved by the thoughts of the past, then you are a slave of the past yourself. How then do you expect to liberate yourself and others? While others are bearing the brunt of the fight, waiting for reinforcements, you are sneaking around with a Socialist paper in your pocket. Pull it out and read it boldly before all the world! Shake off that yoke of dead men! Stand up and let them see your colors! And compel them by your self-assertion to respect your manhood and your principles.—In Appeal to Reason.

### POETRY OF THE FUTURE.

The poet who is worth while is one who has something to do with the larger movements of humanity—a prophet and a seer. We need a new ideal for the poetic and literary life, and I believe that the social and industrial movement at the present time presents a higher theme than the poets have yet dealt with. I believe that we are coming to a new conception of religion that will be the application of the golden rule. We need not men to make money, but money to make men. We lack a great past, but we have a spacious future. America has been reserved to these later ages for some great manifestation. Something seems destined to come out of this great experiment of democracy, and I believe it will be in the solving of the problem of the struggle of capital and labor, and that we will solve the problem of industrial freedom. We have closed the study of kings and taken up the study of man. The old epic was of arms and the man, but the new epic will be of tools and the man.—Edwin Markham.

### THE LOVE OF LIBERTY.

The desire for freedom is like a seed; once lodged in a crack of the walls of circumstance, it may disrupt the well-built order of conventional progress, but it will have light and space.—Bliss Carman.

### THE WORKERS.

By JAMES EMMETT.

The sun pours fiercely on the roof of glass;  
 Swift wheels are whirling in the evil air;  
 A band of pallid workers labor there  
 This summer day, and slow the moments pass.  
 Far leagues away are fields of cool, deep grass,  
 Green forest depths, the squirrel's inmost lair;  
 Beyond, the burly ocean, fresh and fair,  
 Rides in wild triumph on the shore's grim mass.  
 Here is dear Nature's universal shrine,  
 But you poor toilers—women, children, men—  
 Can never meet her gracious, holy glance:  
 Blest by the Sabbath's tranquil rest divine,  
 Slowly drag on the laboring year—  
 and then?  
 Tired eyes gaze o'er another year's expanse.

### "LISTED ON CHANGE."

"You don't recognize titles of nobility in this country?" said the distinguished foreigner. "Oh, yes, we can," answered Mr. Cumrox. "Mother and the girls can not only recognize 'em, but they can quote their market valuation off-hand."—Washington Star.