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BE ON YOUR GUARD.

We have confidential information that preparations are being made by one of the old-party national committees for a mendacious attack upon the record and personality of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, to be "sprung" through the capitalist press in all parts of the country a few days before election, when it will be too late for the Socialist party to reach the whole people with a reply.

The exact nature of the intended attack we have not been able definitely to ascertain; but we know that there is nothing too false, too cowardly, or too vile for the old-party politicians to attempt, if they can hope to scare back into their party folds a few thousands of the workingmen who are on the point of casting Socialist votes for the first time.

It is possible that the detection of the plan and the publication of this warning will have the effect of nipping the dastardly scheme in the bud. If so, well and good. But we cannot count upon that.

At any rate, Socialists everywhere should be on their guard, and should do all in their power to put other voters on their guard. Let every reader show this article to his neighbors and shopmates now, so that they may be prepared to discount any so-called "revelations" that may appear on the eve of election.

A man out in South Dakota has put forward the first real argument we have heard in this campaign against the election of Eugene V. Debs to the Presidency. He writes: "And the idea of a man running for President wearing a colored shirt! Do you think I would vote for a man in a colored shirt? Not much!" We never saw Debs in a colored shirt, to be sure. But he has never denied the published report that he does sometimes wear one, so it is presumably true. Of course, no self-respecting member of the working class, all of whom always wear fine linen and high collars and white ties and broadcloth and tall, shiny, silk hats, would give a second thought to voting for a man who had once disgraced himself by donning a colored shirt. We did cherish some hopes for Debs, but they are dashed to earth.

Workless men who advertise in the "Situations Wanted" columns of the New York "World" these days are getting answers. Unfortunately, however, the answers do not come from employers ready to permit men to go to work and earn a living by useful work. Notwithstanding all the talk in the capitalist papers about "returning prosperity," there are still myriads of men hunting jobs and no evidence of any jobs hunting men to fill them.

The answers that these workless men get are Democratic circulars pretending to be personal letters from other out-of-work men, advising the applicants for employment to "study the trust question and understand it."

The advice is good, so far as it goes, although it does not pay the price of a meal and a bed.

The circular says in part:

Our living expenses have increased 48 per cent. Have our wages increased that much? This trust question involves not only you and me, but millions of our fellow men. It is a question personal to yourself. It is mixed up with every mouthful of food you eat, with every yard of cloth you wear, and with every ton of coal you burn. You cannot put the burden of investigation upon your neighbor. The facts are present in your own house.

That is all very true. And it is encouraging to see the Democratic party forced to come even as near to intelligent argument as that. It shows that the masses of the working people are awaking, and that even the Democratic politicians, accustomed to treat them

as brainless idiots, whose votes are to be bought with money or campaign cigars or shandshakes and flattery, begin to realize that the workers have brains, after all, and are going to use them, and feel that they must make some effort to appeal to their intelligence.

But this Democratic circular goes no farther. It puts the question, but does not dare to try to answer it. It calls on the unemployed workingmen to study the trust problem and the effects of the trust upon wages and prices; but it does not venture to propose a positive solution of the problem.

The nearest it comes to suggesting a solution is this, at the close of the circular:

Should the trusts be "let alone?" a change in Washington. It will If not, what is the best way of re- change conditions, and maybe im- strain them? Which is more like- prove our chances to find employment? ly to find a remedy, William H. Taft I am going to vote for Bryan and or William Jennings Bryan? We want Kern.

That "maybe" is good. We never before knew a Democratic politician (or a Republican politician, either, for that matter) to be so modest and so honest.

Yes, there is a great big "maybe" to the proposition of Democratic victory at the polls improving the workingmen's chances to find employment. Thousands of workingmen will remember that under a Democratic administration fifteen years ago they were thrown out of work and suffered all the agony and humiliation of unemployment and poverty, just as they have this year under a Republican administration.

A Tennessee man has been fined \$2,500 for killing quail out of season. No such fine has ever been levied on any manufacturer for exploiting little children below the legal age. "There's a reason" for the difference, as Mr. Post would say. The children in the mills are children of the poor, and they are plenty. Quail are a much prized luxury for the tables of the rich, and it is necessary to conserve the supply by protecting them during the breeding season.

Unemployment is not an accidental or incidental feature of the capitalist system. It is an essential part of that system—one of its inevitable results and one of the necessary conditions to capitalist prosperity. Capitalism cannot exist without throwing men out of employment. And capitalists could not prosper if the unemployed should disappear from the field.

THE MURDERERS AND THEIR ACCOMPLICES.

No one has the slightest excuse for pretending to be surprised at the brutal murder committed by the so-called "guards" employed by the New York Taxicab Company on Wednesday evening. The probability of such an outrage was clearly foreseen by all who cared to think

about the matter. There is every reason to believe that the crime was deliberate and premeditated. There is the absolute certainty that the company and its agents in charge of the strikebreaking force made preparations for it, when they armed their men, in defiance of the law, and gave them the assurance that the company would "stand by them." Mayor McClellan knew what was going on. Commissioner Bingham knew it. And neither of them raised a finger or spoke a word to prevent this gang of thugs being armed and incited to commit riot and murder. Captain Reidy knew it; and, instead of breaking up the bloody conspiracy, as he could and should have done, he addressed to the police officers under his command an order which meant, as plainly as words could mean, "You are to do all in your power to help the company in breaking this strike."

The depraved fellows who enlisted as scabs, who accepted

revolvers from the company, and who went out on raid through Fifty-seventh street Wednesday night will be universally denounced as **MURDERERS**.

But let the criminals higher up not be forgotten.

Morally, if not technically, the officers of the company who hired and armed them and sent them out, are **INSTIGATORS OF MURDER**.

Morally, if not technically, Mayor McClellan, Commissioner Bingham and District Attorney Jerome, who allowed the preparations for bloodshed to be made before their eyes without the slightest attempt to stop them, are **ACCOMPLICES IN MURDER**.

What are the workmen going to do to rid their city of this murderous rule? Each of you who read this, What are you going to do?

Are you going to help on Election Day to return to power the party which has countenanced this monstrous crime in New York? Are you going to return to power the other capitalist party, which has countenanced similar crimes in Chester, only a few months ago? Or are you going to give your support to the only party which stands against the whole murderous system of capitalism, which stands for the labor movement, for the right of all men to work and to get the full value their labor produces, without giving up any of it to a class of parasites?

A Democratic vote will be an endorsement of one set of accomplices of the capitalist murderers. A Republican vote will be an endorsement of another set of accomplices in capitalist murder. A Socialist vote will be a vote to remove the cause for strikes and strikebreaking, to remove the cause for class conflict, to make social peace a possibility by basing it on economic freedom and justice.

If you think it would be better to spend the nation's money on useful public works, giving employment to laborers and mechanics and increasing the nation's common wealth, than to spend it on battleships, cannon, torpedoes, and other instruments of slaughter and destruction, vote for the Socialist party, the only party which, in this and in all other countries, stands firmly and consistently for international peace.

By personal instructions from John D. Rockefeller, the Standard Oil Company has taken a pool of its employees. The company officials refuse to announce the results, farther than to say that they indicate the election of Taft. Perhaps there were too many Debs votes to make the report a really encouraging one.

A man one hundred and five years old announces that he is going to vote for Taft. The first impulse is to say, he is old enough to know better. But, on second thought, perhaps he is too old to be held responsible.

The New York State Court of Appeals has asserted the "majesty of the law" by deciding that an employer cannot be punished for violating the statute against child labor if he has ceased the particular violation in question on his attention being called to it. A factory owner may "permit" its superintendents to hire little children in violation of the law; and in order to escape prosecution, it has only to discharge the children named in any given complaint and then "permit" its superintendents to go on hiring more children in violation of the law.

In the course of an otherwise very fair article about the Socialist party, the Washington "Times" says:

SOCIALISM AND REFORM.

Most of the Socialists would rather see half-way reform fail; they say that if the capitalists once get absolute control of things, all in one party, then the people will be forced into an opposition party, and that will be the Socialists' opportunity. So they would like to see the country go to the dogs of the capitalist system as soon as possible, in order to force what they believe is the only line-up on which they can win.

This is probably not a wilful misrepresentation. Very likely it is as near as the writer could get to a correct understanding of the Socialist position with regard to capitalist reforms. His statement sounds something like the true one. But this is one of the cases where "a miss is as bad as a mile." For, in fact, it is a most complete misstatement.

With us Socialists it is not a question of wishing half-way reform to succeed or to fail. Wishes do not count for much in political and economic development. We Socialists do not spend our time in wishing. We study conditions and tendencies, foresee the trend of economic evolution, and adapt our action in harmony with it so as to bring the best results with the least waste of energy.

No matter how hard we or anybody else might wish to see the evils of capitalist society removed by half-way reform, the hard fact would remain that capitalist society will not and cannot reform itself,

that the alleged reforms advocated (part of the time) by the Democratic party do not remove the evils, but only impede evolution of capitalism and perpetuate its fundamental evils. Knowing this fact, we do not hesitate to proclaim it, and to advise all who wish to remove those evils to join with us in attacking them in the quickest, most direct and most effective manner.

The trouble with such critics as this writer in the Washington "Times" is that they cannot distinguish between foreseeing a thing and desiring it. The skilled physician, when called to attend at the birth of a child, is not insensible to the mother's pangs. But his sympathy with her does not prompt him to administer any proffered nostrum to stop the pain. An ignorant bystander may accuse him of hard-hearted egotism and say he would rather see the woman suffer than permit her to be relieved in any but his own way. But the bystander would be wrong. The doctor knows that there is a certain natural process which must be gone through before the child can be born, and that the child must be born or the mother will die. So, while he will do what can be done to ease the pain, he will bear in mind that his first duty is to assist in that natural process, to hasten it if practicable, and to bring it to a normal end.

The Socialist party does not here and now and never has, here or elsewhere, opposed reform as such. It has always and everywhere advocated and promoted measures which, while alleviating the evils of capitalist society, also tend to strengthen the organization and the resisting and constructive power of the working class, promote its physical welfare and increase its moral and intellectual vigor, and to prepare the way for the overthrow of capitalism and the emancipation of humanity from the rule of property. But it has opposed, and it will continue to oppose, a great many propositions which masquerade under the name of reform and which are really reactionary and confusing, which really tend to weaken the workers and strengthen the hold of the capitalists upon society.

If you would protect workmen in the right to organize, to use their collective power to improve their wages, hours, and conditions of labor through the peaceful methods of the strike and the boycott, give your support at the polls to the Socialist party, the only party which frankly and unequivocally stands for this right.

A vote for the Socialist ticket is a vote for a shorter workday, increased chances of employment, less competition among the workers, and a consequent increase of pay.

When we hear the moderate reformers advise the workmen to wait patiently for measures of relief to be handed down to them, we are reminded of the story of little Patsy and the candy. "Mama," says Patsy, "won't ye gimme me candy now?" "Didn't I tell ye I wudn't give ye anny at all if ye didn't kape still?" replies Mrs. Casey. "Yes'm," begins Patsy; "but—" But his protest is cut short with the ultimatum: "Well, the longer ye kape still, the sooner ye'll git it." At last reports Patsy was still waiting.

The capitalist is so built that, if you give him an inch, he will take an ell. When workmen bow before the threat of an injunction, they are simply inviting more injunctions, more sweeping injunctions, and more ruthless enforcement of them.

The Socialist party is not greatly interested in the proposition of a government guarantee of bank deposits, which the Democrats are trying to push forward as the leading issue of the campaign. That is a middle-class issue, pure and simple. It is perfectly reasonable for the members of the middle class to be interested in it. But to the working people it means just nothing at all. The mass of the working people have no bank deposits to guarantee, and no prospect of ever having any, so long as the Republican and Democratic parties rule and the capitalist system continues in full sway.

What the Socialist party stands for is not a government guarantee of bank deposits for the middle class, but a guarantee of employment for the working class. And that neither of the old parties will or can stand for.

Both the old parties stand for private ownership of the mines, mills, factories, railroads, and other means of production—for capitalist control of industry for capitalist profit.

That system of capitalism always and everywhere means overwork and living wages for the working people part of the time—in times of so-called prosperity—and then for occasional hard times, when the workmen are thrown into idleness and want because it

A GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE OF EMPLOYMENT.

does not pay the capitalists to let them produce the food and clothing and other goods that they need.

We have had periods of "prosperity" under Democratic rule and under Republican rule. They were just alike. They meant hard work for the producing classes—long hours, overtime, speeding up of the machines, speeding up of the men to keep pace with the machines. They meant a subsistence wage for most of the workers—no more; enough to keep them and their families alive; enough to pay the capitalists high and ever higher prices for the things the working people had made. For the capitalists they meant enormous profits—the piling up of millions and billions of wealth out of the underpaid labor of the working class.

We have had hard times coming upon us every few years, under Republican and under Democratic rule. They were just alike, whichever old party was in power; naturally they were, for the capitalist system which produced them was the same, no matter which party administered the affairs of the nation for it.

For the working people, hard times means reduced wages, discharge from the factory, hunger, cold, rags, eviction, sickness, misery, beggary, often desperation and insanity or suicide. It meant all these things for thousands upon thousands under Democratic rule, fifteen years ago. It has meant all these things for thousands upon thousands under Republican rule during the present year.

And now another winter is coming upon us, and neither of the old parties has a word to say about guaranteeing to the working people a chance to earn a living by honest and productive labor.

For the capitalists, hard times means reduced profits for a little while. It means bankruptcy for some of the smaller capitalists. But at the worst, they need not fear hunger and cold; it is only productive workers who have reason to feel real misery. And for the great capitalists, hard times means a chance to concentrate capital still more completely in their own hands, to tighten their grip on the nation's means of production, to prepare for making still greater profits than ever, in the next period of prosperity.

There is only one party that puts forward the right to work as the one great issue of this campaign. The Socialist party does that, because it is a party of the working class—the class that produces and that suffers. It demands, not only the right of every man to do useful work, but the right of all the workers to enjoy the full product of their labor. And it proposes to rally the working class on the political field, to wrest political power out of the hands of the propertied and parasitic classes, and to use it for their own benefit.

Workingmen, if you want to guarantee your own jobs, if you want to put an end to hard times and unemployment and poverty forever, we call upon you, not only to vote the straight ticket of the Socialist party, but also to join the Socialist party organization, to take your full part in doing its work and in directing its policy.

Workingmen, you have the right on your side. You have numbers on your side. You have power to right your wrongs and put an end to the evils you suffer from, whenever you resolve to use that power in an organized and self-reliant movement.

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

A little weekly paper called the "Commonweal" has been started in Columbus, Ohio. A copy of the ninth issue has just reached our desk, and we have found it not uninteresting. The editorial announcement states that the "Commonweal" is "a journal of independent thought devoted to the promotion of true conservatism and reasonable individualism in opposition to the menace of Socialism." The greater part of this issue is devoted to a virulent and mendacious attack upon the Socialist movement. But the editors have found space to spare for a defense of Senator Foraker. We are well pleased to have the opposition of any publication identified with the Standard Oil Senator. "True conservatism and reasonable individualism" need no further definition.

The voters of New York have four candidates for the governorship to choose from. There is Charles Evans Hughes, who has proved himself an honest and faithful servant of the self-styled respectable classes. There is Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, whose qualification is reported to be that he has been able to pay \$50,000 down and promise \$50,000 more for the opportunity of proving himself a faithful servant of the Traction Trust, the Gamblers' Trust, and the Tammany Political Trust. There is Clarence J. Shearn, who is William Randolph Hearst's personal attorney—and no one can doubt that he, if he could be elected, would prove a devoted servant

to the man who pays his general retainer fee and his campaign expenses. And finally, there is Joshua Wanhope, a workingman by birth and training, and chosen by workingmen to represent the working class. No one need be at a loss how to choose. And if every man will vote for the candidate best fitted to serve his class, Joshua Wanhope will be the next Governor of New York, for the workingmen outnumber all the other classes of the population.

USE YOUR VOTES.

Even four years ago, the country was full of men who, whenever they met a real Socialist, were eager to apologize for not voting the Socialist ticket. "I am a Socialist, too," was the phrase; "I would like to see the Socialists win, and I would vote with you if I thought you would cast a big enough vote to make it worth while; but—I don't want to throw my vote away." And then they proceeded to throw their votes away—casting them for the Democracy, and taking their part in such a defeat as no party in the United States had suffered for half a century, or casting them for the Republican party, voting for what they didn't want, and getting it "good and plenty." And after Election Day, we Socialists were kept busy listening to the tales of woe of men who had come very near voting for Socialism, whose nerve failed them at the last moment, and who were sorry, oh so sorry, that they had not added their voices to the chorus of four hundred thousand raised in favor of "Socialism and salvation, Debs, decency and democracy."

If all the men who wished the Socialist party to get a big vote, and yet helped to keep it down, had had the courage of their convictions, the Socialist vote of 1904 would have been nearer to a million than to four hundred thousand. Each of these men might have been proudly marching in the van, instead of tagging along shamefacedly in the trail of the advancing army of Socialism.

Now, we are not inclined to plead with such men for their votes. We want their votes, of course, because we want to see the result of the election truly represent the thoughts and feelings of the people. But we can get along without the votes of men who have not the courage to vote right unless they feel sure a great many others are going to vote with them.

We do not plead. But we do ADVISE that all who wish well to the Socialist cause should prove it with ballots.

The calmest and keenest politicians in both old parties are now predicting a tremendous increase in the Socialist vote in every part of the country. The timidest "sympathizer" need have no fear that he will feel lonely if he votes the Socialist ticket this time. It will not take as much courage as it did four years ago; and proportionately, the man who says he is "a Socialist, too," but who votes against Socialism, will deserve the contempt he will feel for himself the day after election.

The day of small things has passed, for the Socialist party. Beginning this year, it is a big factor in the practical politics of the nation. We are going to elect Socialists to office, not only in one or two centres, but in many districts, East and West. In vastly more districts we are going to take second place, where we have held third or fourth.

Every vote will be worth while. Each additional vote may be the one that will make the difference between sending a Socialist to Congress or the Legislature and sending a tool of capitalism there.

If the increase of the Socialist vote which is already assured is not quite enough to elect the Socialist candidates in any district, it will be the spineless "sympathizers" who will be to blame. Never before was there so good a chance for men to USE their votes for the Socialist party. Never before was there so little excuse for a man to THROW HIS VOTE AWAY BY VOTING FOR WHAT HE MAY THINK TO BE THE LESS OF TWO EVILS AND SO HELPING TO POSTPONE WHAT HE ADMITS TO BE THE ONE ULTIMATE SOLUTION OF THE GREAT ISSUE NOW BEFORE THE NATION.

If you want to put an end to the prostitution of the judiciary to the interests of capital, cast your vote for the Socialist party, the only party that makes no pretense of superstitious reverence for the sacredness of venal judges and boldly withstands the abuse of the judicial power through injunctions and decisions rendering labor laws unconstitutional.

"Socialism is in the air." Let us bring it down to earth and make it a factor in the improvement of social conditions by piling up a big vote for Debs and Hanford and for all the congressional, state, legislative and judicial candidates of the Socialist party, and by swelling the membership of the party organization as rapidly as possible.

SOCIALISM THE ISSUE OF THE DAY.

By JOHN SPARGO.

Address at the Debs' Meeting in the Hippodrome.

This magnificent audience, unique in the political life of this city, may, I think, be justly regarded as another link in the chain of evidence that Socialism is the one vital and supreme issue in the present campaign. This great climax to the splendid flight of the "Red Special" across the entire continent bears eloquent witness to the growth of the American Socialist movement.

Hanna's Prediction Fulfilled.

Socialism is to-day the dominant issue in our political life. In 1900 that astute politician and shrewd observer of the political weather signs, the late Senator Hanna, predicted that by the year 1908 Socialism would become the overwhelming and overshadowing political issue in the United States. Well, 1908 is here and no man doubts the fulfillment of Mark Hanna's prophecy. The president of the United States, when not engaged in some fishwife's quarrel, misrepresents and scolds us; his heir apparent does likewise; while the Democratic aspirant to the presidential office misrepresents us and wheedles with buttered speech. The Republican platform devotes its only paragraphs of vital interest to a clumsy misrepresentation of both its own position and that of the Socialist movement, which it fears. It repeats the time-worn and impotent lie that Socialism stands for an abstract equality—for equality of possession, regardless of effort, and with its brazen effrontery claims that the Republican party stands for "equality of opportunity."

Equality of Opportunity.

In truth there is capitalist political party in the world which stands for "equality of opportunity." No one could know more thoroughly than the author and inspirer of that great lying platform of the Republican party that there can never be equality of opportunity in the world so long as a few men control the lives of the many; that there will never be any real equality of opportunity in the world until the tenement hovel and the millionaire's palace no longer challenge each other, until every child has an equal chance to be well born into the world and an equal chance to flourish and grow when born.

The world has never yet known equality of opportunity—at least not since the rule of man by man began—nor will it until the Red Revolution which our "Red Special" typifies sweeps the nation clean of all its forces of privilege and plunder and profit. The only party in this campaign which stands for real, fundamental equality of opportunity is the Socialist party, whose noble and trusted standard bearer, Eugene V. Debs, we greet here to-day.

We are met to ratify the action of our national convention in selecting once again as our standard bearers Eugene V. Debs and Benjamin Hanford. Against that action there has been no whisper of protest from any Socialist, favoring it and endorsing it there has been one mighty shout of triumph from the Red Army, millions strong, stretched from coast to coast. To be chosen as the chief standard bearer of the Socialist party in three successive campaigns is no slight honor. It is, rather, a tribute for which any man would be content to live, and, if need be, to die! No man who had in one campaign borne our banner unworthily, who had sullied it by any word or deed of his own, or shown the faintest streak of courage, would ever be called upon to bear it again. Our comrade, Debs, has borne it with rare courage and fine dignity, armed with all the culture of his age, and worthy of the best traditions of the great International Socialist movement. The secret of his success is that, better than almost any other man living, Debs personifies the struggle of the world's workers. He is the living embodiment of the revolution, the voice of the disinherited, the doomed and the damned.

Yet, it is not for Debs, the man, for the votes of the workers of the nation, and all who, realizing the justice of the workers' cause, make

it their own. Debs himself, it is certain, would use all his eloquence of voice and presence to dissuade any man from voting for him as a personal tribute. We ask the votes only of those who have felt the monstrous wrong of existing conditions, and who have felt something of the inspiration of the Socialist ideal and seen in their dreams the Socialist vision. Let your votes bear witness to a living faith!

We need not concern ourselves to-day with any, except the two historic parties of capitalism. The Prohibition party need not detain us a moment. Admitting as freely as Mr. Chafin and his friends could desire the evils which cluster around the saloon, we are quite certain that repressive legislation will not avail to remove these evils, but will, on the contrary, bring about other evils, equally great. Nor need we trouble ourselves with that pathetic remnant of Populism, which has chosen as its leader that brilliant, but atrabillous political Rip Van Winkle, Mr. Watson. He is a belated survival of the eighteenth century, an anachronism in our twentieth century life, who has never been able to comprehend the fact that Thomas Jefferson is dead.

Then there is that strange apparition in the political sky, that freak in the political world, the so-called "Independence League." The only thing it is independent of is political principle and integrity. It is wholly dependent upon the fickle will of its owner, and upon his pocketbook. The manner in which this precious "party" has been hawked about constitutes the most glaring example of political harletry in our political annals. Its platform is one of destructive criticism simply: In no line of its platform is there any hint of a single constructive idea. We Socialists have not been wanting in destructive criticism, but we have aimed to destroy in the spirit of the builder who must destroy the old in order to erect the new. Mr. Hearst and his precious vest-pocket party are wholly devoid of any constructive ideal. At present the league is playing an amusing and, let us hope, not wholly useless role, as the enfant terrible of the capitalist political household. Let the good work go on—it is all grist to our mill!

Of the Republican party—the party of Roosevelt and Foraker, the maledorous "Tom" Platt, and the equally maledorous Dewey, of Penbody and Sherman and Cannon, little need be said. That party has stood these many years as the handmaid of the privileged and plundering interests in this country.

"Nothing to Say."

But, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to think to-day not of its corruption—not of the oily smudges and the smudges of all kinds which show upon its garments, but only of the fact that it does not even deign to mention the greatest and most vital issues which at this time confront the nation. Not one word of the millions of workless men looking for work that they and their families may have bread! Not one word of promise for the morrow! Not one word about that great army of the millions of poverty! And about the great trust problem, so called, the massing of industrial power in the hands of a few men, the only promise is a continuance of what we have been having so long—a policy of futile attempts to regulate the trusts!

Turning Back the Clock.

When we speak of the Democratic party—the party of Bryan and Haskell, the infamous, of "Fling" Conners, the strike-breaker, of Pat MacCarren, of Taggart, the gambler, and that noble example of civic virtue, the Hon. Charles Murphy, of Tammany Hall, a picture rises before our vision. We see a great convention hall in Denver; it is Friday morning, but under the spell of superstition, some of the idolaters of the Bryan tribe set back the hands of the clock and try to deceive themselves into believing that Friday is in reality Thursday. That is splendidly symbolic of the Democratic party under Bryan's leadership. He is crying to us to go back to the eighteenth century, as if any nation ever voluntarily went back.

He would "destroy the trusts." How? By a license scheme, forsooth. If a corporation trading in a certain commodity controls not more than twenty-four per cent. of the total volume of trade in that commodity it will be safe without a license, but let its trade pass from twenty-four per cent. to twenty-five per cent. and a license will be required. An immense army of inspectors, policemen, investigators, judges, marshals, sheriffs and process servers will be employed to secure the enactment of this part of the law. But four groups of men—or even the same men formed into four companies—will be able, without licenses, to control ninety-six per cent. of the entire trade in any commodity, according to this scheme; but there is another part to the scheme—no corporation will be allowed to control fifty per cent., even when it has a license. If it controls only forty-nine per cent. it will be safe, so that two companies—composed of the same men, even—will be able to control ninety-eight per cent. of any industry, even under Mr. Bryan's plan!

The Democratic party, like the Republican party, has no word to say of our great unemployed problem; it has no sort of an idea of a remedy for the great poverty problem by which we are confronted. And Mr. Bryan has told us that he is content to wear the muzzle fashioned by the Taggarts, the Connerses, the Haskells and the Comers in his party—that he will be bound by the silence of his platform, its omissions, just as surely as by its utterances.

"The Judas Kiss."

Perhaps the most saddening feature of the whole campaign has been the effort of a few men holding responsible positions in the labor movement to fasten the clutches of this party upon the throats of the workers. They have gone stealthily and pressed upon the cheek of sleeping Labor the Judas kiss with which to betray him to the Haskells, the Comers, the Connerses and to the whole tribe of the Southern Bourbons of the Bloody Shirt. That they will fail, and that we shall see them brought to the end such conduct merits, I believe with all my heart.

The great message which Eugene V. Debs and a countless host of other comrades are bearing in this campaign will inspire the workers to vote for their own interests under the Socialist emblem. Twenty years ago there were 2,067 votes cast for Socialism in this country; this year more than a million will be cast for Socialism. The future, my comrades, is ours! Let us not look behind, but press right on!

TEN PER CENT.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

Founders' Week in Philadelphia carries home many wholesome lessons of how things go in business and politics.

To begin with, Director of Public Safety Clay fired the opening gun by demanding 10 per cent. of all grandstand seats along the line of parade.

Clay thereby showed what old party politics is.

Clay simply used his power to mace the grandstand owners for the benefit of Clay's friends and such people as could be bribed by a ticket to the grandstand.

We admit that people that can "reach" with a dollar ticket are not of a very high quality of manhood.

But that simply indicates the kind of people old party politicians can "reach."

Now, let us consider the grandstand owners.

If there is one feature in particular in Founders' Week that shows how capitalists subordinate everything to their selfishness and greed, it is the manner in which they tried to monopolize all sight-seeing space for the erection of grandstands.

There have been Peace Jubilees and other "celebrations" before in Philadelphia, and the space eaten up by grandstands has always been considerable, but this time the rapacity of the capitalists so exceeds all bounds that this question became a byword: "Where will the people stand?"

Another fact is that while the

grandstand owners were maced out of 10 per cent. of their seating capacity by Clay, they growled a little, but went ahead and had the stands erected.

Which goes to show that they make a whole lot more than 10 per cent. profit and that, after dividing up to the tune of 10 per cent., a considerable per cent. "on their investment" finds its way back into their pockets.

Here is a plain case of capitalist business methods.

Everybody knows that none of the grandstand owners lifted a finger to erect their stands. The space does not belong to them—it is a public thoroughfare. Yet, without doing a stroke of work, the capitalists pocket the proceeds of "their" grandstands and deprive the public of its right to use the thoroughfare.

Capitalists and politicians always conspire in this way to rob labor, override the people's rights and prostitute their power to wax fat out of the people's patriotic instincts.

The whole transaction is an illustration of the methods whereby capitalists make their money and what old party politics consist of.

It is simply a miniature presentation of the whole capitalist system.

Is not that system "ripe, ROTTEN ripe, for change?"

GOMPERS AND BRYAN.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a lengthy editorial in the August issue of the Federationist, the official organ of the Federation, urges the support of organized labor for William Jennings Bryan and the Democratic party.

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

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

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor forbids participation in party politics.

President Gompers must and does know that both the Republican and Democratic parties have in times past not hesitated to crush the hopes and aspirations of the wage workers with an iron heel whenever and wherever it suited their purpose to do so.

Whatever may have been the incentive for Mr. Gompers' reversal of form, whether good or bad, we cannot understand how this Grand Old Man, with his many years of good and faithful service upon the economic battlefield, could so far forget his own record and teachings as to urge the support of organized labor for a political party or its standard bearer, when its past traditions show everything but friendship for organized labor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let it be said that President Gompers meant well—but he erred.—Piano Workers' Journal.

LOGICAL, IF NOT GRAMMATICAL.

Scene, grammar class. Dialogue between teacher and Johnnie.

Teacher—What is the future of "he drinks?"

Johnnie—He is drunk.—Montana Journal.

CANDIDATES, PARTIES AND CLASSES.

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

Socialist Candidate in the Ninth Congressional District.

Address at the Debs' Meeting in the Hippodrome.

With seven presidential candidates to choose from, seven national political platforms to compare, and seven hundred and seventy-seven charges of political corruption to sift, the situation must certainly seem rather complicated to the much abused "intelligent American voter."

And still at the bottom the situation is by no means so involved, and the issues presented by the campaign are quite simple.

Azide from the minor parties which are considered by the bulk of the people in the light of campaign amusements, more than anything else, there are three factors worth noticing in this campaign—three parties who contend for the mastery of the country.

Three Important Factors.

One of these parties is the class of the rich—the mighty trust magnates and captains and lieutenants of industry, the great and smaller capitalists who at present own this country and its government. In the pending campaign this class is fighting for the maintenance of its power and privileges.

The second of the contending parties is the class of the poor—the millions of American men, women and children, who by the work of their brawn and brain create treasures of wealth for the master classes and lead an existence of toil, poverty and dependence. In the present campaign the more intelligent and courageous portion of that class and many fair-minded men of all other classes are fighting for a greater measure of social justice for these toiling masses, and for the ultimate emancipation of the entire people from industrial exploitation and political corruption.

The third of the contending factors is Mr. William Randolph Hearst. In this campaign he represents his own unlimited ambitions as well as his very immature social and political conceptions. He is fighting for the principle of establishing the paramount political importance of William Randolph Hearst in American politics.

Political battles must be fought through concrete persons chosen as the representatives of the contending interests. In years of presidential elections such persons are the presidential candidates, and with this end in view all parties have made their nominations for the coming election.

Mr. Hearst has nominated Thomas Hagen and John Temple Graves; the intelligent workmen have chosen Eugene V. Debs, and Benjamin Hanford; and the capitalists have named William H. Taft and William Jennings Bryan.

I say the capitalists of this country has nominated Taft and Bryan and I mean it. For both of these candidates, although ostensibly running on different tickets, stand substantially for the same things—the present order, or rather disorder, of society plus a homeopathic admixture of adulterated "radicalism."

The Least Question at Stake.

The issue between Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan is one of avoidance, not of policy, and the least important question in this election is the question which of the two will be elected.

To the vast mass of the people, the election of one or the election of the other will make no difference in the world. Neither will open the factory doors to the idle fathers of the workmen's families, nor close them to the frail and joyless working children. Neither will put a stop to the continual slaughter of workmen in mines, factories and on railroads, nor help the widows and orphans of the victims of capitalist greed. Not one hungry mouth will be fed and not one shivering body will be clothed by Mr. Taft's election; not one tear will be dried and not one sigh will be spared by Mr. Bryan's election.

There are no real issues between Messrs. Taft and Bryan, and the history of their campaigns is one of convulsive attempts to create the appearance of such issues. These attempts at first assumed the shape of insipid and meaningless planks in the respective platforms of the two parties, and when it was found that those

planks had but a very somnolent effect on the voters, the astute politicians commenced to entertain the public with saucy disclosures of political corruption of their leading men. The Republicans were informed that Mr. Foraker was a paid tool of the Standard Oil Company, and Foraker withdrew from the leadership of his party; the Democrats were then politely told that the treasurer of their party, Mr. Haskell, was likewise a tool of the Standard Oil Company, and Mr. Haskell was promptly withdrawn. More disclosures are now promised. More withdrawals may follow.

This is a rather shrewd move. It was Max O'Reil, I believe, who said that the Frenchmen confined so many of their citizens in insane asylums in order to make the people believe that the other Frenchmen are sane. Our old-party politicians expose so many corruptionists among themselves in order to make the people believe that the rest of them are honest. But the thinking and observing citizens will not be deceived by that clumsy trick. They know that Foraker and Haskell are not the exception but the rule. The only difference between the professional politicians is that some poor down-trodden United States Senator from the South will do "almost anything for a friend" for the paltry sum of \$1,000, while the other will disdain anything less than \$25,000 or \$50,000. In old-party politics every man has his price, and all the prices are within the reach of our generous trust magnates. There is a standing trade relation between the capitalists and the unprofessional politicians in which this country with its people and their welfare are bought and sold at market prices, and the entire quarrel between the old parties is the quarrel of competitors in that shameful trade.

And still this sinister and ludicrous farce, which our politicians and newspapers are pleased to call a campaign, presents several features full of promise for the future of the American people.

One Promising Feature.

One of these features is the breaking up of the Democratic party. The uncertain and vacillating policy of that party of the dwindling middle class, and the rise of opposition parties and factions within its own ranks are sure indications of its political doom. The Democratic party probably fights its last serious campaign, and when it disappears from the political arena, the field will be cleared for the final battle between the Capitalist Oligarchy represented by the Republican party, and the People represented by the Socialist party.

All Process Radicalism.

Another notable feature of this campaign is the fact that all parties for the first time in the history of our politics make their appeal to the voters on the strength of their alleged radicalism. Even Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan have succumbed to that latest fashion, and the only issue between them is the legitimacy of the conception of their radicalism. But Mr. Taft's radicalism is a bastard monster and Bryan's radicalism is a dyspeptic cripple. The people who have come to feel that our social order is radically wrong and that it calls for a radical remedy, and whose vague feelings will become a certainty during this campaign, will eventually turn away in disgust from radicalism's false prophets, and embrace the true and sane radicalism of the Socialist party.

Labor Is Awakening.

But the most hopeful feature of this campaign is one that is on the whole but little appreciated by our wise politicians. It is the entry of the American Federation of Labor into the field of politics. Even the man primarily responsible for this radical departure in the methods of the American labor movement, Mr. Samuel Gompers, is probably not aware of the tremendous portent of that step. His actions remind us of the familiar Arabian tale of the Magician and the Spirit.

A mighty spirit was confined within a sealed bottle and cast to the bottom of the deep sea. There he lay im-

prisoned and subjugated many thousand years, until one day a wise magician learned of his plight and determined to release him in order to make him subservient to himself. The wily magician conjured up the bottle to the surface and cautiously removed the seal. The spirit within the bottle slowly emerged from his confinement. He rose like a vapor and gradually filled the air, growing ever larger and denser until he assumed gigantic proportions and a powerful form and dominated all around him including the puny magician who had released him. In vain did the latter attempt the arts of his magic to dissolve the giant spirit back into thin air and to confine him again in the bottle; he had lost control over him, he had conjured up a spirit mightier than himself.

In this campaign, gentlemen, Mr. Samuel Gompers is the magician in the story, and organized labor is the spirit. For years and decades the giant labor has been imprisoned within the narrow bottle of pure and simple trade unionism. The American workmen were confined to the less important problems of their immediate special trade conditions and kept away from the broader struggles for their general political class interests; and while their brothers in Europe celebrated signal triumphs in the politics of their countries, and wrung vital concessions from their governments and the employing classes, the motto of the benighted American workmen has been, "No Politics in the Union."

Mr. Gompers has now destroyed that motto; he has taught the workers of this country the importance of politics—and class politics at that.

Mr. Gompers's Vain Attempt.

In this campaign, it is true, he is trying to tie the workers to the political tail of their own economic exploiters, and it is probable that after election he will endeavor to lead them back to the fold of "pure and simple" trade unionism. But in vain; the puny magician has conjured up a spirit mightier than he, he can no longer control that spirit. The workers of America once set upon the path of labor politics, will draw the last consequences from that step—they will not stop at the Democratic party. The sheer force of logic will soon force them into the only true labor party, the party arrayed against exploitation, the party standing for the emancipation of their class—the Socialist party; and no political magician, be he a Gompers or a Bryan or a Hearst, will have the power to stop that progress.

These are some of the indirect features of this campaign pointing to the growth of a new, hopeful and potent factor in American politics—Socialism.

The Socialist Army.

But the most important and convincing proof of the irresistible march of Socialism is the Socialist party itself. But, a decade ago Socialism was a mere dream and a phantom in this country; to-day it permeates our factories and churches, our colleges and farms throughout the length and breadth of the Union. This imposing gathering of thousands of enthusiastic Socialists in the American metropolis is but a weak reflex of the scores of larger meetings held and to be held in this campaign in all other parts of the country. Fifty thousand active Socialist propagandists are daily engaged in the work of spreading the new gospel in all American cities, towns, villages, hamlets and camps; hundreds of thousands of earnest men and women are aiding them in the great work. Every day brings new converts to the cause, every year marks a gigantic stride in the progress of the movement, and when the votes are counted on November 3, Socialism will be found to be a formidable power in the land.

You say Socialism cannot win in this campaign. I say to you Socialism cannot lose. For the next four years, and probably longer, a capitalist class President will sit in the White House, and it matters little what his name or particular politics shall be. But during all this time the Socialist movement will do on, steadily, fatally, compellingly. Every year the cry against the iniquities of the master classes will grow louder, every year the powers of social regeneration will grow stronger, every year the Socialist vote will grow larger.

And every Socialist vote will be a stone in the edifice of the new Com-

monwealth of Man. Every Socialist vote will force the powers that be a step further on the path of true reform, every Socialist vote will bring us a step nearer to the realization of the great ideal of the brotherhood of all human beings.

Whether we succeed in electing our candidates this time or not, a Socialist vote is the only vote that counts, and if mine were the only vote of that kind, I would cast it with pleasure and pride as against the entire world for liberty and justice, for Socialism and Eugene V. Debs.

MY BLOOD LEAPS!

By ROBERT HUNTER.

How the blood leaps in the veins these days! The deeds done are great! The projects undertaken and carried through are stupendous!

We are no longer Socialists of the chair. We are Socialists AT WORK. The "Red Special" has been sent from coast to coast. OUR VOICE has toured the continent.

Sacrifice upon sacrifice is being made, joyfully and magnificently. But we have one thing more to do, and that also we must do MAGNIFICENTLY.

We must see that our Socialist payers reach every sympathizer and prospective voter from one end of the country to the other.

Debs cannot go into every man's home every day from now until the campaign is over.

All our organizers and missionaries cannot talk with two million voters for AN HOUR EVERY EVENING from now until election day.

But the editor of this paper can, and so can other Socialist writers.

If the hustlers and comrades WORK we can send our writings, our news of "The Red Special," our words of cheer into the homes of two million voters every day.

The spoken word is powerful. The persuasive influence of comradeship is powerful. But the power of these things is limited. The power of the press is limited ONLY BY THE CAPACITY of the press.

Let all the energy of the comrades throughout the country be spent for the next few days in getting a circulation of THREE OR FOUR MILLION COPIES for the various Socialist papers. The Socialist message must go into the homes of these people day after day and night after night until the campaign is over.

The man, carried off his feet by a five-minute visit of the "Red Special," can be kept dangling in the air until election day, until he votes for Debs and finds his feet on the ground, firmly planted with a new and glorious determination.

Let every comrade, let every sympathizer, let every local throughout the land see that every man, with open mind, receives the Evening Call for ten CONTINUOUS days before election.

LOSE NO TIME. MAKE ONE MORE TREMENDOUS EFFORT AND THE VOTE POLLED ON NOVEMBER 3 WILL ASTONISH THE WORLD.

RUSKIN ON CAPITALISM.

The old barons of the middle ages used in general the thumb-screw to extort property; we, moderns use, in preference, hunger or domestic affliction; but the fact of extortion remains precisely the same. Whether we force the man's property from him by pinching his stomach or pinching his fingers, makes some difference anatomically; morally, none whatsoever; we use a form of torture of some sort in order to make him give up his property; we use, indeed, the man's own anxieties, instead of the rack; and his immediate peril of starvation, instead of the pistol at his head; but otherwise we differ from Front de Boeuf, or Dick Turpin, merely in being less dextrous, more cowardly and more cruel. More cruel, I say, because the fierce baron and the redoubtable highwaymen are reported to have robbed, at least by preference, only the rich; we steal habitually from the poor. We buy our liveries and gild our prayer books with pilfered pence out of children's and sick men's wages, and thus ingeniously dispose a given quantity of Theft, so that it may produce the largest possible measure of delicately distributed suffering.—John Ruskin.

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.

Thus, it is seen, Vanderbilt derived millions of dollars by this process of commercial blackmail. Without his having to risk a cent, or run the chance of losing a single ship, there was turned over to him a sum so large every year that many of the most opulent merchants could not claim the equal of it after a lifetime of feverish trade. It was purely as a means of blackmailing coercion that he started a steamship line to California to compete with the Harris and Sloo interests. For his consent to quit running his ships and to give them a complete and unassailable monopoly he first extorted \$480,000 a year of the postal subsidy and then raised it to \$612,000.

When the bill came up in the House on June 12, Representative Davis, of Mississippi, made the same charges. He read this statement and inquired if it were true:

"These companies in order to prevent all competition to their line, and to enable them; as they do, to charge passengers double fare, have actually paid Vanderbilt \$30,000 per month, and the United States Mail Steamship Company, carrying the mail between New York and Aspinwall, an additional sum of \$10,000 per month, making \$40,000 per month to Vanderbilt since May, 1856, which they continued to do. This \$480,000 are paid to Vanderbilt per annum simply to give these two companies the entire monopoly of their lines—which sum, and much more, is charged over to passengers and freight."

Representative Davis repeatedly pressed for a definite reply as to the truth of the statement. The advocates of the bill answered with evasions and equivocations. (7)

Blackmail Charges True.

The mail steamer appropriation bill, as finally passed by Congress, allowed large subsidies to all of the steamship interests. The pretended warfare among them had served its purpose; all got what they sought in subsidy funds. While the bill allowed the Postmaster-General to change Collins' European terminus to Southampton, that official, so it was proved subsequently, was Vanderbilt's plastic tool. But what became of the charges against Vanderbilt? Were they true or calumnies? For two years Congress made no effort to ascertain this. In 1860, however, charges of corruption in the postal system and other government departments were so numerous made, that the House of Representatives on March 5, 1860, decided, as a matter of policy, to appoint an investigating committee. This committee, called the "Covode Committee," after the name of its chairman, probed into the allegations of Vanderbilt's blackmailing transactions. The charges made in 1858 by Senator Toombs and Representative Davis were fully substantiated.

Ellwood Fisher, a trustee of the United States Mail Steamship Company, testified on May 2 that during the greater part of the time he was trustee, Vanderbilt was paid \$10,000 a month by the United States Mail Steamship Company, and that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company paid him \$20,000 a month at the same time and for the same purpose. The agreement was that if competition appeared payment was to cease. In all, \$480,000 a year was paid during this time. On June 5, Fisher additionally testified: "During the period of about four years and a half that I was one of the trustees, the earnings of the line were very large, but the greater part of the money was wrongfully appropriated to Vanderbilt

for blackmail, and to others on various pretexts." (8) William H. Davidge, president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, admitted that the company had long paid blackmail money to Vanderbilt. "The arrangement," he said, "was based upon there being no competition, and the sum was regulated by that fact." (9) Horace F. Clark, Vanderbilt's son-in-law, who was one of the trustees of the United States Mail Steamship Company, likewise admitted the transaction. (10) It is quite useless to ask whether Vanderbilt was criminally prosecuted or civilly sued by the Government. Not only was he unmolested, but two years later, as we shall see, he carried on another huge swindle upon the Government under peculiarly heinous conditions.

This continuous robbery of the public treasury explains how Vanderbilt was able to get hold of millions of dollars at a time when millions were scarce. Vanderbilt is said to have boasted in 1853 that he had eleven million dollars invested at twenty-five per cent. A very large portion of this came directly from his bold system of commercial blackmail. The mail subsidies were the real foundation of his fortune. Many newspaper editorials and articles of the time mention this fact. Only a few of the important underlying facts of the character of his methods when he was in the steamboat and steamship business can be gleaned from the records. But these few give a clear enough insight. With a part of the proceeds of his plan of piracy, he carried on a subtle system of corruption by which he and the other steamer owners were able time after time not only to continue their control of Congress and the postal authorities, but to defeat postal reform measures. For fifteen years Vanderbilt and his associates succeeded in stifling every bill introduced in Congress for the reduction of the postage on mail.

He Quits Steamships.

The Civil War with its commerce-preying privateers was an "unpropitious time for American mercantile vessels. Vanderbilt now began his career as a railroad owner. He was at this time sixty-nine years old, a tall, robust, vigorous man with a stern face of remarkable vulgar strength. The illiteracy of his youth survived; he could not write the simplest words correctly, and his speech was a brusque medley of slang, jargon, dialect and profanity. It was said of him that he could swear more forcibly, variously and frequently than any other man of his generation. Like the Astors, he was cynical, distrustful, secretive and parsimonious. He kept his plans entirely to himself. In his business dealings he was never known to have shown the slightest mercy; he demanded the last cent due. His close-fistedness was such a passion that for many years he refused to substitute new carpets for the scandalous ones covering the floors of his house No. 10 Washington Place. He never read anything except the newspapers which he skimmed at breakfast. To his children he was unsympathetic and inflexibly harsh; Croffut admits that they feared him. The only relaxations he allowed himself were fast driving and playing whist.

This, in short, is a picture of the man who in the next few years used his stolen millions to sweep into his ownership great railroad systems. Croffut asserts that in 1861 he was worth \$20,000,000; other writers say that his wealth did not exceed \$10,000,000. He knew nothing of railroads, not even the first technical or supervising rudiments. Upon one thing he depended and that alone: the brute force of money with its auxiliaries, cunning, bribery and fraud.

(8) House Reports, 36th Congress, 1st Session, 1859-60, Vol. 5: 785-86 and 829.

(9) Ibid., 795-96.

(10) Ibid., 824.

CHAPTER IV. THE ONRUSH OF THE VANDERBILT FORTUNE.

I.

With the outbreak of the Civil War and the scouring of the seas by privateers, American ship owners found themselves with an assortment of superfluous vessels on their hands. Forced to withdraw from marine commerce they looked about for two openings. One was how to dispose of their vessels, the other the seeking of a new and safe method of making millions.

Most of their vessels were of such scandalous construction that foreign capitalists would not buy them at any price. Hastily built in the brief period of ninety days, wholly with a view to immediate profit and with but a perfunctory regard for efficiency, many of these steamers were in a dangerous condition. That they survived voyages was perhaps due more to luck than anything else; year after year, vessel after vessel similarly built and owned had gone down to the bottom of the ocean. Collins had lost many of his ships; so had other steamship companies. The chronicles of sea travel were a long, grewsome succession of tragedies; every little while accounts would come in of ships sunk or mysteriously missing. Thousands of immigrants inhumanly crowded in the enclosures of the steerage were swept to death without even a fighting chance for life. Cabin passengers fared better; they were given the opportunity of taking to the life-boats in cases where there was sufficient warning, time and room. At best, sea travel is a hazard; the finest of ships are liable to meet with disaster. But over much of this sacrifice of life hung grim, ugly charges of mismanagement and corruption, of insufficient crews and incompetent officers; of defective machinery and rotting timber; of lack of proper inspection and safeguards.

The Answer Found.

The steamboat and steamship owners were not long lost in perplexity. Since they could no longer use their ships or make profit on ocean routes why not palm off their vessels upon the government? A highly favorable time it was; the government under the imperative necessity of at once raising and transporting a huge army, needed vessels badly. As for the other question momentarily agitating the capitalists as to what new line of activity they could substitute for their own extinguished business, Vanderbilt soon showed how railroads could be made to yield a far greater fortune than commerce.

The Titanic conflict opening between the North and the South found the Federal Government wholly unprepared. True, in granting the mail subsidies which established the ocean steamship companies and which actually furnished the capital for many of them, Congress had inserted some fine provisions that these subsidized ships should be so built as to be "war steamers of the first class" available in time of war. But these provisions were mere vapor. Just as the Harris and Sloo lines had obtained annual mail subsidy payments of \$900,000 and had caused the government officials to accept their inferior vessels, so the Collins line had done the same. The report of a board of naval experts submitted to the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives had showed that the Collins steamers had not been built according to contract; that they would crumble to pieces under the fire of their own batteries, and that a single hostile gun would blow them to splinters. Yet they had been accepted by the Navy Department.

In times of peace the commercial interests had practiced the grossest frauds in corruptly imposing upon government every form of shoddy supplies. These were in the same interests which so vociferously proclaimed their intense patriotism. The Civil War put their pretensions of patriotism to the test. If ever a war took place in which government and people had to strain every nerve and resource to carry on a great conflict it was the Civil War. The result of that war was only to exchange chattel slavery for the more extensive system of economic slavery. But the people of that time did not see this clearly. The Northern soldiers thought they were fighting for the noblest of all causes, and the mass of the people behind them were ready

to make every sacrifice to win a momentous struggle, the direct issue of which was the overthrow or retention of black slavery.

How did the capitalist class act toward the government or rather, let us say, toward the army and the navy which was so heroically pouring out its blood in battles and its life in camps, hospitals, stockades and military prisons?

Indiscriminate Plundering.

The capitalists abundantly proved their devout patriotism by making tremendous fortunes from the necessities of that great crisis. They unloaded upon the government at ten times the cost of manufacture quantities of munitions of war—munitions so worthless that they had to be condemned after their purchase. (1) They supplied shoddy uniforms and blankets and wretched shoes; food of so detestable a quality that it was a fertile cause of epidemics of fevers of numberless deaths; they impressed, by force of corruption, worn-out, disintegrating hulks into service as army and naval transports. Not a single possibility of profit was there in which the most glaring frauds were not committed. By a series of disingenuous measures the banks plundered the Treasury and people and caused their banknotes to be exempt from taxation. The merchants defrauded the government out of millions of dollars by bribing Custom House officers to connive at undervaluations of imports. (2) The Custom House frauds were so notorious that, goaded on by public opinion, the House of Representatives was forced to appoint an investigating committee. The chairman of this committee, Representative C. H. Van Wyck, of New York, after summarizing the testimony in a speech in the House on February 23, 1862, passionately exclaimed: "The starving, penniless man who steals a loaf of bread to save life you incarcerate in a dungeon; but the army of magnificent highwaymen whole steal by tens of thousands from the people, go unwhipped of justice and are suffered to enjoy the fruits of their crimes. It has been so with former administrations; unfortunately it is so with this." (3)

(1) In a speech on February 28, 1862, on the urgency of establishing additional government armories and foundries, Representative J. W. Wallace pointed out in the House of Representatives: "The arms, ordnance and munitions of war bought by the government from private contractors and foreign armories since the commencement of the rebellion have doubtless cost, over and above the positive expense of their manufacture, ten times as much as would establish and put into operation the armory and foundries recommended in the resolution of the committee. I understand that the government, from the necessity of procuring a sufficient quantity of arms, has been paying, on the average, about twenty-two dollars per musket, when they could have been and could be manufactured in our national workshops for one-half that money." Appendix to The Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 3d Session, 1862-63. Part 11: 136.

(2) In his report for 1862 Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, wrote: "That invoices representing fraudulent valuation of merchandise are daily presented at the Custom House is well known."

(3) Appendix to The Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 3d Session, 1862-63. Part 11: 118.

(To be continued.)

SUDDENLY RICH.

"Mrs. Upstart has just sued for a divorce on the ground that her husband is of plebeian origin."

"Why didn't she leave him long ago?"

"Oh, he didn't have money enough to pay alimony then!"

BEFORE AND AFTER.

"I hear that Jones's four daughters are married."

"Is that so? I suppose he's glad he's got them off his hands."

"Not exactly. He now has to keep the four husbands on their feet."

(7) The Congressional Globe, Part III, 1857-58: 3029.

\$1,318—\$6,197—\$120,000,000,000.

By **BENJAMIN HANFORD.**

Candidate of the Socialist Party for Vice-President.

LeGrand Powers, for years the chief statistician of the United States Census, is the author of the article on the wealth of the United States in the September number of the "American Journal of Sociology," published by Chicago (Rockefeller) University.

Mr. Powers considers the official statements of the property value of the country, and declares they are too small, giving facts and figures in detail to his opinion. The official Federal statement of the property value of the United States for 1890 was \$65,000,000,000; for 1900 it was \$88,000,000,000, and for 1904 it was \$107,104,211,917. It will be recalled that Senator Burrows in his address as temporary chairman of the national Republican Convention at Chicago, declared the value of OUR national wealth to be \$108,000,000,000.

Mr. Powers proves these figures too low, and states that the national wealth at the present time is certainly not less than \$117,000,000,000, and is probably as much as \$120,000,000,000.

Taking \$120,000,000,000 as the correct figure, and dividing that sum by the population of the United States at the present time (according to the most reliable estimates), we have \$1,318 as the wealth of the country per capita. That is to say, if it was all divided evenly and an equal share given to every inhabitant, there would be \$1,318 for every man, woman and child. There would even be \$1,318 for the baby born last night.

According to the census of 1900, the average size of families in the United States was 4.7 persons in each family. On that basis, if OUR national wealth was distributed equally among all the different families, there would be \$6,197 for each household.

The wealth is here, Mr. Free American Workingman—to the extent of \$120,000,000,000. YOUR LABOR PRODUCED IT. But it isn't YOURS. The wealth that your labor produced belongs to your landlord, it belongs to our employer, it belongs to the bondholders and stockholders of the United States—in short, to the capitalist class.

Your labor, Mr. Free American Workingman, has given the country in which you WORK a value of \$120,000,000,000—which belongs not to you who labor, but to those who do NOT labor. How does it come to be theirs? You must find the answer to that question, Mr. Free American Workingman. Your liberty and your LIFE depend on your being able to answer that question correctly.

Mr. Free American Workingman, the wealth of this country belongs to the capitalist class through the power of the Government—the political pow-

er. The capitalists maintain THEIR economic power through their political power. The capitalists get THEIR political power through YOUR VOTE, Mr. Free American Workingman. Take a look about you. Can't you see that the capitalists will vote for Bryan and Taft? Doesn't Edward Henry Harriman say that he does not care which is elected? Whether Bryan or Taft wins, Harriman, the railroad king, is satisfied. Can't you see, Mr. Free American Workingman, that Standard Oil has subsidized BOTH parties?

Whether the Republicans win or whether the Democrats win, John Davidson Rockefeller, the oil king, is satisfied. He OWNS wealth to a value of more than a BILLION DOLLARS, and he OWNS the parties of Bryan and Taft.

When United States Senator Julius Caesar Burrows (and other great men in the Republican party) talks about OUR national wealth of more than \$108,000,000,000, he does not mean YOUR wealth, Mr. Free American Workingman, nor MINE. Senator Burrows says OUR wealth, but he means HIS WEALTH—and Rockefeller's wealth and the wealth of the capitalist class.

Just as it was YOUR LABOR that produced all that \$120,000,000,000 of wealth, Mr. Free American Workingman, so it was YOUR VOTE that gave it to Rockefeller, Burrows and the capitalist class. Just as your vote has given it to THEM in the past, so your vote can give it to YOURSELF in the future. The capitalists GET the country's wealth through their economic power, they KEEP it through their political power. You, Mr. Free American Workingman, by an intelligent use of your vote, can take the capitalist's political power away from him and get it for YOURSELF. Then you can use YOUR political power to take the capitalist's economic power from him, and get that power YOURSELF. Then you will be a FREE MAN. Never before. But, Mr. Free American Workingman, you will never take the political power from the capitalist by voting HIS ticket. If you want the political power for YOURSELF you must vote YOUR OWN ticket.

Every vote for Taft and every vote for Bryan, Mr. Free American Workingman, is a vote that your family shall have LESS than \$6,197; it is a vote that YOU and YOUR WIFE and YOUR CHILD shall have less than \$1,318 of the \$120,000,000,000 produced by YOUR LABOR.

Every vote for Taft and every vote for Bryan, Mr. Free American Workingman, is a vote that Rockefeller, Rogers, Morgan, Baer, Van Cleave, Comer, Peabody, Gooding, the slave drivers, the dividend-lovers, the union haters, the rent-lord, the money-lord

and the factory-lord, the capitalists who do NO WORK, shall have MORE of the \$120,000,000,000 that was produced by YOUR LABOR.

CLASSIFYING HUNGER.

By **ARTHUR H. GLEASON.**

"Hungry school children may be divided roughly into two classes," says Robert De Forest, president of the Charity Organization Society and director of the Sage Foundation. This is admirable. Why not let our mind play analytically over other troubled provinces and reduce pain, poverty, disease, sin, death, to the statistics of the relative suffering therein contained?

The method once well in hand, we could sit back and make many a well-poised and ripe analysis. "Dying women may be crudely but effectively divided into three sorts."

Or again, "Paralytic men may be regarded in any one of three ways."

And between each aptly phrased analysis you can see the warning forefinger raised—"No hysteria, I beg."

And, once again, "Starving babies may be classified under three heads: (a) Those starving through no fault of anyone. (b) Those starving because they are not picturesque or attractive enough to be adopted or otherwise rescued and aided by the kind hearts of the well-to-do. (c) Those starving because (as is learned by the C. O. S. investigating committee, conducted by an alumna of the

school of philanthropy) their grandparents did not show a disposition to work overtime when the chance offered. The general public has, absurdly enough, manifested a desire to feed all three classes. The general public knows nothing of the science and art of charity, and should be rebuked. The babies of class A should be fed. They are worthy. Class B should be washed and laundered on the chance of some one of the various existent organizations becoming interested in their welfare. Class C should be reprimanded."

A sense of humor and a heart of pity seem to be closely allied. Either of them would have saved the world from some of the comments of our philanthropists during the last ten months of suffering. Neither Lincoln nor Mark Twain would have roughly divided hungry school children into two classes.

BOTH ALIKE.

"The prospectus says that this mining scheme is a 'gilt-edged proposition whose character is in perfect harmony with the reputation of its promoters.'"

"Then 'gilt-edged' is the correct term."—Puck.

NOT FOR DICK DEAD EYE.

"A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."
"Guess you ain't much of a shot."

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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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WOMEN AND THE CAMPAIGN.

By THERESA MALKIEL.

Women, think of it! On the third day of November the fate of the nation's government for four years to come will be decided—a government which will rule you with all the severity of the law, should you offend against its provisions. One that may decide on war and call upon your sons, husbands and brothers to join the fighting ranks, or call for another body of soldiers to shoot down the working people like cattle, should they stand up for their rights and demand human treatment from their employers. It can pass laws which will make it permissible for your children to work in the mills and factories as soon as their little hands are firm enough to hold a spool or a thread.

Think of it once more! That, though you are in its power every minute of your life, you have no say as to what shall be done.

I know that those of you who have any spirit at all revolt against such an atrocity, and in disgust turn your back on politics and all that goes with it; while those of you who have not yet shaken of the yoke of subjection, think it unadvisable to discuss and work for a political party.

At the first glance it would seem that it is immaterial to us women whether the pendulum of the campaign swings one way or another. But upon a closer investigation you will have to admit that the issues of the present campaign are of just as much interest to you as they are to the men. Nay, more so, as upon the newly elected men in office will depend your freedom.

History shows us that with every step of progress of the human race the position of woman has advanced. At this moment, the most progressive movement is the Socialist movement,

and the only party that demands equal suffrage regardless of sex is the Socialist party. Women, it is your duty to embrace the opportunity and support that party with all the means in your power.

A few Socialist members of legislature and congress will do more towards bringing about woman suffrage than millions of signatures on petitions or years of lobbying.

Women, if liberty and franchise are dear to you, make it your business to see that the Socialists are sent there. You have a quicker perception of things and will be able to grasp the situation as soon as you take an interest in politics. This you should do by all means.

Election is at hand and if you are to do any work at all, do it quickly. Fortunately you are not forbidden to influence others. If you are a good talker, read up on the events of the day, and talk politics from this day until the last ballot is deposited in the box. But, whatever you do, talk the right politics; don't forget that the only friend woman has in the large field of political activity is the Socialist party.

If talking is not in your line, there are tons of literature at your disposal at the party's headquarters. Make it your business to see that every voter you know gets some of it.

Solicit money, for the Socialists do not get any contributions from the trusts, and whatever funds are collected must come in dimes and nickels.

A million votes for Socialism means a great step forward in the progress of the nation, another stride towards woman's rights.

Sisters, just because we are unable to exercise our power on election day, we must work the harder, for indirect ways require the greatest expenditure of energy. Forward, then! And from now on may your slogan be: "Long live the Socialist Party, the Champion of Human Freedom!"

WHY AMERICA IS BEHIND.

Why is it that German business men will offer prize-money for safety-devices, while American business men so generally fail to adopt them even when they have already been invented, even when they are well known and cheap, even when they are required by law?

The difference is not in personal character. If it were, it would be the Americans that would be buying the safety-devices. The individual American is the kindest man living. He can't even keep his children out of the jam closet (though he knows it's bad in the long run for their teeth), because the immediate slight of unhappiness makes him uncomfortable; he is soft-hearted to a fault with his family and his friends. Personally, individually, the American is charitable and humane beyond the charity and humanity of the inhabitants of any other country in the world. The fact that the particular country he owns and operates is the world's industrial slaughterhouse is a paradox in international character.

Mr. Oscar T. Davies, factory inspector of Illinois (and one of the most practical and shortest-haired reformers in the country), says that in the year 1906 in the factories of Illinois a hundred men were killed, or crippled for life, by one little shop institution called the set-screw. The set-screw stands up from the surface of rapidly revolving shafts and, as it turns, it catches dangerously at hands and clothes. It is no unchangeable provision of nature. For thirty-five cents, says Mr. Davies, this dangerous device could be recast into a safety-device. For thirty-five cents the projecting top of the set-screw could be sunk flush with the rest of the whirling surface of the shaft, and then no sleeve could be entangled by it, no human body could be swung and thrown by it, no woman could be widowed by it.

The Germans have a law that makes them better than they naturally would be. We have a law that conceals the real, hideous nature and the real, appalling cost of industrial accidents from our eyes, and makes us blindly and artificially selfish and cruel and brutal.

Every injured German workman, no matter how he was injured, whether by his own fault, by the fault of his employer, or by nobody's fault, draws a regular weekly compensation either from the sickness-insurance fund or from the accident-insurance fund until he is able to go back to work again.—William Ward, in the October Everybody's.

AN OUTGROWN CONSTITUTION.

It is the nature of all written constitutions to become outgrown. New times demand new considerations. When a constitution is once written, it stands still; people go on growing. Hence, unless a constitution is easy of amendment, private interest so fastens itself upon it that it fails to meet the new conditions and demands, and hence has to be discarded entirely by political revolution. That this is to be the fate of ours I cannot say; but every indication now points ominously to some such crisis. The country now has a school of jurists who, for their own convenience and to bulwark their decisions, declare that the constitution is an organic growth. One of the Federal judges has just said that law-making by judicial interpretation is the growing necessity of the time. This means that the time is not far off when the constitution will have no meaning except what those in power choose to give it. Already for a century this instrument has been undergoing transformation by this process of judicial interpretation, and it is now over twenty years since Mr. Campbell of New York asked his celebrated question: "What's the constitution between friends?" Here, then, we have, on the one hand, a usurpation by the courts which interpret the constitution according to their class sympathies and, on the other, a restriction in the constitution itself which prevents its amendment by the people.—Franklin H. Wentworth.

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CAMPAIGN FUND AMENITIES.

The Columbia, S. C., State asks: "How much will Carnegie give to the Republican campaign fund?"

The Charlotte, N. C., Observer cruelly retorts: "We don't know, but if he gives as much as the South Carolina light-wads contribute to the Bryan fund, he will still be far from realizing his ambition to die poor."

And the New York Tribune comments: "The South Carolina faithful have no ambition to die poor—at any rate, not just yet. Moreover, they can contribute to a Bryan campaign fund almost any time."

HONEST CONVICTIONS.

"McJigger," remarked the man in the mackintosh, "is the most corrupt politician I ever knew. I don't believe he has ever had one honest conviction." "Of course not," observed the man who had his feet on the table. "If he had he would be serving a ten-year sentence in the penitentiary."—Chicago Tribune.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND.

Whatever our intervention in the Newcastle election may or may not have done, it has at any rate compelled the Prime Minister to tout for votes for the Ministerial candidate by pleading that his government intends to deal drastically with matters of social reform, and especially with the question of unemployment. "You can remind the electors that the government are pledged to deal with the matter, and you can assure them that it is receiving the most earnest and anxious consideration, with a view to the framing and the early presentation to Parliament of practical legislative proposals." So writes Mr. Asquith to the Liberal candidate. But that is not likely to have much influence with the electors. They are pretty well used to Liberal promises by this time, and know how to appraise them at their proper value. Legislation on the question of the unemployed was promised by the present government immediately on its accession to office, but, so far, nothing has been done. We shall not, however, fail to act on Mr. Asquith's advice, and continue to remind the electors that the government are pledged to deal with the matter. But we should not advise the unemployed to hope for too much. Blessed is he who expects nothing.—London Justice.

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

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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 233 local branches with 31,507 male and 6,408 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a full benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. \$250 death benefit guaranteed to the beneficiaries of every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the third class upon payment of an initiation fee of \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but all candidates have to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third avenue, Room 2, New York City.

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OUR DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party at Chicago, May, 1908.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling power grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage-working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary,

vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built, political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

HAD REASON TO DOUBT.

"Lobelia," sternly demanded Mr. McSwat, "I want to know what you've been doing to my safety razor?"

"Nothing," was Mrs. McSwat's indignant answer, as she moved around with a slight limp. "Besides, Billinger, I don't believe it's a safety razor, anyway!"—Chicago Tribune.

HIS ONLY HOPE.

"Are you aware that you are being criticized for using money in politics?" "Yes," answered Senator Sorghum. "If you use money they criticize you, and if you don't they forget all about you."—Washington Star.

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A certain Merchant sold a child a sharp sword. "Thou has done wrong in this," remonstrated the Sage, "since the child will assuredly wound either himself or some other."

"I shall not be responsible," cried the Merchant, "for, in selling the sword, I did recommend the child to protect the point with a cork."—F. Anstey, "Parables of Pilgrims."

THE POINT OF VIEW.

"No," said the doctor, "I can't make anything out of his case at all. It bothers me." "Why," replied his wife, "I thought it was only a simple cold." "Exactly. That's why I can't make anything out of it."—Philadelphia Ledger.

MUTUAL RELUCTANCE.

"Here is my seat, madame, but candor compels me to say that I think you are as well able to stand as I am." "Politeness compels me to say Thank you, sir."—Chicago Tribune.

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PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

By JOSHUA WANHOPE.

Socialist Candidate for Governor of New York.

Not many years ago it was a universal article of belief that the government was absolutely unfitted to conduct industrial enterprises and that only disaster might be expected when it attempted to supersede private initiative in this field.

As a commentary on this view the recent report of the Panama Canal Commission makes instructive reading. We append a sample paragraph or two therefrom, showing how completely the government has "paternalized" its unfortunate employees:

"Although the government's immediate object on the isthmus is to dig the canal and to provide living quarters for a temporary enterprise, it has in fact created comfortable homes and well organized social communities for its working force. It has provided gratuitously for its married American employees furnished quarters with modern plumbing, including bathrooms; water, fuel and light are also free. These dwellings are planned to secure the maximum comfort possible in a tropical climate.

Not content with this astounding invasion of their liberties, the government has actually undertaken the role of mosquito-chaser to its pampered employees, under the pretense that they are not as capable of looking after their own health as the government is.

"The terrible scourge of yellow fever, against which the French struggled in vain, the filthy and pest-breeding state of the principal Panamanian towns, the rough labor camps and other pioneer hardships of the two first eras have been eliminated through the brilliant and persistent activities of the department of sanitation, the department of municipal engineering and the building department. To-day we find yellow fever driven from the isthmus, the deadly Stegomyia mosquito thus rendered innocuous, malaria and pneumonia greatly reduced and a high average of health established."

Now all this should mean, if the popular idea of "paternalism" were correct, that work on the excavation should proceed slowly and languidly, that loafing, shirking and general disinclination to labor should characterize the working force, whose "moral fibre" had thus been relaxed.

Nor do the compilers of the report seem to think that the victims of their "governmental tyranny" have in any way suffered morally, by being thus taken charge of. On the contrary, they assert that the commissioners "were impressed at the outset by the spirit of loyalty and good will shown by the employees."

and are proud to have a share in this great work. We believe the government is treating us right, and we are as much interested to see this thing a success as any one."

Believing their policy so far justified, the commissioners are preparing to still further complete the "enslavement" of the canal workers. They recommend a still more efficient supervision of living quarters, the establishment of drying rooms so that pneumonia through wet clothing may be prevented, provision of unskilled laborers with proper clothing greater effort in the extermination of vermin, the nine-hour law for the employees of the Panama Railroad, a system of longevity pay, vacation privileges, provision of compensation for injuries, and club houses for the workers.

The report concludes with an observation to the effect that the policy of the government makes it a model for other large industrial enterprises.

When this document was submitted to President Roosevelt, that stubborn champion of "individualism," who has repeatedly declared that Socialism meant slavery to the State, instead of characterizing it by "a shorter and uglier word," as one holding his views might naturally be expected to do, has outdone himself in compliment and eulogy.

"I have received your admirable report and am greatly impressed with it. . . . I am naturally extremely pleased with the satisfactory showing. . . . The success has been literally astounding. . . . The work itself has been advanced more expeditiously than we had ventured to think possible, and the rapidity of the rate of progress has been steadily increased. . . . The exceedingly gratifying fact that the United States Government has been able to show itself a model employer. . . . The work is being prosecuted with tremendous energy," etc., etc.

After this complete surrender to the principle of governmental ownership and operation of industry, it is interesting to recall Mr. Roosevelt's denunciation of government ownership of railroads in his various messages, where it is described as a national disaster to be avoided at all hazards, especially when one reflects that a large portion of his eulogy is applied to the governmental operation of the railroad at Panama in conjunction with the canal.

However, it is fairly certain that Mr. Roosevelt is as blind to this glaring contradiction as are the many thousands of the American people who will read and endorse his letter without having their faith disturbed in the least as to the unfitness of the government to carry on industrial operations. The actual demonstration that this is not so is not sufficient for them. The real and convincing proof will only come through a demonstration of the inability of private enterprise to conduct industry, and the present collapse of our capitalistic industries will slowly but surely bring to them the conviction that a thousand examples such as the Panama Canal necessarily fail to produce.

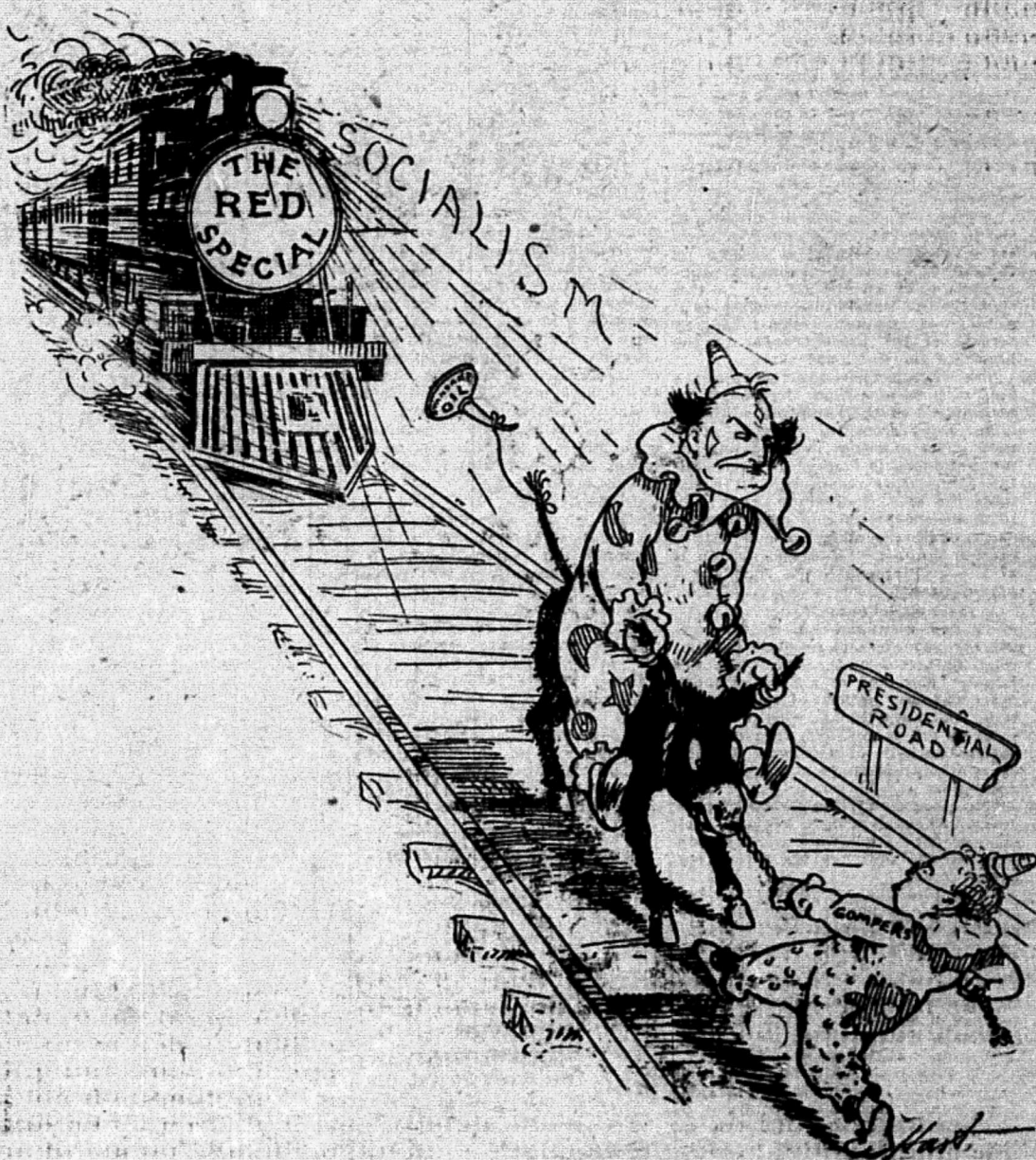
"Heading Off Socialism"

"The Democratic Party stands as a mighty bulwark against the Socialistic tendencies of the times."—Bryan's Commoner.

CHILD'S PUZZLE PICTURE, No. 1.

Dear Children, here's a Puzzle which will sorely try your eyes. That Special's sure to boost things some as on her course she flies, So find the spot where Bill will land when he comes back from space— Then find the train that will catch poor Sam at the same time and place.

Special offer.—A beautiful, smooth, reversible, anti-injunction plank (oil finish) will be given for the first correct answer sent in by a child not over 18 months old.



COMPENSATION FOR WHOSE HEARTACHES?

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

"The warm-hearted country woman," writes Youth's Companion, "who visits the city finds herself continually pained by the sight of poverty and misery. It is not the beggar in the city street who elicits sympathy, but rather the ragged child, the tired shop-girl, the sick mother of fatherless children, and the coughing wreck of manhood dragging himself about in the pitting sunshine.

"But there is compensation for the heartaches which come from the sight of want. It is the heart warmth which follows the effort to relieve the need we see. We grow careless of the deep truth that it is blessed to give. But one cannot go about one's business in the thronging life of a city without discovering how much gratitude one may reap by the dropping of a kindly word or smile, or in case of actual want, by a gift, wisely judged, to answer to-day's hunger without destroying to-morrow's courage. Is there a sweeter food than gratitude, humbly tasted?

"A puzzled German girl, speaking no word of English, asks her way of one and another in vain. Finally she chances on a woman who speaks her tongue, and who, not content with directing her, takes time to go with her, chatting meanwhile of the beauties of Germany and the opportunities in America. To see the radiant smile and to hear the gratitude in the maiden's thanks—'Ach, Sie sind so lieb!'—is worth a month of ordinary life.

"The weary mother, sent with her little brood for a week of rest and sea air, returns a rarer pleasure than she has received as she blesses the hand that has helped her.

"A lover of his kind, who all through a long life gave generously of money and service and sympathy, said humorously one day, 'If folks ever find out what fun it is to give away things, there will be an epidemic of giving!'

What a delightfully self-satisfying point of view to have! It is "blessed to give," and largely because there is no "sweeter food than gratitude."

Why, if we had no poor, no unemployed, no underpaid and underfed, no unsheltered and unclothed, how could we manage to climb into the heaven of self-satisfaction through our soup-kitchen charities!

"The ragged child, the tired shop-girl, the sick mother of fatherless children, and the coughing wreck of manhood dragging himself about in the pitting sunshine" are the products of an economic system which creates poverty and its resultant evils among the creators of wealth, because it empties into the laps of the idle the greater part of the wealth the workers

create. But this the takers of wealth do not consider; there is plenty of wealth to give from, so they give their little and get their big wealth of gratitude from the class that has created all their wealth and comfort.

"The weary mother, sent with her little brood for a week of rest and sea air," may have sewn her very heart-strings into scores and scores of garments for ladies' or gentlemen's appareling; she may have broken her weary knees on the floors in the great office buildings she struggles to keep

clean; she may have rubbed knuckles sore and wrung her tear-filled life dry on the wash wringer in her constant labor of keeping the idlers in fine linen, sweet and clean; and for all this her reward is a wage so miserable that the tendering to her of a week's vacation by those very idle is an event that she is not apt to forget in all her weary lifetime.

And yet, heaven pity us! We call ourselves "lovers of our kind" and pat ourselves contentedly on the shoulder for giving a little of the much that we have and have done nothing to create; receive the smiles of gratitude from the needy creators of that wealth.

"The warmhearted country woman," as well as the man, are learning to look upon the problems of poverty in

the light of economic justice. So long as we shall have a government by the idle, for the idle, so long shall the idle receive more than they need and the workers get less than they need. Only when there will be instituted in our country a government of the workers, by the workers, shall labor receive its own and idlers by choice become the beneficiaries of charity, if charity as it now exists must be in future.

If those of us who to-day benefit from the exploitation of the working people of our country desire to truly prove ourselves "lovers of our kind" we can do so only by seeking first to lay the foundation of economic justice upon which alone we can build the temple of charity—peace on earth and good will to all men.

A TANGLE—AND THE WAY OUT.

Now Roosevelt's answered Bryan, and Haskell's answered Hearst; and everybody's lying, to see who lies the worst; and Hearst has answered Haskell and all the coal-oil gang, and everyone's a rascal who ought to go and hang. Now Kern has answered Sherman, and Sherman's answered Kern, and neither man has whiskers amounting to a dorn; and Debs has answered someone, and someone's answered Graves, and Hughes has bought a ticket that's good for seven shaves. And Taft has challenged Botkin to meet him in debate, and Mrs. Pinkham's answered the man who pays the freight. To all this answer business no ending do I see; I know it's got me rattled and batty as can be.—Elmira Gazette.

Instead of getting batty and acting like an ass, the worker's going to change things by voting with his class.

BASIS OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS.

The test of relative income fails utterly to furnish a standard for distinguishing classes. No common characteristics, no common body of instincts and beliefs are developed among men by parity of income alone. It is the difference in methods of making a living that divides the mass into economic sections, those individuals of the tasks and interests developing common characteristics and reacting as the psychologists would say, in like ways to the same stimuli.—W. J. Ghent in "Mass and Class."



"H'M! THAT IS A FINE AROMA!"

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 17, 1908.

URGE THAT POUREN BE NOT RETURNED

The following resolutions were introduced at the Debs meeting at Prospect Hall, Brooklyn, Tuesday evening last and were adopted unanimously:

Whereas, Jan Pouden, a native of Russia, after having taken an active part in the revolutionary movement in the Baltic provinces, has succeeded after the defeat of the revolution in escaping the butchers of the Czar and in finding a refuge in our country, where he has since quietly endeavored to earn a living by honest work; and

Whereas, The Russian government is now seeking to obtain the extradition of the said Pouden by charging him with the commission of common felonies in order to ultimately deal with him as a political offender; and

Whereas The United States heretofore has taken pride in sheltering political refugees of many countries, such as Kosciusko, Garibaldi, Kosuth, Schurz, Sigel and others, never for a moment dreaming of handing them over to their enemies at home; and

Whereas, The extradition of Jan Pouden to the butchers and hangmen of Czar Nicholas would be an eternal shame and disgrace to the United States and an insult to all our liberty-loving citizens; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we emphatically protest against the extradition of Jan Pouden to the Russian government as an act unworthy of the best traditions of this republic;

That we urge the President of the United States to refuse such extradition on the ground that there is ample reason for assuming that Jan Pouden would not obtain a fair trial in Russia under due process of law such as obtains in well regulated modern countries; and

That we call upon all true lovers of liberty to raise their voices in joining in our protest.

OUR ULTIMATUM.

We are they whose bugle rings, that all wars may cease;

We are they who will pay the Kings their cruel price for Peace;

We are they whose steadfast watchword is what Christ did teach—Each man for his brother first, and Heaven, then, for each.

We are they who will not falter—many swords or few—

Till we make this earth the altar of a worship new;

We are they who will not take from palace, priest, or code,

A meaner law than Brotherhood—a lower Lord than God.

—Edwin Arnold.

A VISION.

By WILLIAM GUNNANE.

I stood on the Bridge of Fancy,
And gazed thro' the shadows below
Into the depths of nature
Where the River of Life did flow,
I saw the murky waters
Of poor Humanity race
On to the Sea of Eternity
With every increasing pace.

There at the foot of the mountain,
Right at its very source,
I saw the Crags of Slavery rising
To stem the Water's course;
But higher mount the Waters,
Stronger grows the flood—
And the barriers are swept forever—
Nature's laws are good!

I saw the waters roll and tumble
Away far up the stream
As if ruled by a fiend incarnate
Instead of a god supreme;
Between the Banks of Serfdom
I heard the Waters shriek and howl,
Rushing, roaring, then moaning,
Like the wail of a sinking soul.

And then as in gathering fury,
With loud and mighty roar;
Over the Rocks of Wage-dom
The Human Waters pour,
Plunging, leaping, seething,
Madly they whirl and spin
As if in ceaseless torment e'er
For some deadly sin.

With heart now sad and heavy
I crossed the Bridge and gazed
Way down Life's troubled River
To where the Social Light was raised,
Marking the broader channel
And showing in the distance dim
The Commonwealth that long ago
Was promised by Us to Them.

ROTTEN RIPE.

By HENRY T. JONES.

"The time isn't ripe for Socialism. Socialism very likely will come, but the time for it has not yet arrived."

This is the argument Socialists frequently get from wage-slave voters who don't want to "throw away their votes on a party that cannot win next November."

Isn't ripe? Let's see. Starvation in the midst of too much to eat under capitalism; 500,000 unfortunate women selling their virtue in order to get enough to keep body and soul together; 1,700,000 child laborers, when 5,000,000 men are willing and anxious to work; millions of the working class in rags when the storehouses are clogged with fine raiment they produced; with degradation, crime, sickness and other beauties of capitalism on all sides, do you, Mr. Workingman, admit that the time isn't ripe for Socialism? Why, it is rotten ripe for it.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

National Secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, 160 Washington Street, Chicago.

OUR CANDIDATES:

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

GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1888	2,028	1896	84,564
1892	21,187	1900	94,981
1904			466,230

UNEMPLOYMENT.

By EDMOND KELLY.

The issue of this year's campaign should be unemployment because this is the only issue upon which the capitalist is obliged himself to admit he has no answer.

And unemployment is not only a necessary feature of the capitalistic system; it is one that if not already provided the capitalists would take care to provide. Here is what one of them, Daniel Guggenheim, president of the American Smelting and Refining Company, says to the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 10:

"Every manufacturer in the country has lowered his costs of production, partly through cheaper prices for raw materials, but principally on account of the increased efficiency of labor. The latter is one of the redeeming features of the current depression.

"For the first time in many years the employer is getting from his men the 100 per cent. in efficiency for which he pays. It is a safe assertion that prior to the panic the efficiency of labor was no higher than 75 per cent., perhaps not even that.

"Another thing—wherever a thousand men are needed, twelve hundred apply. The result is that the thousand best men are picked; the others, of necessity, must be turned away. But the thousand work more conscientiously, knowing that two hundred are waiting to take the places of the incompetents."

The Daily Press is compelled sometimes to give a grudging paragraph to unemployment and our philanthropic societies do make pitifully ineffectual efforts to alleviate its abominable consequences, but when the capitalist speaks to the capitalist in a capitalist organ, such as the Wall Street Journal, the real brutal, cruel truth appears: The capitalist wants unemployment; it raises the "efficiency of labor;" the thousand employed work more conscientiously knowing that two hundred—speak more accurately, Mr. Guggenheim—two million unemployed are waiting to take their place.

Unemployment is not an accident; it is not even a deplorable accident; it is the desirable and indispensable condition to secure "efficiency of labor." And it is not the Republican party alone that takes this view of unemployment. Let us not be blinded by the hypocrisy of the Democratic platform. Who are the pillars of Tammany Hall in New York? Who have been the pillars of Tammany Hall all these years? William C. Whitney, August Belmont, Thomas F. Ryan—our traction barons—pre-eminently interested in the "efficiency of labor."

In the old days the robber barons of the Rhine took toll of the public by the force of arms.

To-day the traction barons of New York take toll of the public by the force of capital.

There is but one way to free the public from this toll—to destroy the two political arms—the Republican and Democratic parties—which the traction barons alternately use.

And there is no issue that will better unite the vast unorganized unwealthy majority better than that of unemployment—because it is startling in its simplicity and obvious as to its cure.

Capital cannot depend upon the living waters of the living streams; it must accumulate dead water in vast reservoirs of unemployment.

Happily it is no longer dealing with

slaves; it is dealing with men armed with the franchise and increasingly able to use this franchise.

Let it be clear then that every workingman who casts his vote for the Republican or Democratic parties is voting for unemployment and all the miseries to himself and others that inevitably result therefrom.

Once this lesson learned the domination of robber barons—traction and other—will end and labor will come to its own.

MAXIMS OF THE MIGHTY

By SYDNEY MARSDEN.

Love me, love my Taft.—Roosevelt.
Fortune favors the straphanger.—T. Fortune Ryan.

The course of Standard Oil never did run smooth.—Haskell.

Many a nickel makes a mickle.—Traction Co.

Standard Oil Honesty is the best policy.—J. D. Rockefeller.

The Big Stick goeth before a fall.—Mollycoddle.

Where there's a Senator there's a way.—Archbold.

A pennant deferred maketh the heart sick.—Muggsy McGraw.

A letter in hand is worth two at 26 Broadway.—Hearst.

Blessed are the predatory trusts, for they shall inherit the earth.—J. D. Rockefeller, Jr.

There is no Higgen, but Hearst and Brisbane is his prophet.—Shearn.

What's sauce for Teddy is sauce for Taft.—Heir to My Policies.

If Harriman won't come to the White House, the White House must go to Harriman.—Teddy Trustbuster.

A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish Nick is the heaviness of his Teddy.

While there is Taft there is life—Rebate Railroad President.

A BAD GERM.

"Some fellow broke into the depot and stole thirteen grips."

"That sinner must be a regular grip microbe."

A stout woman said to a little boy: "Can you tell me if I can go through this gate to the park?"

"I guess so," said the lad. "A load of hay just went through it."

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"O. K." They Say!

Our clients think we're all right; here's their word for it: "You have been on the square every time," says Gates Avery, of Washington. "Go ahead and win, as you deserve to do," says Eli Shore, Cuba. "You're the stuff—wish I had known you sooner," writes W. W. Truax, Oregon. "If I had known he (another comrade) was buying of you we would have been dealing long ago," speaks up Alfred Barter, of British Columbia.

We make no "bones" about our business. We try to convince our fellow-comrades that profitable investments PAY—and especially if GUARDED by SOCIALISTS. While some mines and oil companies are taken, ALL ARE NOT, and there is no gainsaying the fact that wise co-operation in mining, as in everything else, pays rich. We are playing one of the games of the capitalists—FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKERS WHO JOIN. Write for more information. Eight years in the Socialist Party—and no apologies, gentlemen!

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