

# THE SOCIALIST

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## MORE THAN EDUCATION IS NEEDED.

"Of more importance than any other feature in the crusade against the scourge of tuberculosis is the campaign of education," says Dr. Koch. As is often the case with specialists, the doctor has concentrated his attention on hygienic theory and lost sight of certain important social conditions.

It is all very well to teach people that, in order to escape tuberculosis, one must eat nourishing food, keep his lungs filled with pure air, live in sunny and well-ventilated rooms, get enough sleep and get it regularly, and take a sufficient amount of bodily exercise in the open.

But the sad fact remains that, for a very large proportion of the people, and those just the people among whom tuberculosis runs riot, it is absolutely impossible to follow these excellent rules. They might as well be taught that they must fly through the air or lift themselves by their boot straps. They are in the grip of economic necessity. Poverty—laborious poverty, undeserved poverty, resulting from the private ownership of the means of social production—denies them sufficient food and leisure for healthful exercise and keeps them shut up in dusty factories all day and in foul tenements at night and sets the anxious fear of want to drive them in their waking hours and haunt them in their sleep.

Hygienic education is undoubtedly an important part of the campaign against tuberculosis and other diseases. But vastly more effective, and absolutely necessary in order to make such education itself effective, is the enactment and enforcement of factory legislation and tenement legislation to compel employers and landlords to give sanitary conditions to their employees and their tenants, the suppression of child labor and the shortening of the labor day, securing to the whole body of workingmen more leisure, greater regularity of employment, and better remuneration for their labor.

President Gompers says the Manufacturers' Association tried to bribe him to resign from the presidency of the American Federation of Labor and go on the lecture platform against the labor movement; and although, as he alleges, he was to be guaranteed \$5,000 or even \$6,000 a year for his services, he replied "Get thee behind me, Satan!" Considering that President Gompers gets a salary of \$5,000 a year from the Federation, together with very liberal allowance for traveling expenses, some cynical persons may find it a little difficult to see the Spartan virtue required for resisting such a temptation. Also, some may be skeptical enough to doubt the whole story, arguing that so experienced a business man as Mr. Van Cleave, if he thought it worth while to try to buy Mr. Gompers, would have made a bid that would be worth considering from a business point of view.

## WHY PRICES ARE RISING.

The French people are suffering from a rapid and continuous increase in the prices of all the necessities of life. The orthodox "molders of public opinion" explain that this is due to "the burdens imposed on commerce and industry by the weekly day of rest law, the employers' liability act, and other measures of a Socialistic character designed to protect the masses at the expense of the more wealthy classes" and that "it is feared that with the coming of old-age pensions and shorter hours of labor, for which the trade unions are contending, prices will go still higher."

The motive behind this false explanation is clear enough. But the falsity of the explanation is also clear enough when it is remembered that in this country, which is distinguished by its lack of just such Socialistic legislation as the French workers have extorted from their rulers, the prices of the necessities of life have been climb-

ing skyward just as fast and just as steadily as in France or Germany or England.

It does not need the ability to see very far through a brick wall for an unprejudiced thinker to recognize that the causes for general rise of prices are the same in all lands, and that the principal cause is the concentration of capitalist ownership and the centralization of the control of industry in the hands of ever fewer capitalists.

The remedy for it is not to make the producers work longer hours and relieve employers from responsibility for accidents and let aged workers die in poverty, but to move forward on the same Socialistic lines to public ownership of the means by which the workers produce the necessities of life.

Cable dispatches say that the British government is seriously alarmed by the increase in the numbers of the unemployed and by the growing magnitude and aggressiveness of the demonstrations which they are making in the large cities and industrial centres, demanding action for their relief. The Labor party, pledged as it now is to a Socialist policy, is the only one which makes any genuine attempt to solve the problem, and the possessing classes are bitterly opposed to any real solution. They vacillate between a policy of repression and a policy of makeshift temporary relief, neither of which avails to stem the rising tide of popular indignation against a system which, while enriching a small part of the people, causes intense and general misery among the producers of wealth. If they hesitate much longer, it may be too late for them to save the capitalist system or even to prolong its lease of life.

Just to show how sincerely he is opposed to the trusts, Mr. Bryan has got Cord Meyer, Sugar Trust magnate and water company millionaire, to help manage and finance his campaign.

## THE ISSUES OF THIS CAMPAIGN.

We Socialists are not greatly interested in the various "issues" which the old parties are discussing for the mystification of the people. We see no reason why the masses of the workingmen should spend their votes in deciding for or against the bank-deposit guaranty plan or the revision of the tariff by its friends or its enemies or the futile prosecution of trusts by Republican or by Democratic officials. Their votes are worth much more than that. These questions are of some moment to the propertied classes, and of still greater moment to the professional politicians; but they are of very little moment to the working people.

It would do the working people little good to have bank deposits guaranteed under a system, as advocated by both the old parties, which makes a bank deposit an impossibility for most workingmen even in the best of times and plunges the whole working class, every few years, into a period of unemployment that soon wipes out whatever little savings the more fortunate among them may have laid away. Under high tariff and under low tariff, we have seen chronic poverty for the workers and periodic industrial depressions. The Democratic party never tried to restrain the trusts from exploiting the workingmen when it was in power; and though the Roosevelt administration can show a long list of prosecutions and a few convictions under the anti-trust laws, that has not prevented the non-producing rich from growing richer under Roosevelt, just as they did under Cleveland, nor has it prevented hard times from coming upon us in the present Republican era just as they did in the Democratic era of 1893; nor has it prevented the capitalists and landlords from continuously raising the prices of food and the rent of tenements, nor from locking out workingmen and blacklisting



their leaders, with the full approbation of Democratic and Republican judges.

We Socialists recognize just one big issue in this campaign, as in other campaigns that have gone before. That is THE issue for our party, because it is the ONLY issue that really touches the interest of our class.

This is the issue:

**SHALL THE WORKERS OWN THE THINGS WITH WHICH THEY WORK AND CONTROL THEIR OWN OPPORTUNITIES OF EMPLOYMENT AND ENJOY FOR THEMSELVES THE PRODUCT OF THEIR OWN LABOR?**

**OR SHALL THEY AGAIN CONSENT TO HAVE THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION OWNED BY A SMALL CLASS, TO HAVE INDUSTRY CONTROLLED FOR PRIVATE PROFIT, AND TO LIVE ON THE VERGE OF POVERTY WHILE THEY WORK AND BE THROWN OUT OF WORK AND INTO MISERY FROM TIME TO TIME, THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN, IN ORDER THAT THE CAPITALISTS MAY LIVE IN LUXURY AND POWER WITHOUT DOING ANY PRODUCTIVE LABOR?**

That issue the workingmen's votes can decide, whenever the workingmen vote fearlessly and unitedly—AND THEY WILL.

Meantime, while the masses of the workingmen are gradually learning to vote together and to vote for themselves, while our vote is growing and before we have got the majority, there are things that CAN BE DONE NOW, to relieve the sufferings of the working class and to strengthen their power of resistance.

We demand action by the city, state and nation to GIVE WORK TO THE UNEMPLOYED—useful work at decent hours and decent pay.

We demand the ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR, so that the children may go to the school and the playground and there may be employment for the men.

We demand the enactment and enforcement of LAWS TO GUARD THE HEALTH AND LIVES OF THE WORKERS in their places of employment and in their homes.

We demand provision for the workers WHEN THEY ARE SICK, when they are INJURED, when they are THROWN OUT OF WORK without fault of their own, and when they have GROWN OLD AT THEIR WORK.

We demand protection of THE WORKERS' RIGHT TO ORGANIZE in unions, to carry on strikes and boycotts, and by all peaceful means to strive for shorter hours and higher wages and better conditions.

These and other demands of the same sort are the IMMEDIATE ISSUES for which the Socialist party stands, because the fulfillment of these demands will be beneficial to our class, the most numerous and the most important as well as the most suffering class in society to-day.

And we call on the workingmen not to throw their votes away on issues which do not touch their material interests, but to use the full power of their ballots, to impress the ruling class with their growing power and their growing determination that they will be free, so that all these immediate demands may be realized NOW and so that our big demand, for THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS FROM CAPITALIST RULE, MAY BE BROUGHT IN OUR OWN DAY AND GENERATION.

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The Socialist movement in America has definitely passed the stage where its opponents can afford to ignore it or can with impunity misrepresent its principles and purposes. That much has been pretty conclusively demonstrated in New York within the last few days.

#### A NEW ERA HAS BEGUN

Time was—and that as lately as 1906, even—when the Socialist party could gather thousands in a mass meeting or tens of thousands in an open-air demonstration, and yet most of the daily papers could omit the slightest mention of it and the rest could pass it over with a small and sarcastic notice.

That time has passed, never to return.

The Debs meetings in the Hippodrome and the American Theatre last Sunday did, indeed, far surpass anything of the sort that the Socialists in New York, or anywhere else in this country, ever accomplished. But much as these meetings exceeded in size and enthusiasm any previous ones, doubly and trebly did the notice given to them in the capitalist press on Monday and Tuesday surpass the reports which they had ever before given to such events. Every Monday paper gave reports; and with the exception of Mr. Hearst's "American," the reports well all very creditably full and accurate. Nor was that all. For practically every evening paper on Monday and practically every morning paper on Tuesday devoted

a good portion of its editorial space to a discussion of the growth of the Socialist movement and its aims and methods; and never before have editorials on Socialism in these papers been so comparatively free from abuse and wilful misrepresentation.

What is true of the capitalist press in New York is, in a somewhat less degree, true of the capitalist papers in other parts of the country. At last we are beginning to get a hearing before the general public, and our theories and demands are beginning to receive serious consideration.

Two things have especially contributed to this most welcome change. One was the daring enterprise of the Red Special. The other was the even more audacious enterprise of launching The Evening Call.

From every point of view but that of the trained party Socialist, each of these undertakings would have seemed utterly impracticable, in view of the very limited means with which they were begun. But the one big asset of the Socialist movement is the enthusiasm and devotion of its members and active sympathizers. When a thing has to be done, they are not given to counting the cost. They proceed to do it, resolved to meet and overcome the obstacles as they arise. And they do overcome them. They gather new energy from every task performed and new wisdom from every experience, however hard.

The Red Special in another four weeks will have completed its gloriously successful mission. It will live in our memories as an example to be followed and to be eclipsed on the next occasion.

The Evening Call, on the other hand, has only begun its still greater mission. After Election Day it will be even more needed than now. It has demonstrated its value, and the Socialists of the country, and especially of the Eastern States, as soon as the burden of campaign work is eased from their shoulders, will rally in a greater attempt than they have ever yet made to put our second English daily paper in a position where it can face every emergency and seize upon every opportunity for service to the cause and extend its field of usefulness week by week and day by day.

The Socialist movement has emerged from the period of infancy and exhibits the vigor of fresh maturity. For Socialists henceforth, even more than in the past, the leading maxim of conduct will be, "We must dare, and again dare, and always dare, and victory is ours."

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The Republicans are circulating as a campaign document an excerpt from the record of the Federal Court for the Northern District of Ohio to prove that on one particular occasion, in 1898, when the American Steel and Wire Company applied to him for an injunction against its striking workmen, Judge Taft refused to grant the injunction without giving the strikers ten days' notice to show cause why it should not be granted. Very good of him, to be sure. But the fact remains that the injunction was granted. Just what good it did the workmen to have the privilege of formally asking the Judge to do them justice when he was going to proceed with the injustice anyhow, laymen may not be able to see.

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Nahle Moutran Pasha, a wealthy Turk who stands in with the royal family in Constantinople, gave an interview to the New York papers just before sailing for home. He predicts disaster for Turkey because the revolutionists have got the upper hand and are not showing proper respect for the Sultan. Also, he says that he has instructed the Syrian papers in this country to advise all the Syrians living here to vote for Taft. Good combination—friend of Abdul Hamid and friend of Injunction Bill.

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"Chimmie Fadden" Townsend aspires to be a Congressman. It isn't the first time we have heard of a "joker" in legislative proceedings.

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Whatever the means by which he got hold of them, and whatever his motive in giving them to the public, we are by no means inclined to regret that Mr. Hearst has procured and published the Standard Oil letters incriminating Senator Foraker, Governor Haskell, and other prominent Republican and Democratic politicians. Men who play double with the public have really no good ground for complaint when someone else, no more scrupulous than themselves, publicly exposes their conduct. Even though the methods of the exposé may not be above criticism, the complainants do not come into court with clean hands.

#### PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE OF SOMETHING OR OTHER



Nevertheless, the question cannot but arise in many minds, concerning these very private letters, Where did Mr. Hearst get them? The theory that he stole them, or caused them to be stolen, or received them from some one who had stolen them on the chance of being able to dispose of them for a good price, is the one that naturally suggests itself. But then, just when we are settling down to accept this theory, our attention is called to the following passage which appeared in Mr. Hearst's very own "Cosmopolitan Magazine"—a publication over whose contents the proprietor exercises a close censorship, as certain well known incidents in its career testify:

"The simple truth is that publication of letters not written for publication is prima facie evidence of rascality in the person doing so, and it makes no difference whether the writer of the letters is dead or living."

Far be it from us to suggest that Mr. Hearst has wilfully offered prima facie evidence of rascality on his own part. We are driven, then, to the other supposition—that the writers of the letters in question must have authorized Mr. Hearst to publish them. And we can well conceive that the Standard Oil crowd, who can give cards and spades to the Heathen Chinee on "ways that are dark," if not on "tricks that are vain," may have had their own ulterior purposes in betraying certain ones of the old-party politicians who had served them and been paid for their services.

Altogether, it is a curious business, whose full meaning may become clearer at some future time. For us, we say "a plague o' both your houses," and are well enough satisfied to see "dog eat dog." It will help to educate those too numerous persons who are in the habit of taking seriously the phrase "honest business man."

The "Hudson County Labor Review" says: "Reading between the lines of the speech recently made before the Central Federated Union of New York by J. Keir Hardie, the great British trade unionist, we see an approval of the course adopted by President Gompers in the present campaign." Inasmuch as Mr. Hardie distinctly said that he wished all American workingmen would vote for Debs and Hanford and Socialism, the "Labor Review" editor shows a remarkable genius at "reading between the lines." Does he think Keir Hardie is a man of the same type as the average Democratic (Republican) politician, who always means something else than what he says?

"Out of the frying pan into the fire" seems to be the fate of the poor, foolish, old Democratic party. Compelled to "fire" Treasurer Haskell because he was exposed as a hireling of the Standard Oil Company, the misfit politicians who act as grooms to the political jackass straightway made another blunder by putting in Haskell's place Herman Ridder, who doesn't need much exposing as a bitter enemy of the labor movement.

No doubt there are times when, according to the old proverb, "Discretion is the better part of valor." But there are also times when valor is the better part of discretion. For the working class, which has numbers as well as right on its side, and which has nothing to lose but its chains and a world to gain, a timid policy is anything but discreet.

#### IT WOULD BE FUNNY WERE IT NOT SO SAD.

of the local labor papers in various parts of the country.

Here, for instance, lies on our desk a copy of the Zanesville, O., "Labor Journal" for October 2. On the second page appears an editorial headed "Vote for Bryan." Here the editor declares that: "The election of Bryan may not gain all the requirements that workingmen believe are due to them, but they stand a much better chance for justice than if his opponent occupied the position." And, again: "A vote for Taft will certainly benefit you none, while one for Bryan may bring relief from the iniquities that have been imposed upon your class."

But on the third page of the same paper appears a two-column article, whose headlines, printed in big, black type, read: "Bryan and Labor—Powerful Facts Are Now Beginning to Show That William J. Bryan and His Party Are Enemies to the Interests of the Wage-Workers—Despotism of Democratic Rule."

And the Zanesville "Labor Journal" is not alone in its shame. It is fairly typical of the so-called "pure and simple" local labor press the country over. With the exception of a very few organs in cities

where the Socialist spirit and Socialist teachings have taken hold on the minds and hearts of the rank and file in the unions, the local labor papers are trying to straddle the fence, to give nominal support to President Gompers in his bargain with the Democratic machine and at the same time to earn the shekels that are awaiting for them in the Republican coffers.

This sort of thing would be very funny if it were not very sad. But we have not the heart to laugh over it, even though it exposes the ludicrous imbecility of the policy which Gompers has adopted and which he has so venomously abused the Socialists for not supporting. Gompers is a joke—and a very bad joke, at that. But we do not like to see the union movement made contemptible in the eyes of all honest men, as it is by such duplicity on the part of the anti-Socialist leaders in the unions.

It is high time that the rank and file of the union men everywhere should take steps to reform the local labor press. It could be an enormous power for good, on the industrial as well as the political field. In fact, it is a mocking and a by-word among the politicians, the business men, and even among the workingmen themselves. It is not seriously supported by the masses of union members. Very generally, the control of the local labor paper is left in the hands of one or two adventurers, who run it for what there is in it for them in a financial way, holding up business men when they can and making their chief profit in campaign time by "pulling the legs" of whatever capitalist politicians will give up the most money. If both old parties will pay, both get due consideration from the "editors." And in order not to lessen the chance of getting some of the campaign "dough," one consistent rule is followed—that is, to give support only to the most conservative or reactionary tendencies within the unions.

Capitalism corrupts everything that it touches. Even the labor movement is not free from taint. We earnestly believe that the corruption is only superficial, that the labor movement is sound at heart, and that there is still time for the honest elements—who, we are sure, are in the vast majority—to assert themselves and expel the poison. It is the apathy, the lack of self-reliance, on the part of the rank and file, that gives an opportunity for the venal minority to put themselves at the front and speak in the name of the workers in a manner that brings disgrace upon the whole. Let the rank and file awake. Let them develop an intelligent solidarity and self-confidence. Let them realize that the labor movement is a serious thing, that it is the means to their emancipation, if it is well used, and to their destruction if abused. Let them support their press as self-respecting men ought to do, and let them control it and see that it is honestly conducted.

"Labor Conditions Improve," say the headlines in the capitalist papers. The "improvement" consists in the fact that, according to the reports of the New York State Labor Department, whereas 37 per cent. of the workingmen were unemployed in January, there were only 34 per cent. unemployed in April and only 30 per cent. in June. "Only" 30 per cent. of the workingmen in the state compelled to stand in idleness and want! A glorious condition, indeed. To be sure, 30 per cent. is less than 37 per cent. But the difference is even less than one would expect from the coming of summer, with its normal revival of work on the farms. That three workingmen out of every ten were still out of work in June indicates that the industrial depression is still acute, and leaves little room for hope that the coming winter will be less terrible for the workers than was the last.

A vote for Debs and Hanford is a vote that the government shall own the trusts instead of the trusts owning the government.

#### "THE BULWARK OF OUR LIBERTIES."

Those courts which the old parties describe as "the bulwark of our liberties, and whose integrity they are both so zealous to maintain, have had another inning at labor legislation, and the workers may judge for themselves whose liberties it is that the courts uphold and protect.

The Wisconsin Legislature, on the initiative of the Socialist members, passed a law last year providing that railway telegraphers shall not be required to work more than eight hours a day. The necessity of this law as a means of guarding against train disasters, as well as its desirability for the sake of the telegraphers themselves, was generally admitted. Only the railway corporations and their special representatives opposed the bill, and the Socialists brought together such a mass of irrefutable evidence showing that railway telegraphers were commonly required to work excessively long hours and that this caused great danger of mistakes in the dispatching of trains and of consequent collisions or other accidents, that the majority of the



Republican and Democratic members did not have the face to vote against the measure when the Socialists forced the issue. Public sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of the bill, and the Governor did not venture to withhold his signature.

But the railway corporations knew where to turn for aid in defeating the popular will and keeping their employees at their mercy and holding down the payroll at the expense of human life.

They deliberately violated the law and appealed to the courts to prevent any action by the state authorities to enforce it. They knew what they were about. They knew that the courts are the protectors of property interests against human rights of life and health and leisure.

They were not disappointed. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin decided on Tuesday that the law is unconstitutional, that a state has no authority, under the United States Constitution, to restrict railway corporations from working their employees as many hours as they see fit and as they can compel the men to serve.

Only last week an Arkansas state court rendered a similar decision, wiping off the statute books a law of that state to the same effect. The Arkansas judges are Democrats; the Wisconsin judges are Republicans; but they agree perfectly that laws for the protection of the workingman are unconstitutional.

The United States Supreme Court, a few months ago, in overthrowing a federal law of the same tenor, declared that the United States government, under the Constitution, has no authority to enact and enforce such a law.

So, between Republican and Democratic state judges and Republican and Democratic federal judges, we have the assurance that neither the nation as a whole nor the states severally may protect workingmen from the consequences of their own competition and of their employers' greed.

The courts, as now constituted, are the bulwark of wage-slavery and of the capitalists' right of exploitation, nothing more or less. It is fitting that Republican and Democratic parties should proclaim their reverence for the courts and promise to uphold their dignity—for the capitalists, whom these courts serve, subsidize and direct both those parties.

The Socialist party makes no pretense of respecting such courts. It boldly points to the facts and declares that the decisions of the courts in matters affecting labor interests are iniquitous and tyrannical.

It calls upon the working-class voters to unite to put a stop to such perversion of the law and to turn the courts into bulwarks of the liberties of the producing masses against capitalist aggression, by doubling, trebling, or quadrupling the straight Socialist vote at the coming election.

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A vote for the Socialist ticket is a vote against the Supreme Court's ruling that a labor union is a conspiracy in restraint of trade.

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A New York brewery worker, reaching the age of fifty-three and finding that wherever he applied for a job the answer was "too old," became disheartened after months of unemployment and, unwilling to be a burden on his wife and daughter, tried to end his life by shutting himself in the bathroom and turning on the gas. He was discovered, his life was saved, and the best capitalist law and government can or will do for him is to shut him up in prison for the "crime" of trying to escape a life of dependence and misery. Socialism would guarantee every aged worker honorable support in his declining years. But that, we are told, would be paternalistic, pernicious and pauperizing. And tens of thousands of workingmen, with the plain and terrible facts before them, are frightened by those hollow phrases

#### HOW NOT TO THROW YOUR VOTES AWAY.

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There are a few—only a few, as yet, but fortunately a growing few—among the voters of this country, who take a serious and honest view of politics, who realize that the right of suffrage is a very precious right and a very grave responsibility. The growth of the Socialist vote is not the only indication of this awakening of the political intelligence and conscience of the masses, though it is the chief one; we see the same assurance in the divisions and dissensions within the old parties and in the popular demands which compel the leaders of the old parties to make a pretense of dealing with something like real issues. We are a long way yet from the time when the voting population as a whole will be free from the reproach of wantonly and recklessly throwing their votes away; but we are making progress.

What is a vote good for, after all? What do we have elections for?

Contrary to the too commonly accepted view, which the capitalist politicians are careful to cultivate, an election can be and ought to be something very different from a guessing contest in which all the big prizes go to the men who don't do any guessing, but fix the result beforehand.

The purpose of an election, according to any honest and intelligent view, is to give all the voters a chance to express their will as to the manner in which their public affairs shall be administered for them and who shall act as their agents for the purpose.

If a man takes this view of the purpose of an election, he will not, in deliberating how he shall vote, consider which candidate or which party has the best chance to win. He will consider which party and which candidates come nearest to honestly representing his own opinions and desires, and will vote accordingly.

He will know that, no matter how he votes, there is a possibility that he will find himself in the minority, that the larger number of the people will have other opinions and desires. But when he considers those others to be in the wrong, he will not vote wrong just for the sake of being in the majority. On the contrary, the greater the number of those who are going to vote wrong, the more important will he consider it for him to vote right, thus reducing the weight of their decision, entering his protest against a wrong policy, and helping to uphold the standard of the right, to which others may rally at the next election.

Votes cast thoughtlessly and carelessly, votes that do not express well-considered opinions and desires, but that are cast at the bidding of a leader or under the influence of a prejudice or for the sake of "getting on the band wagon," are wasted votes, no matter how numerous they may be. The men who are elected to office are influenced only by their estimate of the serious determination of the voters to have certain policies carried out. If they think they have got their votes by exploiting their personal popularity or by playing on vulgar prejudices or by flattering and cajoling the voters, they feel free to follow out their own desires, regardless of the desires of those who have put power into their hands. The only votes that the politician, in or out of office, seriously respects and earnestly tries to get or to hold, are the votes that he does not feel sure of. The politician in office has much more respect for the votes that were cast against him, if they were cast by thoughtful and purposeful men, than for those which were lightly cast in his favor.

For this reason it is that the common idea that votes cast for a minority party are wasted votes is utterly wrong. A growing minority has more real power than a waning majority or even a stationary majority. It represents the future, and the politician looks to the future. The votes he has already got are not worth considering any further, from his point of view. It is the minority that went against him this year and that threatens to go more strongly against him next year, that he keeps his eye on. If they are numerous enough, if they are increasing from year to year, and if the men who cast them are active and aggressive and confident of their ultimate success, he will fear them and will try by all means within his power to conciliate them, to soften their opposition, and to dissuade others from joining with them, by conceding a part of their demands.

It is a certain fact that the great majority of the people of this country are dissatisfied with existing conditions, and that neither the Republican nor the Democratic party offers them what they really want. It is hard to find a Republican or a Democrat, outside of the professional politicians, who is not in an attitude of apology for his political affiliations, explaining that he is going to vote this or that of the two old-party tickets, not because he is really satisfied with it, but because he hopes it may not be quite so bad as the other one. The country is swarming with men who say they think Socialism would be a good thing; but they are afraid it cannot win this time, and so they will vote against it and go on choosing between two evils.

The capitalist politicians are well satisfied with this attitude of the mass of the voters. They know that they can practically control whichever of the two old parties happens to be regarded by the most of these timid voters as the lesser evil. Whichever party loses, they win. The one thing which will really impress them, will really alarm them, will really influence them and make them pay some respect to the wishes of the mass of the people, will be if the number of those who refuse to choose between two evils is much greater than ever before, if the number of so-called "unpractical" voters, who vote for what they actually wish for and think right, is doubled or trebled in comparison with what it was four years ago.

Those votes, cast without any regard to "picking the winner," will be the only really effective votes cast this fall, the only votes that will not be thrown away.



**RETURNING PROSPERITY.**

By ROBERT HUNTER.

I have a constitutional dislike to certain very unpleasant terms sometimes applied to mankind. An old proverb says that knaves and fools divide the world. Carlyle once spoke of the twenty-seven million of people in England as "mostly fools." A good many Socialists overwork the term "wage-slaves."

But sometimes despair eats into my heart and I say quite secretly to myself that these terms are too laudatory, and I try to think of one fitted accurately to describe the average citizen.

At the present moment there is a very noisy band of knaves and fools boisterously shouting themselves hoarse over what they choose to call the return of "prosperity."

Hypnotists are at work, and it is barely possible that by November next the people will believe that their rent is paid, their grocer satisfied, and nice jingling coins burn holes in their pockets.

It is a kind of Christian Science game. We are to keep on saying to each other that our stomachs are full of food until we actually believe that our stomachs are full of food.

The newspapers are on the job good and plenty. Prosperity they announce is returning in the adjoining state or city. The New York papers are saying that men are being put to work in New Mexico; that men are needed in the Dakotas. The Dakota papers say that the working people in Maine and California have so much money that they do not know how to spend it.

"Prosperity is here," the newspapers and politicians assert, and everything is booming—in the NEIGHBORING STATE.

Every few days a despatch is printed in the newspapers that this or that railroad will SOON want twenty or thirty thousand men. Now and then word comes from the farm that hundreds of thousands of men are wanted. The Republicans say that if the Republican ticket is successful in November prosperity will illuminate the land, and once more every working-man's heart will be gladdened by the sight of a full dinner-pail.

Talk about hypnotism and Christian Science, why they are sanctified truth and authorized orthodoxy compared with this political claptrap and knavish quackery.

A few days after the reports go out that men are wanted in this or that town, in this or that state, these places are overrun with half-starved men seeking work.

Recently the papers printed that fifteen or twenty thousand men were needed in the harvest fields of North Dakota and Minnesota. That was enough. Workingmen from all over the country began to rush to those states. Finally the labor commissioner of Minnesota sent out a despatch saying: "This thing of asking for fifteen or twenty thousand men for harvest work in this and neighboring states, is downright CRIMINAL. It is flooding the northwest with a lot of hoboes who will have to be taken care of by the municipalities and the state."

Commissioner Strauss has recently said that he is going to settle this unemployed problem by seeing that the unemployed workers of the towns were gotten out to the farms.

That wise statesman and eminent judge, William Howard Taft, says that he is going to solve the unemployed problem by informing unemployed workers that farmers require their services.

The dear charitable workers of the cities protest against relief for the unemployed because it draws hoboes out of the country where they can get work into the cities where they live idle and luxurious lives, sleeping on park benches and frequenting bread lines.

Oh, wise and noble statesmen. Oh, great-hearted generous philanthropists. Oh, Christian Scientists and hypnotists. Oh, knaves and cowards and scoundrels. Will you kindly observe that Mr. Williams of Minnesota speaks of your damnable rot as criminal? And will you kindly observe that these miserable unemployed, whom you like to speak of as hoboes and wastrels, are now flooding the northwest. NOT TO SEEK BREAD LINES AND PARK BENCHES, but

to beg for HARD LABOR in the wheatfields?

And then let me tell you of one Patrick O'Lane, a frequenter of bread lines and park benches, who was unable to reach the wheatfields of Minnesota.

A few days ago this Patrick O'Lane was arraigned in the Night Court on a charge of vagrancy. He was found lying exhausted and terribly bitten by mosquitoes in the deep grass of a lot near Hoe avenue and 174th street, the Bronx.

It appears that several citizens called the attention of the policeman to this lad, and when arrested he informed the policeman that he had been lying in the lot for two days and had had nothing to eat for several days.

He was too weak to hang on to a box car, or to cling to the buffers of a railway train, day after day, without food, until he found himself lying weak and exhausted in the wheatfields of Minnesota.

But cheer up, Patrick, don't get discouraged. Prosperity is near. It is fast coming. It is just in the other state; just in the other town. Cheer up, old man. Keep a stiff upper lip. You may yet have one more chance to drag your bloodless flesh and starving bones into some mill or mine or factory.

**THE MILL WHISTLE.**

Across the flats, at dawn, the monster screams;

Its bulk blots the low sun. Ah, God of truth!

To wake from night's swift mockery of dreams

And hear that hoarse throat clamor out for my youth.

—John McIntyre, in McClure's Magazine.

**SOUNDS MUCH THE SAME.**

"After all, success in business only comes to plucky people."

"You mean 'from plucking people,' don't you?"—Stray Stories.

**WORK OF WOMEN'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE IN PHILADELPHIA.**

By ANNA COHEN.

While it is often said and thought by Socialists that separate organizations for women are a mistake, in Philadelphia the contrary has been proved.

Most of the women who were party members rarely came to the meetings of the locals or branches, or took an active interest in the work, while it was quite impossible to bring sympathetic women into the movement.

With the organization of the Women's Socialist League, more women have wanted to join the party, not merely to aid it financially, but to take an active part in the work. Those women who have been confined to the home or to the mill or store will, when they join the party, understand the work and feel quite at home after some experience in a Socialist organization. As most men get some experience of this nature in their trades unions, it is evident they do not need a separate organization.

The meetings of the league are held twice each month. Some special feature is planned for one of the evenings in connection with all regular work, and for this meeting some special effort is made to bring new women into the organization.

Several evenings were devoted to getting information from members relative to conditions of working women in stores and factories and mills. These meetings were unusually interesting, and there was always a large attendance. In fact, there have never been less than sixteen or seventeen present, and often there have been twenty-five or thirty.

At present Bebel's "Woman" is being studied in class, and all reports of women's work in leagues are read and discussed.

During the summer two picnics were given. At the first, which Mrs. Fraser of New York addressed, enough was realized from literature sales and collections alone to defray all expenses. Miss Potter, also of New York, spoke at the other one, and this was even a greater success than the first from the financial standpoint

and also in regard to number present. Several dollars were realized on a moonlight excursion.

In this way the treasury has been partly filled, literature has been bought for distribution and plans for further work are in progress.

The men in the party are beginning to feel differently toward the women and want them to help in party work. Although there had never before been a woman speaker at the annual Socialist picnic, this year the party secured Miss Anna Maley of New York to speak.

It is hoped that organization work can be taken up shortly and perhaps Sunday-school work.

The women are enthusiastic and continued success is assured.

**CHILDREN.**

We know we must be civilized because of all the ways

Of killing off the children we've invented in these days.

We kill 'em off with factories to fill the owners' maws—

Protecting "infant" industries with brutal tariff laws.

We kill 'em off with patent foods before they're in their teens.

We kill 'em off in schoolrooms, and in the Philippines.

We kill 'em off with autos, we kill 'em off with vice.

We kill 'em off with coddling when beatings don't suffice.

We kill 'em off with cigarettes. We make them deaf and dumb.

We vaccinate, inoculate and kill 'em off with rum.

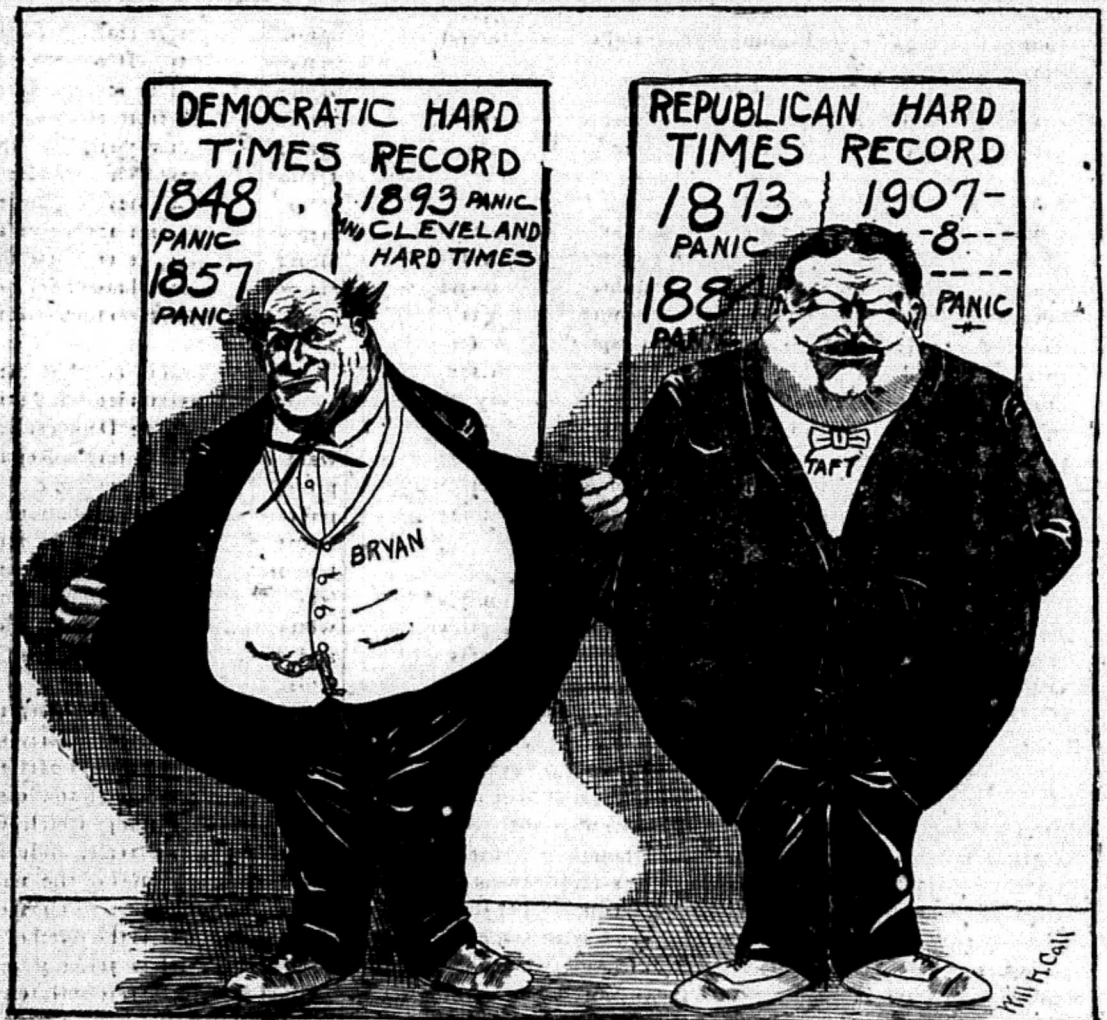
Can savage nations do as much? Well, we should be surprised!

We rather guess they'll have to wait until they're civilized!

—Life.

**PATHETIC, INDEED.**

The bookkeeper who had worked twelve hours a day for thirty years paused to look at the captivity of a canary. "How pathetic!" he exclaimed.—Life.



**TRYING TO HIDE THEM.**

One would think that the old party candidates were selected with a view to their physical ability to hide the bad records of their parties.



HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS.

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

PART III.

The Great Fortunes from Railroads.

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CHAPTER III (Continued).

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE VANDERBILT FORTUNE.

In the exploitation of the workers—forcing them to work for low wages and compelling them to pay high prices for all necessities—Vanderbilt was no different from all contemporaneous capitalists. Capitalism subsisted by this process. Almost all conventional writers, it is true, set forth that it was the accepted process of the day, implying that it was a condition acquiesced in by the employer and worker. This is one of the lies disseminated for the purpose of proving that the great fortunes were made by legitimate methods. Far from being accepted by the workers it was denounced and was openly fought by them at every auspicious opportunity. Vanderbilt became one of the largest ship and steamboat builders in the United States and one of the most formidable employers of labor. At one time he had a hundred vessels afloat. Thousands of shipwrights, mechanics and other workers toiled for him fourteen and sixteen hours a day at \$1.50 a day for many years. The actual purchasing power of this wage kept declining as the cost of rent and other necessities of life advanced. This was notably so after the great gold discoveries in California, when prices of all commodities rose abnormally and the workers in every trade were forced to strike for higher wages in order to live. Most of these strikes were successful, but their results as far as wages went were barren; the advance wrung from employers was by no means equal to the increased cost of living.

A Commercial Buccaneer.

The exploitation of labor, however, does not account for his success as a money maker. Many other men did the same and yet in the vicissitudes of business went bankrupt; the realm of business was full of wrecks. Vanderbilt's success arose from his destructive tactics toward his competitors. He was regarded universally as the buccaner of the shipping world. He leisurely allowed other men to build up profitable lines of steamboats, and he then proceeded to carry out methods which inevitably had one of two terminations: either his competitor had to buy him off at an exorbitant price, or he was left in undisputed possession. His principal biographer, Croffut, whose effusion is one long chant of praise, treats these methods as evidences of great shrewdness and goes on: "His foblie was 'opposition' wherever his keen eye detected a line that was making a very large profit on its investment, he swooped down on it and drove it to the wall by offering a better service and lower rates." (4) This statement is only partially true; its omissions are more significant than its admissions.

Far from being the "constructive genius" that he is represented in every extant biographical work and note, Vanderbilt was the foremost mercantile pirate and commercial blackmailer of his day. Harsh as these terms may seem, they are more than justified by the facts. His eulogists, in line with those of other rich men, weave a beautiful picture for the edification of posterity, of a broad, noble-minded man whose honesty was his sterling virtue and whose splendid ability in opening up and extending the country's resources was rewarded with a great fortune and the thanks of his generation. This is utterly false. He who has the slightest knowledge of the low practices and degraded morals of the trading class and of the qualities which insured success, might at once suspect the spuriousness of this extravagant presentation, even if the vital facts were unavailable. But there is no such difficulty. Obviously,

(4) The Vanderbilts and the Story of Their Fortune, by W. A. Croffut, 1886: 45-46.

for every one fraudulent commercial or political transaction that comes to public notice hundreds and thousands are kept in concealment. Enough facts, however, remain in official records to show the particular methods Vanderbilt used in getting together his millions. Yet no one hitherto seems to have taken the trouble to disinter them; even serious writers who cannot be accused of wealth worship or deliberate misstatement have all, without exception, borrowed their narratives of Vanderbilt's career from the fiction of his literary, newspaper and oratorical license burners. And so it is that everywhere the conviction prevails that whatever fraudulent methods Vanderbilt employed in his later career, he was essentially an honest, straightforward man who was compelled by the promptings of sheer self-preservation to fight back at unscrupulous competitors or antagonists, and who inately was opposed to underhand work or fraud in any form. Vanderbilt is in every case portrayed as an eminently high-minded man who never stooped to dissimulation, deceit or treachery, and whose first millions, at any rate, were made in the legitimate ways of trade as they were then understood.

Extortion and Theft.

The truth is that the bulk of Vanderbilt's original millions were the proceeds of extortion, blackmail and theft. In the established code of business the words extortion and theft had an unmistakable significance. Business men did not consider it at all dishonorable to oppress their workers, to manufacture and sell goods under false pretenses, to adulterate prepared foods and drugs, to demand the very highest prices for products upon which the very life of the people depended and at a time when consumers needed them most, to bribe public officials and to hold up the Government in plundering schemes. These and many other practices were looked upon as commonplace of ordinary trade. But even as burglars will have their fine points of honor among themselves, so the business world set certain tacit limitations of action beyond which none could go without being regarded as violating the code. It was all very well as long as members of their own class plundered some other class, or fought one another, no matter how rapaciously, in accordance with understood procedure. But when any business man ventured to overstep these limitations, as Vanderbilt did, and levy a species of commercial blackmail to the extent of millions of dollars, then he was sternly denounced as an arch thief. If Vanderbilt had confined himself to the routine formulas of business, he might have gone down in failure. Many of the bankrupts were composed of business men who, while sharp themselves, were outgeneraled by abler sharpers. Vanderbilt was a master hand in despoiling the despoilers.

How did Vanderbilt manage to extort millions of dollars? The method was one of great simplicity; many of its features were brought out in the United States Senate in the debate of June 9, 1858, over the Mail Steamship bill. The Government had begun, more than a decade back, the policy of paying heavy subsidies to steamship companies for the transportation of mail. This subsidy, however, was not the only payment received by the steamship owners. In addition they were allowed what were called "postages"—the full returns from the amount of postage on the letters carried. Ocean postage at that time was enormous and burdensome, and was especially onerous upon a class of persons least able to bear it. About three-quarters of the letters transported by ships were written by emigrants. They were taxed the usual full rate of twenty-four or twenty-nine cents for a single letter. In 1851 the amount received for trans-Atlantic postages was not less than a million dollars; three-fourths of this sum came directly from the working class.

Corruption of Officials.

To get these subsidies in conjunction with the "postages," the steamship owners by one means or another corrupted postal officials and members of Congress. "I have noticed," said Senator Toombs, in a speech in the United States Senate on June 9, 1858, "that there has never been a head of a Department strong enough to resist steamship contracts. I have noticed them here with your Whig party and your Democratic party for the last thirteen years, and I have never seen any head of a Department strong enough to resist these influences. . . . Thirteen years' experience has taught me that wherever you allow the Postoffice or Navy Department to do anything which is for the benefit of contractors you may consider the thing as done. I could point to more than a dozen of these contracts. . . . A million dollars a year is a power that will be felt. For ten years it amounts to ten million dollars; and I know it is felt. I know it perverts legislation. I have seen its influence; I have seen the public treasury plundered by it." (5)

By means of this systematic corruption the steamship owners received many millions of dollars of Government funds. This was all virtually plunder; the returns from the "postages" far more than paid them for the transportation of mails. And what became of these millions in loot? Part went in profits to the owners, and another part was used as private capital by them to build more and newer ships constantly. Practically none of Vanderbilt's ships cost him a cent; the Government funds paid for their building. In fact a careful tracing of the history of all of the subsidized steamship companies proves that this plunder from the Government Treasury was very considerably more than enough to build and equip their entire lines.

One of the subsidized steamship lines was that of E. K. Collins & Co., a line running from New York to Liverpool. Collins debauched the postal officials and Congress so effectively that in 1847 he obtained an appropriation of \$387,000 a year, and subsequently an additional appropriation of \$475,000 for five years. Together with the "postages," these amounts made a total mail subsidy for that one line alone during the latter years of the contract of about a million dollars a year. The act of Congress did not, however, specify that the contract was to run for ten years. The postal officials, by what Senator Toombs termed, "a fraudulent construction," declared that it did run for ten years from 1850, and made payments accordingly. The bill before Congress in the closing days of the session of 1858 was the usual annual authorization of the payment of this appropriation as well as other mail-steamer appropriations.

Vanderbilt's Huge Loot.

In the course of this debate some remarkable facts came out as to how the Government was being steadily plundered and why it was that the postal system was already burdened with a deficit of \$5,000,000. While the appropriation bill was being solemnly discussed with patriotic exclamations, lobbyists of the various steamship companies busied themselves with influencing or purchasing votes within the very halls of Congress. Almost the entire Senate was occupied for days with advocating this or that side as if they were paid attorneys pleading for the interests of either Collins or Vanderbilt. Apparently a bitter conflict was raging between these two millionaires. Vanderbilt's subsidized European line ran to Southampton, Havre and Bremen; Collins to Liverpool. There were indications that for years a secret understanding had been in force between Collins and Vanderbilt by which they divided the mail subsidy funds. Ostensibly, however, in order to give no sign of collusion, they went through the public appearance of warring upon each other. By this stratagem they were able to ward off criticism of monopoly, and each got a larger appropriation than if it were known that they were in league. But it was characteristic of business methods that while in collusion, Vanderbilt and Collins constantly sought to wreck the other.

(5) The Congressional Globe, 1st Session, 35th Congress, 1857-58; Vol. III., 2839.

One senator after another arose with perfervid effusion of either Collins or Vanderbilt. The Collins supporters gave out the most suave arguments why the Collins line should be heavily subsidized, and why Collins should be permitted to change his European port to Southampton. Vanderbilt's retainers fought this move, which they declared would wipe out of existence the enterprise of a great and patriotic capitalist. It was at this point that Senator Toombs, who represented neither side, cut in with a series of charges which dismayed the whole lobby for the time being. He denounced both Collins and Vanderbilt as plunderers, and then, in so many words, specifically accused Vanderbilt of having blackmailed millions of dollars. He reminded the Senate of the granting eleven years before of enormous mail subsidies to the two steamship lines running to California—the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the United States Mail Steamship Company, otherwise called the Harris and the Sloo lines. He declared that Vanderbilt, threatening them with both competition and a public agitation such as would uncover the fraud, had forced them to pay him gigantic sums in return for his silence and inactivity. Responsible capitalists, Senator Toombs said, had offered to carry the mails to California for \$550,000. "Everybody knows," he said, "that it can be done for half the money we pay now. Why, then, should we continue to waste the public money?"

"You give \$900,000 a year," went on Senator Toombs, "to carry the mails to California; and Vanderbilt compels the contractors to give him \$56,000 a month to keep quiet. This is the effect of your subventions. Under your Sloo and Harris contracts you pay about \$900,000 a year (since 1847); and Vanderbilt, by his superior skill and energy, compelled them, for a long time, to disgorge \$40,000 a month, and now \$58,000 a month. . . . They pay lobbyists, they pay agencies, they go to law, because everybody is to have something; and I know this Sloo contract has been in chancery in New York for years. The result of this system is that here comes a man—as old Vanderbilt seems to be—I never saw him, but his operations have excited my admiration—and he runs right at them and says 'disgorge this plunder.' He is the kingfish that is robbing these small plunderers that come about the Capitol. He does not come here for that purpose; but he says, 'Fork over \$56,000 a month of this money to me, that I may lie in port with my ships,' and they do it." (6)

The acts by which the establishment of the various subsidized ocean lines were authorized by Congress, specified that the steamers were to be fit for ships of war in case of necessity, and that these steamers were to be accepted by the Navy Department before they could draw subsidies. This part of the debate in the United States Senate shows the methods used in forcing their acceptance on the Government.

Mr. Collamer.—The Collins line was set up by special contract?

Mr. Toombs.—Yes, by special contract, and that was the way with the Sloo contract and the Harris contract. They were to build ships fit for war purposes. I know when the Collins vessels were built; I was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means of the other House, and I remember that the men at the head of our bureau of yards and docks said that they were not worth a sixpence for war purposes; that a single broadside would blow them to pieces; that they could not stand the fire of their own guns; but newspapers in the cities that were subsidized commenced firing on the Secretary of the Navy, and he succumbed and took the ships. That was the way they got here.

Senator Collamer, referring to the subsidy legislation, said: "As long as the Congress of the United States makes contracts, declare who they shall be with; and how much they shall pay for them, they can never escape the generally prevailing public suspicion that there is fraud and deceit and corruption in those contracts."

(6) The Congressional Globe, 1857-58, Vol. III.: 2843-44.

(To be continued.)

Join The Call Purchasers' League and put your purchasing power at the disposal of The Call.



# DEBS' SPEECH AT THE HIPPODROME

Eugene V. Debs' speech at the New York Hippodrome on Sunday afternoon, October 4, was as follows:

"How deeply I am touched by the kind and gracious and appreciative words which have been spoken by the comrade who has presented me, and how fully I appreciate this very cordial reception and this splendid demonstration of your good will, I shall not now attempt to say. There is nothing that is grander or more inspiring than the awakening of the working class.

"We have a truly magnificent demonstration of it here this afternoon. This audience is so vast, this assemblage is so great that it is bewildering and overwhelming, and it seems almost like audacity to stand in its presence. But it is the same everywhere. The spirit of Socialism is abroad in the land and rousing the people from their slumber. Two weeks ago we were on the Pacific coast and the outpourings there were so vast that the largest auditoriums had not half capacity enough to hold them.

### A Marvelous Age.

"It is our good fortune, whatever our lot may be, to live in the most marvelous age known to history. The discovery of the power of steam and electricity and the application of this power to industry has revolutionized the modern world. The material achievements of the past century outstrip those of all preceding ages, and now for the first time in history it is possible to produce wealth in abundance for all. It is possible to abolish poverty and ignorance; to really civilize the human race.

"The capitalist system, in which these gigantic productive powers have been developed and in which these mighty changes have taken place, has about run its historic course, and now the very forces which brought it into existence are operating to overthrow it. This system has again broken down. Another period of industrial depression has set in. It is now writing its record in failures, in poverty and misery that defy the power of all language to properly describe.

### Two Panics.

"The last panic, so-called, occurred under a Democratic administration in 1893. The Republicans were swift to exclaim, 'Behold, the fruit of Democratic misrule!' They charged this panic upon the Democratic party, and if you will read the Republican platform for 1896 you will find this charge made in specific terms.

"Up to this time the working class had not yet learned to any great extent to think or to act for themselves. They were still responsive to the plea of the capitalist demagogue. Hundreds of thousands of them swept from the Democratic party into the Republican party, and that party went into power upon that issue.

"In the meantime the panic had run its course, industry was in some measure revived, the Republican party took full credit for it and again exclaimed, 'Behold, when the Republican party goes into power prosperity comes to the country.' In 1900 the slogan of that party, coined by its chief prophet, was 'Let well enough alone.' In 1904, 'Stand Pat'; in 1908 it is 'God knows,' knows.

"There are at this very hour more idle and despairing men in the United States than ever before in all its history, and when this great army of the unemployed, which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf, when this great army turned to the chief standard-bearer of the Republican party and asked him what they are to do when they are suffering, when their wives are in want and their children are about to be put upon the street, he meekly referred them to Jehovah, but he is perfectly willing to accept their votes by proxy.

"Think of this just for a moment. Mr. Taft very frankly confesses that when large bodies of workingmen are

in enforced idleness and when they are tormented by hunger pangs he does not know what can be done for them; and yet he has the audacity to ask these same men to elect him President of the United States. Whatever may be said of Mr. Taft, there is nothing the matter with his nerve.

### Theodore Roosevelt.

"What has the Republican party ever done for the working class? What has it not done for the capitalist class? If you are a workingman and you are in that party you are as badly off of place as John D. Rockefeller would be in the Socialist party. You have been looking up to President Roosevelt as your friend and you have in your ignorance been waiting for him to do something for you. As a matter of fact, President Roosevelt is the arch enemy of the working class, and his record proves it. And when he graduates from the White House to the jungles of Africa, where he properly belongs, if he remains there he will have rendered his first distinctive service to the working class of the United States.

"It is he who preaches political homilies, moralizes the people, spends his time talking about civic righteousness and political purity, when he himself was elected by the aid of the biggest debauching fund in the history of American politics.

### A Debauching Fund.

"It was the Standard Oil Company that dropped \$100,000 into his campaign fund when he wasn't looking. He said not a word about it until the discovery was made public, and then, as is his habit, he exploded in virtuous indignation. He said, 'It's got to go back,' but up to date it hasn't gone back.

"When that \$100,000 was contributed to his corruption fund it came so easily that Bliss touched Rogers, or tried to, for \$200,000 more. Rogers objected, and then President Roosevelt took his pen in hand and wrote 'My dear Mr. Harriman, Come around to the White House in the dark of the moon. Help me write my message to Congress.'

"He said nothing about Harriman raising \$200,000 for him, or about \$240,000 more being stolen from the stockholders of the insurance companies, until the fact was made public, and then he turned on his boon companion, his political ally, Edward Harriman, and denounced him as a liar and a scoundrel. He has a happy habit of kicking a man when he's down, but if he has any act of bravery, if he has any brave act to his credit besides shooting a Spaniard in the back, I have never heard of it.

### Explaining Records.

"The workingmen of this country are just beginning to find him out! He's been given credit for settling the anthracite strike. He did, when it was practically won by the miners, and then he appointed a commission that turned the victory over to the anthracite coal companies.

"He has nominated his own political successor, a gentleman who has won his distinction by issuing injunctions which have paralyzed labor organizations. Mr. Taft never deigned to make any explanation of these until he became a candidate for President, and now he declares that the reason he issued injunctions was because of his interest in and love for the working class.

"But he never attempted to prove his love for the capitalists in the same way. He never enjoined them, nor did he ever send one of them to jail. And the reason for this is so simple and so self-evident that it suggests itself. How can any workingman with ordinary intelligence, with all of the facts before him, think of casting a vote for William Howard Taft?

"All I have to say is that if you are a workingman and familiar with his record—as there is no excuse for your

### A HARD FACT.

It is of no use to try to conceal the sorrowful fact by fine words, and to talk to the workman about the honorableness of manual labor and the dignity of humanity. Rough work, honorable or not, takes the life out of us; and the man who has been heaving clay out of a ditch all day, or driving an express train against the north wind all night, or holding a collar's helm in a gale on a lee-shore, or whirling hot iron at the furnace mouth, is not the same at the end of his day or night, as one who has been sitting in a quiet room, with everything comfortable about him, reading books, or classing butterflies, or painting pictures.—John Ruskin.

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## 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 Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—316 E. 6th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 7:30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2059 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—325 E. 75th St., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faubus 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.

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**BROOKLYN**, 22d A. D., Br. 1 (American), meets the second and fourth Friday at 675 Glenmore Ave.; Br. 3 (German), meets the second Monday of the month at 675 Glenmore Ave.

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### DEBS' SPEECH AT HIPPODROME

(Continued from page 7)

not being—and still vote to make him President, you stand in need of a political guardian.

#### Old Parties Alike.

There is absolutely no difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties so far as the working class is concerned. They are exactly alike. They are both committed to the capitalist system. They are both committed to wage slavery, and whether the one or the other wins, you workmen always lose. Your condition remains the same.

You have tried these two capitalist parties over and over again, with the same inevitable result. The politicians who used you to vote to perpetuate the system in which you are slaves have no respect for you. They treat you with contempt. When the Republican convention met in Chicago there were no workmen there. The voice of labor was not heard in its councils. This convention consisted of plutocrats, office-holders, politicians and parasites. The Democratic convention consisted of the same elements.

The Socialist convention consisted of representatives of the working class, adopted a working class platform and made its appeal to the working class of the United States.

#### A Cause for Shame.

It's about this season of the year, or a little later, that the capitalist politician comes before you workmen to tell you how delighted he is to have the opportunity of looking into your many faces and telling you what bright and intelligent fellows you are.

This is the politician who calls you the horny-handed sons of toil, and would have you proud of your misshapen hands, when as a matter of fact you ought to be ashamed of them. You ought to blush to look your hand in the face, and if you do, you find written in unmistakable characters an impeachment of your intelligence, an indictment of your manhood. If you would use your brains in your own interest you would not have to deform your hands in the interest of your masters.

Oh, but, you say, I have grown wise this year, I am going over to the Democratic party, over to Bryan and Haskell and Gompers this time. That's a fine combination, isn't it? That's worse still, if possible.

#### In the "Solid South."

The Democratic party—all I have to do in answer is to point toward the solid South, where the Democratic party has ruled supreme for a century. Nowhere are wages lower, nowhere are industrial conditions so wretched, nowhere is the percentage of illiteracy so large; and the solid South, ruled by the Democratic party, has a system that makes men and angels weep.

In that part of the land, when men are out of work and wander hungry and beg for bread, they are arrested and jailed as vagrants and then they are farmed out to heartless blood-suckers; they are manacled together, and, as I have seen again and again, they are beaten and lashed into insensibility. All of the atrocities and all the barbarities of the Middle Ages are re-enacted in the solid South, ruled by the Democratic party.

Only a little while ago the 17,000 miners in the Birmingham district went out on strike. Their wages was but 47 cents a ton, the lowest scale in the United States. These mines are owned by the Steel Trust, which has been piling up hundreds of millions of dollars wrung from the sweat and blood of the working class, but these pirates were not yet satisfied.

#### A Democratic Governor.

They knew that these miners were at their mercy. They ordered a final reduction that reduced the miners to a pittance that did not suffice to keep their souls within their ragged bodies. Seventeen thousand of them went out on strike, and when they did Gov. D. B. Comer, the Democrat, the millionaire who has made all of his money grinding the faces of children, this Democratic Governor, this savage, ordered out the militia, turned them in these famishing miners and dispersed them.

"They went to the fields that had been leased for them by their union. They had been provided with tents to shelter their wives and children from the elements, and this angered the Democratic Governor, the political ally of William Jennings Bryan. He sent the soldiers into those fields. Part of them took out their knives and cut those tents into shreds; the rest of them stood by with shotted guns, ready to murder these starving miners if they objected to having their wives and children exposed to the elements.

This is how the Democratic party proves its friendship for the working class.

#### Mr. Bryan's Lost Opportunity.

But you tell me that Mr. Bryan, the standard bearer, is the champion of the common people; he's the friend of the workman. And I deny it. Two years and a half ago Mr. Bryan had the supreme chance of his life. You remember when the officials of the Western Federation of Miners were seized and deported and thrown into the penitentiary. You remember this infamous outrage that shocked the nation.

In this extremity the workers who had followed Mr. Bryan through two campaigns loyally and enthusiastically, turned to him and said: 'Mr. Bryan, speak for our leaders; save them from murder.' But he turned a deaf ear to the working class. His lips were sealed. He was as silent as the Sphinx.

William Jennings Bryan couldn't speak without attacking the mine owners who had financed his campaign. After these men were tried and acquitted, then his lips were unsealed for the first time and he said he believed all the time that they were innocent. If he believed they were innocent, why did he not say so? In this hour Mr. Bryan forfeited forever the right to appeal to the working class.

#### Mr. Bryan's Friends.

It was four years ago, if you remember, that Mr. Bryan denounced Alton B. Parker as the tool of Wall street and said that no self-respecting Democrat could vote for him. The Democratic convention nominated Mr. Parker and then Mr. Bryan went out among the American people and used all the powers of his eloquence to make this tool of Wall street President of the United States.

Four years ago Mr. Bryan denounced Roger Sullivan, the Illinois corruptionist, as one who has secured his election as delegate by methods that would disgrace a train robber. Where is that train robber to-day? He is side by side with Mr. Bryan, one of his chief supporters. And only a few weeks ago this train robber was at Fairview, Neb., Mr. Bryan's home, by his invitation, and by him introduced to his family.

Four years ago Mr. Bryan denounced Tammany. This year he is hand in glove with Tammany, and here let me say, and I know it's true, that Tammany is the vilest and corruptest political organization on the American continent. Tammany is a political leper. Tammany pollutes everything it touches. Tammany levies tribute upon your tenderloin. Tammany extorts from fallen women the proceeds of their shame. That is Tammany. And Mr. Bryan has compromised with Tammany and had Murphy at his Fairview home in order that he might carry New York and become President. I wouldn't object to being elected President; but, upon my honor, I never would pay that price for that or any other office on this earth.

There's nothing for you in these two corrupt and decadent parties. They have fulfilled their mission. They belong to the past. The Socialist party is the party of the present and the future. Waste your time and your energy and your substance no longer. The Socialist party is the only party that has a claim upon you, the only party in which you can stand in your true proportions, in which you can stand erect as becomes a man, in which you can do your work and in doing write your name in the deeds that live forever.

#### Woman Under Capitalism.

I am indeed glad to see so many women in this audience, and here let me say that the Socialist party is the only party that recognizes woman as a human being. It's the only party

that recognizes woman at all. In capitalist society you women have to obey the laws, but have no voice in enacting them; and if you are the daughters of workmen you are economic menials, you are political nonentities. Under the present regime you are taught to look upon your husbands as your lords and your masters, and I want to say to some of you 'lords,' 'How my heart does go out to the women!'

In this system eight millions of your sex are in wage slavery, eight millions of them whose life is a continuous struggle all the year, from youth to old age, economic bondage, the victims of capitalism, in which private profit is vastly more important than human life.

What prospect is there for these women? None. All the doors are barred against them. Upon their heads society pours its garbage. They are social inferiors. They belong to the working class, and upon the brow of labor there is still the band of inferiority.

It is at this season of the year that you are called sovereigns by the politicians, the politicians who insult your intelligence (if you have any)

(Continued on page 10.)

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"As I thought. Then I want to say to you that we shall be only too glad to keep you on for a month or so at a reduced salary until you can place yourself elsewhere.—Life.

### IN THE GOOD OLD SUMMER TIME

"Papa, haven't you any more fairy stories to read me?"

"Nothing, my boy, but the Republican and Democratic platforms, and they are too sad for one so young.—Life.

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*The Question of the Hour*



**HOW TO BECOME A CITIZEN.**

So continuous are the requests for information as to citizenship papers that we cannot do better than reprint the following, prepared recently by Dr. Paul Abelson:

**I. Who can become a citizen.**

All except Chinese may become citizens of the United States.

A woman, not a citizen, who marries a citizen, becomes a citizen of the United States.

All children who were less than 21 years of age, at the time when their father or widowed mother became a citizen, are considered citizens of the United States.

**II. When one can become a citizen.**

One can apply to the courts to become a citizen any time during the year except on legal holidays.

The first papers can be taken out at any time after arrival in the United States.

It is better, though, to wait until one knows the English language, that is, enough to be able to speak with the officer of the court. At any rate, one should not delay taking out the first papers later than the first three years after arrival.

The second papers can be taken out after one has lived five years in the country, but they cannot be taken out less than two years, nor more than seven years after the first papers were taken out.

**III. Where one can take out papers.**

Citizens' papers are issued by all the higher courts, both by the courts of the United States government as well as by the courts of the different States.

**IV. How one can become a citizen.**

To become a citizen of the United States one must first declare his intention, that is, he must first notify the government that he would like to become a citizen as soon as the law will allow him.

This is known in popular language as taking out the "first papers." Taking out the "first papers" means to give the court a declaration of intention signed by the applicant, but not necessarily filled out by him. The application blank is obtained from the court. It requires the applicant to state, in substance, (1) personal description, (2) past and previous residences, (3) time and place of arrival in the United States, and (4) to renounce forever all allegiance to the country of which he has been a citizen.

"Second Papers." When one has had his first papers at least two years, and has been in the country at least five years, he makes another application to the court to be admitted to citizenship. This is known as the petition for naturalization, and in popular language is called taking out the "second papers." The application blank is obtained from the court. It is signed by the petitioner and must be submitted to the court. At the same time the applicant must also submit an affidavit of two witnesses, who must be citizens of the United States, certifying to the truth of the statements in the petition of naturalization.

This application and the affidavits of the witnesses are kept by the court for ninety days, at the end of which time the court examines the applicant and issues the full citizenship papers. The judge cannot issue citizenship papers to any one who does not speak the English language.

One does not need to live five years in the same State to become a citizen, but he must have lived at least one year in the State where he has applied for citizenship. In such a case he must get affidavits from witnesses of the other States in which he has lived.

**V. Cost.**

To take out the first papers costs \$1. To apply for the second papers costs \$2. To get the final papers, that is, the certificate of citizenship, costs \$2.

making the application for the second papers one must deposit some money to pay the expenses of the witnesses; about 50 cents apiece. If the witnesses do not ask for the money the applicant receives the witness money back at the time when he gets his full papers.

**VI. Change of name.**

At the time when the judge gives out the citizenship papers to the applicant, the applicant may ask the privilege of changing his name. If the reason is a good one, the judge may order that the man's name be changed, and in that case the certificate of citizenship is made out with the new name of the citizen.

**VII. Exceptions.**

Any one who has taken out his first papers before Sept. 27, 1906, can take out second papers within two years of the time when he took out first papers, and is not obliged to be able to speak English. But if he neglects to take out the second papers during that time, he must be able to speak English if he wishes to get his second papers.

No citizenship papers are issued thirty days after election. In New York State a man cannot vote unless he has been a citizen at least ninety days before the election.

No anarchist, that is, a person opposed to organized government, or who advocates the killing of officers because of their character, may become a citizen.

Dumb people may become citizens, although they naturally cannot speak English, if they are otherwise qualified.

People who settle on United States land as farmers, by buying or receiving land from the United States government, according to the homestead laws, are not obliged to be able to speak English to become citizens.

If one who has received his citizenship papers leaves the country within five years of the time when he became a citizen his papers become void, unless his leaving is only temporary and for some good reason.

Any one who serves in the United States army can become a citizen at the time of his discharge even though he has not taken out his first papers.

**VIII. Important points.**

Persons wishing to become citizens of the United States must be careful to remember the following points:

1. They must, in their application for the first papers, give the same name by which they were known at the time of their arrival in the United States.

2. They must remember the name of the ship on which they came, and the year, month and day on or about which they arrived.

3. Even those who came to America before they were 18 years of age must take out "first papers."

The new law does not require the judge to examine the applicant on the Constitution of the United States, but there is no doubt that the judge will usually test an applicant's knowledge of English by asking him questions (in English) about the government and the laws of the United States.

**JAPAN'S EXPORT OF MACHINERY.**

The export of machinery from Japan continues to advance yearly, the total in 1907 (\$1,177,693) showing an increase of \$447,718, or 61 per cent. over the preceding year, and of nearly 250 per cent. over the average of the last five years. The bulk consists of cotton gins and printing machines, which go to China, but Japanese workshops are now turning out various other kinds. Many of them may be fairly described as copies more or less accurate, of foreign models. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the Japanese are often very clever in thinking out and executing labor-saving appliances. In a violin factory at Nagoya, where some 8,000 instruments are annually turned out, ranging in price from \$1 to \$60 a piece, there were several simple machines at work, all, it is stated, invented by the proprietor and his employees, while it must be remembered that most of the tea-firing machinery used in the country is also admittedly of Japanese invention.

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### DEBS' SPEECH AT HIPPODROME

(Continued from page 8)

by flattering your ignorance. They tell you that you are intelligent to keep you ignorant; Socialists tell you very frankly how ignorant you are, that you may become intelligent.

#### The Abject Class.

"The workingmen produce all wealth. How much have you to show for it? You workingmen support all government. You workingmen create and conserve all civilization. Without you society would perish. Without you the whole fabric of our so-called civilization would collapse. And yet you are the lower class. You have always been the lower class.

"In the ancient world for thousands of years abject slaves, and then the serfs of the Middle Ages, and now the wage workers of modern society. Society has always been organized, and is to-day, upon the basis of the exploitation and the degradation of those who toil.

"In this country we have thirty millions of wage workers, eighteen millions of them men, eight millions women, four millions children, who have no tools of their own to work, and never will have under the administration of either the Republican or the Democratic parties. No matter which of these is in power, no matter if the tariff be high or low, if we have the gold standard or free silver, or what our domestic policy may be; since these thirty millions of workers have no tools of their own with which to work, they will be in a state of slavery and their lives will be broken, they will die wretched failures. If now and then there is one who escapes it is simply the exception who serves to prove the rule.

#### Merely "Hands."

"What is the status of the workingman in this system? The truth is that he is not a man at all, and the terminology of capitalism proves it. When the capitalist wants him he calls for a "hand," a factory hand, a mill hand, a shop had, a farm hand. Hand, hand, hand. That's what you are in capitalism—simply a hand. You have been putting a boycott on your brain, you have been putting a boycott on your head.

"Nor has anyone been doing it, been putting it there for you; you do it yourself. There's nothing I can do for you. There's nothing that you can't do for yourselves. You have an overwhelming majority of the votes. Surely it should require but little intelligence to teach you workingmen that you have got to unite economically and politically; act together. From the hour you do this this earth is yours.

"When you workingmen stand forth in solid, class-conscious array there's nothing between this earth and the stars that can stand between you and emancipation. You have but to develop your economic and your political power.

#### Where Did He Get It?

"Your interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalists who exploit you of what you produce. Let me give you just one concrete illustration. It applies to every department of industrial activity. A few weeks ago John D. Rockefeller, who is a fully developed capitalist, who is ripe and therefore a profit-taker and a parasite—for no ripe capitalist has any function that is useful to society—he was on the witness stand in a federal court at Chicago in the trial of that \$29,000,000 joke, and he was asked certain questions about the Standard Oil Company.

"His answer was that he knew nothing about the Standard Oil Company because he had had no connection with it for seven years. And yet during these seven years he received from the Standard Oil Company in the way of dividends, profits, an average of \$5,000,000 a month, \$60,000,000 a year, \$420,000,000 in all. According to his own confession he had absolutely nothing to do with the production of this wealth, and yet he took it all. And that is what you vote for every time you vote the Republican ticket or the Democratic ticket.

"How did Rockefeller come into

possession of this vast amount of wealth produced by the working class? By the mere fact of his privately owning the great storehouses of nature, the sources from which the raw materials are drawn, and the social machinery with which these raw materials are transmuted into the finished product called wealth.

"He produces no oil. Carnegie produces no steel. Havemeyer and Spröckels produce no sugar. The working class do all of this; produce all the wealth; but these capitalists, who own the sources from which the raw materials are drawn, and the machinery, come into possession of it all.

#### Capitalism's Ending.

"The thirty million wage slaves can't work without tools. The tools belong to the capitalists. The thirty million wage slaves have to sell their labor power to the capitalists, and when they have done it the wealth that is produced by that labor power belongs to the capitalists and not to themselves. And every few years they have produced so much more than can be consumed, the markets are glutted, the mills are closed, industry comes to a standstill, hundreds of thousands of workers are idle and suffer in the presence of the very abundance their labor has created.

"This simply proves that capitalism has fulfilled its mission, that the capitalist class can no longer control the productive forces, that the capitalist class can no longer manage industry, can no longer give employment to the workers. And so the historic mission of this movement is to abolish the capitalist system based upon private ownership, and recognize society upon a basis of collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

"And this change is coming just as certainly as I stand in your presence this afternoon. It will come as soon as you are ready for it, and you will be ready for it just as soon as you understand what Socialism means.

#### Individuality.

"The trouble with most of you is that you know but little about it and that little is not true. You have read that in capitalist newspapers and they tell you that in Socialism you will be reduced to a dead level of degradation. You are there now.

"I was in the bread line in New York last winter. They don't say anything about that. They tell you that Socialism will destroy your individuality. You haven't got any. The wage slave has no individuality.

"What is individuality? It is the expression unhampered of the individual's mental and moral and spiritual qualities. It is the human being in full bloom. But the thirty million wage workers who are dependent upon the capitalist are walking apologies, most of them. They have hinges in their knees, they doff their hats in the presence of a two by four boss. They may be discharged. They are repressed and cramped and their aspirations are stifled, because they have got to beg for work and therefore they have got to beg to live, and they have no individuality.

#### The Incentive to Work.

"Then they tell you that in Socialism you will have no incentive to work. You are exploited of nearly all you produce to-day and you are supposed to have great incentive to work, but if (as in Socialism) you will get all you produce, then you will throw down your tools and starve to death. They won't do that to you—that will happen under Socialism.

#### Breaking Up the Family.

"And then they tell you that Socialism is going to break up the family, and that would be too bad. There are only 80,000 divorces a year in capitalism. The family—why, capitalism destroys the family all over this country in all the circling hours of the day and night.

"How about the families of the 5,000,000 who have no work; who have got to leave their families and their huts or their hovels or their lairs in a vain search somewhere else for other masters, and after they reach a point four or five hundred miles away from home and their last penny is gone and their clothes are seedy they receive a letter from home. Observe them closely as they read; you will find the tears coursing down

their cheeks. The wife reports that the rent is due and she is about to be evicted and put upon the street. The children are hungry. These men become tramps. Their lives are destroyed, their homes are wrecked, and the happiness of all these people is wrecked.

All of these charges against Socialism are untrue. Everyone of these things is true of capitalism.

#### The Fruits of Capitalism.

"In this system that has run its course one-sixth of the entire productive capacity of the nation is paralyzed. One out of every six workers is idle. There are over a million human degenerates called tramps. Over 800,000 thieves, burglars and convicts. About 600,000 fallen women. Prostitution is a fixed, permanent, increasing factor in capitalist society. In every so-called civilized community there is a red-light district, and this is recruited from the working class. The daughters of the rich may be immoral, but they don't have to go to the slums.

"All of our jails packed, and all of our penitentiaries crowded, and all of our insane asylums overflowing, and suicide increasing at a startling rate. Every issue of every capitalist newspaper is a chronicle of vice and im-

morality and crime. Pick up your New York newspaper to-morrow morning and then blue-pencil the graft and the corruption and the thieves and the hold-ups and the revelations of all descriptions and the assaults and the hunger and the rape and the vice and the murders. Eliminate these and there's hardly anything left. This is capitalism.

"And nothing is certain in this system except uncertainty. You may have \$50,000 and die in an almshouse and sleep your last sleep in a potter's field. If you are a workingman and you have a little girl of eight or ten and your wage is small or you are out of a job at the very age when this child ought to be under the care of a loving mother and have a comfortable home and be out in the sunlight and have wholesome food—and nothing is so easily produced—this child is under the hunger-whip of capitalism, and at eight or ten she has got to go to a mill or factory and she stands beside the machine all day long. She feeds the machine. The machine starves her.

#### Destroying the Girls.

"She gets but a pittance. The air is foul, the environment is unsanitary.

(Continued on page 11.)

## Dogged! Jailed! Ruined!

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**DEBS' SPEECH AT HYPODROME**

(Continued from page 10.)

she inhales lint and filth and her lungs are diseased. Her blood is impoverished. She remains here until she is eighteen or nineteen. She approaches the marriage state. She assumes the functions of motherhood. She is unfit for them. Her nerves are worn out. Her tissue is exhausted, her vitality is spent; she has been fed, literally, to capitalism. Her offspring are born tired. That's why there are so many failures in capitalist society.

"And here is another little girl of the same age and she is scourged by poverty and she has got to go to a department store and she gets \$3 a week. She has got to be neat and tidy and attractive, and in her infancy she is subjected to a hundred temptations a day, and in an unguarded moment she takes her first misstep. It is fatal. She is then swept into that ever-broadening, ever-deepening stream that empties into the gulf of disgrace and despair and death.

"This is capitalism. And if it be written in the book of fate that that blue-eyed child of yours that you love far more than you do your own life, if it be written in the book of fate that she shall perish in a brothel hell, I want you to know that you are responsible for it if you vote to perpetuate the capitalist system.

**The Conquering Issue.**

"Upon this great issue, my friends and comrades, we are going to conquer, we are going to sweep into power. I appeal to you, workmen, to come to the front in this campaign. To the mark of duty squarely. It is too late to any longer halt or hesitate. The call goes directly to you, and it is your duty to yourself, to your wife, to your child, to your class, to humanity, it is your duty to respond. Never mind what others may say or think or do; be true to yourself. You may be called an undesirable citizen, and this will be your glory.

"Let me say that in every age of this world's history the pioneers of progress, the pathfinders in the wilderness, the evangelists of civilization, the heralds of the dawn, have all been undesirable citizens.

One hundred and fifty years ago it was Jefferson who was a rebel, Adams an incendiary, Patrick Henry a traitor. You are teaching your children to revere the memories of these undesirable citizens, while all of the respectable majority sleep in oblivion.

So it was in the abolition movement. The respectable majority murdered Lovejoy, mobbed Garrison, persecuted Phillips and hanged John Brown, the greatest liberator this country has produced.

**The Glorious Few.**

"All of them were undesirable citizens. They all had the courage of their convictions. They all did their duty and placed their names where they will remain forever. When great changes have occurred in history, when great principles have been involved, the majority have always been ignorant, reactionary, cowardly. The few have gone to the front, the few have paved the way to better conditions for the human race.

"You and I who are on earth today are under great obligation to the splendid men, the magnificent women who made sacrifices that we might enjoy some degree of liberty, some degree of civilization. We can only discharge that obligation by doing or trying to do something in the interest of those who are to come after us. It ought to be the high mission of every man to do something to make it possible for some child to come to his grave and place a flower where he sleeps and say, 'This world is better and brighter for me because of his having been here.'

**A World Wide Crusade.**

"Another mighty crusade is organizing. It is spreading over the face of the whole earth. Already the millions that are to be found in all of the zones that belt this globe are keeping step to the inspiring music of the new emancipation. This is the call that goes out to you, and if you are true to yourself you will respond, you will take your place in the ranks, and then for the first time you will rise to your full stature, you will feel your throb to the first forward

march, you will expand to your true proportions, you will feel the thrill of a new-born aspiration. If on account of this you are persecuted, all the better for you, because your latent powers will all be developed, you will become stronger than you now dream, and you will write your name in the deeds that live forever.

When this great party sweeps into power here in New York, in the United States, in all other nations, war between nation and nation will be ended forever. Why should the working class of one country murder the working class of another country in the interest of the capitalist class that exploit the working class of all countries? Civilized nations would not murder one another.

**The Horrors of War.**

"I remember not long ago reading the description of a battlefield in the Russian-Japanese War, of the 20,000 who lay dead on a single field, men mutilated and gasping. If you have but a bit of imagination you can see them. You can see that some of them are yet writhing in their death agonies, heart-rending, as the last despairing sigh is wrung from them. You can see far, far away, the loved ones. Yes, and you can see the silver-haired mother bowed in her last great sorrow when she hears that the boy she loved is killed.

"When I think of a cold steel bayonet being pushed into the white, soft and quivering flesh of a human being, I recoil with horror. The Socialist movement is doing what lies in its power to hasten the coming of that day when war shall curse this earth no more. With the end of industrial and commercial competition comes the end of war, and with the beginning of world-wide co-operation comes the inauguration of the reign of peace on earth and good-will toward all men.

"So that when this movement sweeps into power, and establishes an industrial democracy, every man will have the inalienable right to work, will receive what he produces, may stand forth a free man, enjoy the fruit of his labor, have a comfortable home, a happy wife, his children at play or at school, in that hour the badge of labor will be the only badge of nobility.

"Then another proclamation of emancipation will be issued. We will fill this land with wealth. We will abolish poverty as it now scourges the race, and all of its brood of concomitant ills. And then we shall reduce the workday in proportion to the products of invention, until every man may have leisure so that he may cultivate his mind and give his heart a chance so that he may enjoy the comradeship of his fellow men.

"Then our economic interests will be mutual, and instead of clutching at each other's throats we can work together side by side in the true spirit of humanity. Remember that until then you have a duty.

It was Lowell who said: "He is true to God who is true to man.

Wherever wrong is done To the humblest and the weakest Neath the all-beholding sun, That wrong is also done to us; And they are slaves most base Whose love of right is for themselves, And not for all the race."

**THE CURSE OF EXCLUSIVENESS.**

As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusiveness, it will be mocked by delusion. Our riches will leave us sick; there will be bitterness in our laughter, and our wine will burn our mouth. Only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open and which serves all men.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

**DISILLUSIONED.**

"What shattered his faith in human nature?" "He bought an unbreakable comb, took a dose of tasteless cod liver oil, visited a painless dentist and voted the old-party tickets."—The Hammer.

**EXCEPT PROFITABLY.**

"Thou shalt not kill." Except by locked exits, subway explosions, adulterated food, stums, fire-damp, fast trains, sweatshops. In short, in the regular course of trade.—Life.

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**CHILD LABOR EVILS.**

There are plain evidences of physical deterioration in the cotton mill districts of England, says Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay. Children who go to work young are on the average three inches or more shorter in height and weigh less when they reach the adult years than the normal height and weight of the working population. This alone proves the loss of power in all directions, for which the wages received in childhood are no compensation. The state must set up a standard and must be willing to help its citizens adjust themselves to that standard even if it is necessary for the state or for private citizens to guarantee to children whose parents are unable to do so the necessary means to maintain themselves at school until they reach the legal working age. The school must be adjusted to meet the needs of all classes and enable especially the children of the working classes to improve to the full the leisure thus granted them by the state.

**WHAT WE CLAIM.**

I have looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me, so looked at, to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization. This, then, is the claim:

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.

Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim. Yet, if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is Revolution.—William Morris.

**THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE.**

To-day the Socialist organizations which devote themselves to the elevation of the masses, to the spreading of moral and political enlightenment, to the cultivation of science, literature, music and other forms of intellectual refinement, are legion. To-day it is a principle adopted by the rank and file, as well as by the leaders of the party, that the only way to combat successfully the ruling system of militarism and officialism is the peaceful revolutionizing of minds.—Kuno Francke, in "Modern German Culture."

**WILLING SUBJECTION.**

The direst aspect of the tragedy of woman is that her efforts at emancipation find their bitterest opposition from their own enslaved sex. Modern woman in the mass does not yet want the ballot. She does not want her rights. She wants to be let alone so long as she can find a man to keep her, and she looks sullenly at the woman who has risen to the light as one, not who would help her, but who would rob her of her slave privileges and give her nothing in return.—Franklin H. Wentworth.

Every Socialist when registering should be sure to enroll under the arm and torch. Registration days October 10 and 12.

**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.

**MISCELLANEOUS.**

Christmas Presents—Elegant buggy whips with name on. First ten inquirers get a \$1 whip free, and free library plan. No conditions whatever. Dont doubt, comrades; write, H. Brigham, Westfield Mass.

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**A POLICE COURT INCIDENT.**

"Where do you live?" inquired the police judge of the small boy who was charged with stealing fruit. The lit-tled looked vacant and shook his head. "Where is your home?" his honor insisted. "Got none," was the reply. "Mom's in de hospital, dad's up in Main county lookin' fer work, me brudder's in jail fer sassin' a scab, an' de' furniture folks has nabbed 'em out stuff." And some folks are afraid Socialism will destroy the family!—Los Angeles Socialist.

**HE IS LEARNING TO THINK.**

The laborer, uneducated, untrained, untaught to think for himself, has hitherto listened sheepishly. Of late some glimmering of his own rights, of his own power to enforce them, has come to him—much to the indignation and disgust of those whose interests, viewed from a narrow standpoint, are diametrically opposed to his.—Jerome K. Jerome.

**DEVOTION A LA MODE CAPITALIST.**

First Minister—Mr. Pro y, how do you manage to fill your church so? I am quite envious of you.  
Rev. Mr. Prosy—Trading stamps—ten in the morning, double number in the evening. But, Brother Laity, we have a contract by which no other church in town may obtain the stamps.—Judge.



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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 10, 1908.

## DIRTY DOLLARS.

By BEN HANFORD.

I have a copy of the last Annual Report of the United States Steel Corporation. It is for the year ending December 31, 1907. The gross receipts of the Steel Trust for the year were \$757,014,767.68. Of this amount \$564,166,777.12 went for "operating expenses" and it was out of this latter sum that the employees were paid such "wages" as they received. It was out of the item of "operating expenses" also that such sums were taken as went to pay the company's lawyers, their fees and "retainers," the fancy "salaries" of the officials, whatever it may have cost to "influence" and "educate" judges, city councilmen, members of state legislatures, members of Congress and United States Senators, together with whatever blackmail executive officials may have secured, if any or all of these items required attention, and they often do require attention on the part of progressive and strictly up-to-date corporations—and the Steel Trust is all of that.

Deducting \$564,166,777.12 for operating expenses from the gross receipts of \$757,014,767.68 leaves "net" receipts of \$192,847,990.56 and of this latter amount the sum of \$35,385,727 went to the payment of dividends. This \$35,385,727 distributed as dividends was strictly "something for nothing." Those who received it did no work for it. Whenever they did any work in the steel industry, in the capacity of officials, directors, etc., they received for such services liberal payment in the form of fees or salary, which was taken from the item given above called "operating expenses."

The "work" the receivers of these dividends did in order to secure them was exactly the same as the "work" done by an industrious burglar, and consisted simply in "getting a wedge in." These people, however (the receivers of Steel Trust dividends) have given the subject of burglarizing intelligent study, and so, instead of stealing a few measly dollars in defiance of the law, they first get the law-making power, and pass laws to suit their special game, and then steal MILLIONS OF DOLLARS annually—all in accordance with law, THEIR LAW. It should be added that, far from being considered robbers, these people are known as "distinguished gentlemen" and "eminent citizens," and instead of calling the proceeds of their "industry" by the name of "swag," the regular term used by honest thieves, our "eminent citizens," who get something for nothing in the form of dividends, call them "profits."

Again, after deducting \$35,385,727 of dividends from the net receipts of \$192,847,990.56, we find that

the United States Steel Corporation paid "fixed charges" to the amount of \$33,381,773.95. "Fixed charges" generally include taxes, rentals, and interest payments on bonds, the latter item being by far the most considerable. With the exception of the sum paid out as taxes, which is usually a small part of the whole, "fixed charges" are as much "profits" as are dividends on the stock. The only difference between the two items is that they are paid either to different parties or else to the same parties under different headings. Neither interest on bonds nor dividends on stock are payments for work performed. They are something for nothing. They are simply the "rake-off" of the fellows who have the "graft." Both are "profits" in the sense that they are values produced by labor, values withheld from labor, and values diverted from labor to exploiting capitalists. SOMETHING FOR NOTHING—what a gambler calls "velvet"—what a thief calls "swag"—that is what a business man calls "profit."

From the above figures you can see the exploitation of one trust in the United States in one year. It is upward of \$150,000,000 of clear "graft." All this "profit" is taken from labor, and its takers get it simply through their PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of the means for the production of one of the necessities of life. Next to bread, probably iron and steel are the most important essentials of civilization, and without iron and steel the production of bread in sufficient quantities to feed the people would be a problem, the solution of which be in doubt for a long time.

Note the gross receipts of the Steel Trust for the one year of 1907—\$757,014,767.68. Leaving out the transactions of the Post-Office Department the Steel Trust every year does a business larger than the Federal government of the United States.

This is one of the trusts that Mr. Bryan is going to "bust" Seriously, can any sane man suspect that Mr. Bryan or any other spineless man with weather-vane ideas and no principle could destroy this trust, even if he would? Can any sane man who knows Mr. Bryan's history suspect that he would destroy the trust even if he could?

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft would "regulate" the Steel Trust and other trusts—so they SAY. It is interesting to note how Mr. Roosevelt "regulated" the Steel Trust in the year of our Lord 1907, when the trust had gross receipts of \$757,014,767.68. During the year the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company got into financial difficulties. This corporation was the largest competitor of the Steel Trust. Mr. Roosevelt "regulated" the Steel Trust in the year 1907 by allowing the Steel Trust to buy the Tennessee Coal,

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National Secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, 180 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.

1898 .....	2,008	1896 .....	88,504
1899 .....	21,157	1900 .....	96,941
1904 .....	400,230		

## SOME ADVICE TO THE MASTER CLASS.

By EDWIN W. WHEAT.

Sirs, you are committing suicide. You are using all your powers to save your life, but by just so much as you strive to live do you hasten your death. Like many a man who is ill, no doubt you will refuse to take, and even scorn to consider, the remedy when it is offered. Nevertheless we shall offer it, and if you fail to heed our warning, then your blood be upon your own heads.

We, the workers, are doing your work. We support ourselves and you also. You have certain absolute needs, such as food, clothing and shelter. Our needs are the same. As we number several to one of you, the extra burden of supplying your needs should not be great. An hour more in the day, a luxury less here and there—really it should not be much.

BUT! You are not contented with the necessities alone. You must have luxuries as well. Moreover, you insist that we shall not have them. We produce all the luxuries, but most have very few or none of them. You produce none of them, but must have all. You go still further than that. You even deny many of us the bare necessities; you deprive us of food, clothing and shelter. And all this you do that you may have a few more luxuries.

Sirs, we are waking up. We would you are magnifying the difference between the worker and the idler. You make the existence of opposed classes so apparent that we cannot help seeing and realizing it. You should be more diplomatic. You should endeavor to conceal the class distinction—to make it less conspicuous.

Iron & Railroad Company—which the Trust did for the sum of \$34,684,977.64. So you see it is Mr. Roosevelt's idea that the trusts are to be "regulated" by allowing the big ones to swallow the little ones.

It is also worthy of note that on the very day of Mr. Bryan's nomination for the Presidency on a "bust-the-trusts" platform, the cable dispatches of the daily papers announced that the United States Steel Corporation had reached a working agreement with the Steel Corporations of Germany, Russia and other countries with the exception of England. So it is the International Steel Trust Mr. Bryan will have to fight—if he ever fights any. No doubt he would do as much execution as would a boy firing spit-balls at Harveyized armor-plate.

Now, if Taft cannot "regulate" and Bryan cannot "bust" the Steel Trust and other trusts, what should voters do? In a word they should vote for Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States and the whole Socialist ticket. That would mean that the people would become the owners of the Steel Trusts and all other trusts. That would mean that every man who wanted to work would be sure of a chance. That would mean that our "distinguished citizens" and "eminent gentlemen" would cease to draw interest and dividends, they would no longer get "profits," they would never again get "something for nothing." Votes for Debs and Socialism means that the workers who do everything are going to get EVERYTHING. Do you understand, Mr. Free American Workingman?—EVERYTHING! ALL THE WEALTH PRODUCED BY LABOR SHALL BELONG TO THOSE WHO DO THE LABOR—that is the program of the Socialist party. How will that harm you, Mr. Free American Workingman? If it will help you, vote for it.

We would sleep on a long time yet—forever, perhaps—if you did not come to us and shake us so rudely. It would seem that you wanted to wake us up, but we can scarcely believe that you do. Take our advice and be a little more cautious. When you see us stir in our slumber, speak in whispers and step very softly, and let us sleep peacefully on.

Sirs, you are killing the goose that lays the golden egg. Will you not—O will you not—see your mistake in time?

Sirs, if you do wake us—then look out!

## TO EUGENE V. DEBS.

By HENRY FRANK.

(Recited by Mr. Frank at the great Socialist meeting in the American Theatre, Sunday, Oct. 1.)

### I.

Hail, high-brow'd, kindly-hearted comrade, brave,  
 Whose weather'd frame fought through adversity  
 To hew a wider path of liberty  
 For humankind! Though scorned by every knave,  
 And base despoilers of the age (who crave  
 The masses but to heed their policy  
 With blinded eyes, till like a bonded slave  
 They shed their blood in toil and penury)—  
 We hoist thee on our gleeful shoulders high  
 Above the brazen scoffers who demean  
 Thy name, and shout till from yon echoing sky  
 The thunderous roar of our acclaim shall wean  
 E'en traitors from their golden spoils, to cry  
 For betterment where'er men toil and try!

### II.

'Twas human sympathy, that from thine eyes  
 Pull'd off the bandage once thy vision marr'd,  
 When bludgeon smote with bludgeon, and the scarr'd  
 And smitten victims of the Strike, like flies,  
 Again were caught with sugar'd promises  
 Then erst thou sawest, in prison cell, with blurr'd  
 And moisten'd orbs, the fell and damning lies  
 Of false and fundamental laws, that herd  
 The sweating, wealth-producing masses, all  
 Like cattle—whipp'd into servility  
 By fear of wage—necessity's stern call!  
 Then burst thy heart, and rang from sea to sea,  
 Thy clarion cry: "Awake, O slaves! Be free!"

### NOT COMPULSORY.

"Tell me, colonel," asked the beginner in politics, addressing the gray-haired statesman, "can a politician be honest?"  
 "I suppose so, my boy," replied the veteran, "but—ah!—it isn't necessary."—Collier's Weekly.