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NO "MAYBE" ABOUT THIS.

The one great immediate political issue before the workingmen at the present time is this: What opportunity are we to have to get a comfortable living for ourselves and our families by our own productive labor?

That is a question to which neither of the old parties tries to give a frank and direct answer. They dare not face the question fairly and squarely, for they know that their policies cannot solve the problem in a way satisfactory to the working people. In general, they dare not even admit that the problem exists, for to admit that is to admit that the system which has been maintained year after year and administration after administration by each of the old parties in turn is a system of robbery of the workers for the benefit of the capitalists.

In the forty-eight years since 1860, the Republican party has had control of the national government for forty years and the Democratic party for eight. Some of the states have been under Republican rule all that time, some under Democratic rule all the time, and some have taken turns with the one party and the other. The same way with the cities—some have had continuous Republican administration, some continuous Democratic administration, and some an alternation between the two. BOTH PARTIES HAVE HAD AN AMPLE CHANCE TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM, IF EITHER OF THEM WOULD OR COULD SOLVE IT. AND NEITHER OF THEM HAS DONE SO; NEITHER OF THEM HAS TRIED TO DO SO.

Under both Republican and Democratic rule we have had periods of so-called prosperity; under both we have had periods of hard times. Millions of workingmen remember their sufferings during the Democratic hard times of 1893 to 1896. Millions have been going through just the same sufferings during the Republican hard times of 1907 and 1908, which bid fair to continue into 1909 if either old party is returned to power.

In times of prosperity, most of the workingmen have a chance to work most of the time. When they work, they must work hard, work fast, work long hours, work steady, whether they like it or not, in order to hold their jobs. In return for their strenuous labors, they get, in general, just enough wages to maintain themselves and their families in some kind of decency; a few of them, the more skilled, the better organized, and the more fortunate, are even able to save up a little during the periods of prosperity.

Then come the hard times. Many of the shops and factories and mines are shut down altogether. Many more reduce their working force. Railroad companies, manufacturing companies, all sorts of industrial enterprises turn a part of their men into the streets. Those who are lucky enough to keep their jobs have to submit to a reduction of wages, for fear of discharge, because there are the unemployed, hungry and ragged and cold, willing to go to work for a bare living wage.

Within a few months the savings of the more fortunate workers are used up. They run to the limit of their credit at the grocery and the meat store. They borrow where they can. Their little possessions go to the pawnshop, and never come back. They hunt for work; they beg and plead for permission to work; it is not charity they want, but a chance to maintain themselves by useful work; but the doors are closed against them, because the capitalists can see no profit for themselves in letting the working people produce the things for lack of which the masses are suffering.

That is the situation to-day. For a full year, there has been an extent of the unemployed numbering several millions all the time. There is no prospect of improvement. TIMES ARE NOT IMPROVING. THEMSELVES, BUSINESS MEN, THEY SEE NO PROSPECT OF

In the face of this NATIONAL DANGER, Taft, aspirant to the Presidency, has no remedy to offer. He can only propose a CONTINUANCE OF ROOSEVELT'S POLICIES—THE POLICIES UNDER WHICH THESE HARD TIMES CAME UPON US.

And Bryan, also an aspirant to the Presidency, has no remedy to offer. He talks about guaranteeing bank deposits. BUT THE WORKINGMEN HAVE NO BANK DEPOSITS. They want WORK; they want the wherewithal to buy food and clothes and fuel and to pay the monthly rent. For them Bryan has not a word of hope.

The nearest approach to an attempt to face this question on the part of the Democrats is in the circular sent out to men who advertise in a New York daily for situations. This circular advises unemployed men to study the trust question, and closes with the declaration that "MAYBE the election of Bryan would improve our chances to find employment."

CONDITIONS ARE TOO SERIOUS FOR ANY WORKINGMAN TO STAKE HIS VOTE UPON A DEMOCRATIC "MAYBE." IT IS WORTH JUST AS MUCH AS A REPUBLICAN "GOD KNOWS," AND NO MORE.

We want relief, and we want it NOW. We want immediate improvement of conditions, and at the same time we want to bring nearer the radical change of our economic system which will PUT AN END TO HARD TIMES AND POVERTY FOREVER. We can do BOTH with our ballots, if we use them right.

The Socialist party proposes that the United States and the several states and cities shall use their law-making power and their taxing power to undertake useful public works on a large scale at once in order to give work at union hours and wages to large numbers of the unemployed. Neither of the old parties proposes that.

The Socialist party proposes that child labor be abolished. That, while giving the children a chance to grow strong and healthy and to get an education, will also make place in the mills and factories and stores for men who are now out of work. Neither of the old parties proposes that.

The Socialist party proposes that the United States and the several states use their right of eminent domain and their power of control over franchises to establish public ownership on the largest possible scale and as rapidly as possible—and that the enterprises taken over by the nation, the states, or the municipalities be run under conditions as to hours and wages, that no profits be paid out of the income to non-producing capitalists, but that the sole object be to give the best possible service to the public with the best possible conditions to the workers. Neither of the old parties proposes that.

The Socialist party proposes general legislation to shorten the workday, thus relieving the workers now employed from the killing burden of overwork and also compelling the employment of men now unemployed to make up for the reduction of work performed by those now on the job. Neither of the old parties proposes that.

The Socialist party proposes to solve the trust question—to put an end to that trust rule which means low wages and high prices and corruption in public and private life—not by tinkering the tariff and establishing commissions in Washington and enacting laws which the trusts violate with impunity—cobweb laws, which catch only harmless flies and let wasps and hornets go free—not by such fake measures of "regulation" as the old parties try to amuse and deceive the people with—but by establishing public ownership of one after another of the great industries which give employment to the masses of the workingmen and which supply the necessities and comforts of life—public ownership under democratic administration—administration of industry by the people and for the benefit of every one of them. I guess it's because the doctor has had a change of heart.

do not have to wait fifty years or ten years. You can have them just as fast as you decide to vote for them. For you are the most numerous class. Every one of you has a vote that counts for just as much as Rockefeller's vote or Morgan's. And there are TEN OF YOU to every ONE CAPITALIST.

USE your votes. Don't give them again to the capitalists TO USE AGAINST YOU.

We do not only advise every workingman and every sympathizer with the working class to vote the Socialist ticket, and vote it straight. We advise him also to join the organization of the Socialist party, to unite with the 45,000 Socialists who are already organized in supplying its funds, doing its work, and directing its policy.

The court decisions being handed down these days might prompt us to agree with Mr. Bumble that "The law is a hass," were it not that a little thought shows that there is method in the law's quirks and inconsistencies, that it is really always consistently against the workingman and consistently for the capitalist.

If you believe in the right to work and wish to see the nation guarantee to every man a chance to earn his living by useful labor, vote for the Socialist party, the only party that stands for this right.

Mr. Hearst's "American" catechizes Mr. Chanler, the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York. These are the questions it puts to him: "What kind of a Superintendent of Insurance would he appoint, if elected? Would he amend or repeal the Public Service Act? Is he in favor of or opposed to Wall Street gambling? Would he leave the Stock Exchange open or regulate it? Would he sign a two-cent bill? Is he opposed to or in favor of racetrack gambling? If elected, would he try to check Tammany extravagance in New York City.

Not one of those questions seriously touches the interests of the working class.

Mr. Hearst is the self-appointed champion of "the great plain people."

The vast majority of the people of this state are working people.

And yet it never occurs to Mr. Hearst to put to Chanler such questions as these, in which workingmen have a vital interest: "If elected, would you stop the use of the police to break strikes? Are you opposed to or in favor of child labor? Would you sign an eight-hour bill? Would you suppress the employers' spy agencies and fake employment bureaus? Are you in favor of or opposed to pensions for aged workingmen? Would you work for a law to prohibit the issuance of injunction against labor unions? What kind of action would he take, immediately upon taking office, to relieve the hundreds of thousands of unemployed in this state?"

Mr. Hearst never thought of asking such questions as these; so we ask them, not only of Mr. Chanler, but also of Mr. Hughes and of Mr. Hearst's own candidate, Mr. Shearn.

And we await an answer.

If you want to see child labor abolished, the children given a chance to study and to play and the fathers given a chance to work and earn a living, vote for the Socialist party, the only party that makes this an issue.

An income tax, an eight-hour workday law, an old-age pensions law, a law prohibiting child labor—any of these measures, as advocated by the Socialist party on behalf of the working class, would be unamerican and unconstitutional, say the defenders of capitalism, because it would mean virtual confiscation of the property or the profit-making opportunities of the possessing classes. But when the receivers of a street railway company, appointed by a United States court, summarily cut off transfer rights and thus take a thousand dollars a day from the pockets of ten thousand persons and put them into the pockets of the stockholders and bondholders—that is not confiscation; that, although done without the consent of the elected representatives of the people, and by the sole authority of an appointed judge, is a legitimate stroke of business.

Taft, if elected, is going to restrain the trusts. We cannot doubt it, for he himself has said it. Bryan, if elected, is going to do the Peerless One is the spectacle, only and announcing itself the whole

trolley system of the state of Rhode Island. Do Mr. Mellen and his bosses, Messrs. Morgan and Rockefeller, disbelieve the declarations of the two candidates? Or do they think Mr. Chafin is going to be elected?

When a strikebreaker is caught red-handed using a blackjack on a striker's head or shooting into a crowd, the capitalist press describes it as a regrettable incident or a mysterious affair, and advises "careful investigation to discover the guilty party." When a striker is accused of blacking a scab's eye, the capitalist press cries out against the "dastardly outrage" and clamors for summary and condign punishment of the "desperate criminal." As the old proverb says, it makes all the difference in the world whose ox is gored.

"Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God" is one of the fine old maxims that have come down to us from the revolutionary days of 1776. It is as true now as it was then; and the tyranny of unjust judges in our own land is no less to be resisted than the tyranny of a foreign king. He who professes anything but contempt for a court that perverts the law and prostitutes justice, just because it is a judge who commits the wrong, is actually a part of the guilt.

Statistics gathered by the New York City Health Department show that the death-rate is lower in Manhattan than in any other borough of the city. Some of the capitalist papers are hastily drawing the inference that overcrowding in the tenements is not injurious to health, that, in fact, sanitary conditions are better in crowded Manhattan than in Staten Island, where everybody can have sunlight and fresh air. Of course, the figures prove nothing of the kind. If that was the only inference to be drawn from them, we should know that the figures were false.

The true explanation is very simple. The death-rate in Manhattan is lower than in the other boroughs just because there is larger proportion of young people in Manhattan than in any of the other boroughs. People who are growing old and feeble move out into some of the outlying boroughs if they can; on the other hand, the majority of the immigrants, most of whom are in the prime of life and in at least fairly good health (else they could not pass the examination at Ellis Island), settle for the time in Manhattan rather than in any borough!

This continuous exodus of the older and weaker members of the population and this continuous influx of younger and stronger elements is sufficient to counterbalance the disease-breeding conditions in the tenements of the crowded portions of Manhattan. The deadly results of these conditions show themselves in the other boroughs rather than in Manhattan itself.

The point is of some importance in itself. And it is still more important as an illustration that there are three degrees of mendacity—lies, damned lies, and statistics. "Figures don't lie," according to the familiar saying. But many liars can figure, and guileless persons are likely to think that the use of statistics demonstrates the truth of propositions which, if not so backed up, they would not consider for a minute.

"Taft or Bryan, it matters not" are the opening words of a real estate advertisement appearing in all the street cars in New York these days. We heartily endorse the sentiment. So far as the masses of the Republican and Democratic voters are concerned, they have nothing to gain by either, and they would show good sense by saving their time and breath and letting the two Bills draw lots to decide the disputed succession to the throne of Theodore the First.

If every man who says that he wishes the Socialist ticket would win were to vote that ticket, it would win.

Hard times are not without their compensation to the capitalist class. A writer in the New York "Times" of October 14 advises the election of Mr. Bryan on the ground that it would prolong the industrial depression and that this would be a good thing for the "respectable class." To be sarcastic word spoken in jest. At any rate, the article in one of the pages devoted to the whole

QUESTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES.

FIGURES DON'T LIE, BUT LIARS CAN FIGURE.

HARD TIMES GOOD FOR BIG CAPITALISTS.

The article is founded upon the annual report of W. W. Finley, President of the Southern Railway, and shows that the company has profited largely by the presence of a vast army of the unemployed. Large numbers of employees were discharged, the wages of the remainder were reduced, and they did not dare to resist the reduction because they knew there were plenty of men to take their places. What is more, the employees who were retained were compelled to work harder and faster than ever before, because the fear of discharge kept every one of them hustling to the limit of his powers to please the boss. To use President Finley's exact words: "There is no doubt that more work and better work is obtained on the track and in the shop for a dollar to-day than in the period of pressure of heavy business and competitive demand for labor."

"Competition is the life of trade"—for those who do not compete. It is the interest of the capitalists to have a one-sided competition maintained—competition among workingmen for permission to earn a living by their labor—because it makes the workingmen drive themselves at their tasks, makes them work harder and produce more wealth for their employers in return for less wages for themselves.

For this reason, among others, a periodic return of hard times is welcomed by the great capitalists. It wipes out the savings which a part of the more fortunate workingmen have been able to accumulate during the preceding period of prosperity, and reduces them to the general level of propertiless proletarians, men with nothing but their daily wages to depend on to keep body and soul together. It enables the employers to scale down wages, which forces down the standard of living and, in the course of a few years of depression, accustoms the working people to poorer food, poorer clothing, and poorer housing than they have before enjoyed, so that low wages become normal among them. It makes it possible for the employers to establish the open shop and revoke concessions that they have made to the unions, and so discourages the workers that many of them leave their unions and put themselves individually at the mercy of the capitalists.

There is another reason why the periodic return of hard times is good for the great capitalists. It drives to the wall a certain proportion of their smaller competitors, sweeping their little accumulations of capital into the coffers of the big magnates and casting the small business men themselves down into the ranks of the working class to compete for jobs, and thus minimize competition among the hirers of labor and sellers of goods at the same time that it intensifies competition among the sellers of labor-power and purchasers of products.

Yes, from every point of view, a severe industrial depression coming every few years after a period of so-called prosperity is positively beneficial to the large capitalists. It increases their power over the productive forces of the nation and, while it may somewhat reduce their profits for a little while, it increases their opportunity to concentrate future profits in their own hands.

And the great capitalists will not have to complain of the lack of periodic hard times so long as they succeed in keeping the masses of the voters divided, fighting each other for the privilege of putting the political and judicial power into the hands of Republican supporters of capitalism or Democratic supporters of capitalism, to keep up the system which means alternately good conditions and better conditions for the great capitalists and alternately bad conditions and worse conditions for the workers themselves.

A vote for Taft is a vote for the present with all its evils for the producing classes. A vote for Bryan is a vote for a vain attempt to go back into the past. A vote for Debs and Hanford is a vote in favor of going forward into the future, to do away with those evils and give the working people the benefit of the progress which the world has made and whose results are now enjoyed by the possessing classes.

Secretary Wright strenuously objects to the statement that the President of the United States is a "hired man" for the people. In a sense, Mr. Wright is not wrong. As things are, the President is a ruler of the people and a servant of the propertied classes. He ought to be a servant or "hired man" of the whole people; but he isn't and he cannot be so long as the people are divided into two hostile classes, both of whose interests no man can serve.

The prospective merger of the Steel Trust into the Standard Oil System is just what is to be expected as a part of the normal development of the capitalist system. The ownership of the two already overlap to a considerable extent; and the hold of the Standard Oil group within the Steel Trust is growing stronger all the time. No merger from going on, under one form or another, will deprive the right of capitalist prop-

erty. But the masses of the people, whenever they make up their minds to it, can complete the process by merging the whole trustified system of industry into a popular trust of national dimensions, owned and controlled by the whole people, and run for the benefit of all. And they will do it.

BRYAN AND POST.

Mr. Bryan's paper accepts the advertisements of Cereal Post, the union-hating manufacturer, whose products are regarded as "unfair" by organized workingmen all over the land and who has made himself notorious by the publication of false and virulent articles denouncing organized workingmen as conspirators, traitors, robbers, rioters, incendiaries, and murderers. Some of Mr. Bryan's enemies are making a great to-do about his selling space in his paper to promote the interest of this degenerate representative of capitalism. For our part, we feel no surprise at it. Mr. Bryan pretends, as does his party, and as do also Mr. Taft and his party, to represent all the people, without distinction of classes. If that is the position he takes in politics, why should he not, in conducting his business, show equal favor to labor and to labor's foes—or even a little more favor to labor's foes, since they can pay him a bigger price? Why shouldn't he? It is perfectly consistent with his political pretensions. If the workingmen will stand for a politician's false and impossible claim that his policies represent both the antagonistic interests of labor and of capital, they ought not to expect that politician to show them any particular favor in managing his business. "Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles." The man who stands for capitalism on the political field will naturally practise capitalist policies on the business field; and only those who repudiate his political claims have any right to find fault with his conduct as a business man.

The air is full of rumors of intrigue and treachery within both the old parties. New York Republicans are knifing Hughes in favor of Chanler and New York Democrats are willing to reciprocate by knifing Bryan in favor of Taft; and similar underhand deals are being worked in all parts of the country. The Socialist party has the satisfaction of knowing that its vote will be the straightest and cleanest of all, that the men who vote for Debs and Hanford will vote also for the Socialist candidates for Congress and for state, judicial, legislative, and local offices, because they do not consider only that they are voting for good men, but also that they are voting for good principles.

The Southern Bourbons are warming up to Taft, it is reported. Why shouldn't they? His record as an injunctionist against labor at home and as an autocrat in the Philippines is just the thing to please the men who cherish the memory of slavery days and whose peonage, convict contract labor, whipping posts, chain gangs, and lynching parties still keep up a pretty good imitation of the institutions pictured in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Now that Tolstoy has declared for Bryan and Tammany Hall and the Pope has come out for Taft and the Steel Trust, we may expect to hear of the Czar favoring the election of Hisgen and the Kaiser declaring for the Prohibition candidate. Meanwhile, the intelligent workers everywhere are declaring themselves for Debs and Hanford.

Labor men have looked the matter up and discovered that six of Mr. Bryan's eight books do not bear the union label, and that at least one or two of them were printed in notorious scab shops. So far, Mr. Gompers has not commented on this interesting fact.

WE WILL MAKE NO CHOICE OF EVILS

Our attention is called to an article in the "International Musician" in which the statement is made that "Debs, Hearst, Hisgen, Graves and Watson have an agreement through which they devote all their energies, mental and physical, to denouncing Bryan and Gompers and avoid any mention of Taft except in the nature of 'faint praise.'"

Of course the editor of the "International Musician" knows that, at least so far as concerns Debs and the Socialist party, this statement is absolutely false. This editor receives The Call and other Socialist papers, and he knows that every issue of every one of these papers contains criticisms of Taft and the ^{have you suck} as well as criticisms of Bryan and the ^{I guess it's because} annex. He has had a ^{doctor} the

reports of Debs' speeches all over the country, and he knows that Debs never fails to put both the old parties and both their candidates in the pillory together as servants of the capitalist class and enemies of the workers. He knows that he cannot point to even a single instance of even what he calls "faint praise" for Taft in any of Debs' speeches or in any Socialist editorial during the whole campaign.

The Socialist party is absolutely and equally opposed to both old parties, and this editor knows it, as does every man familiar with the facts.

In other words, the editor of the "International Musician" is a conscienceless falsifier. There are plenty of men in his own union who know that the statement he makes does not contain an atom of truth. In the interest of their organization and for the honor of its official organ, they should write to their editor and make him understand that they will not endure such falsifications.

Mr. Bryan says party platforms are binding as to what they omit, as well as to what they include. Publications of great corporations, we may remark, are also significant in their omissions as well as in their contents. The Union Pacific Railroad Company publishes a neat booklet containing the platforms and portraits of the candidates of all the political parties except the Socialist and Socialist Labor parties. The Prohibitionists, who polled only sixty per cent. as many votes as did the Socialists four years ago, are given a fair showing. So are the Populists, whose vote was only one-fourth as large as ours. So is Mr. Hearst's party, whose leaders do not expect that they will come anywhere near equalling the million which are being predicted for the Socialist ticket this year. We do not complain of the discrimination. It is to be expected. We only note that it is significant. The great corporations do not care much for what party the people vote, so long as it is not for Socialism.

One more damning indictment has been brought against Eugene V. Debs. Senator Lodge, speaking in Boston last Thursday, said: "Whether Mr. Debs gets few votes or many, his agitation is one that should be viewed with general alarm. It is the active force that wrecked the Roman Empire. It will wreck any empire or any country." "This is interesting. Far be it from us to question the accuracy of a Cabot Lodge on a question of history. Our only comment is that, if it was 'Gene who wrecked the Roman Empire, he made a good job of it, and we are glad to have him get the credit for his work. The Roman Empire deserved to be wrecked, and so do all empires—including the Empire of the Czar, to whose stability Mr. Taft drank a toast a couple of years ago, and the Empire of Standard Oil, under which Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan are competing for the position of chief of the Pretorian Guard.

Why doesn't some one advocate a law requiring the old-party organizations to affix a large and legible label to each of their candidates and making it a misdemeanor for anyone to remove or interchange the labels? Then we could know who is what, perhaps. It is very confusing to have Republican and Democratic aspirants running around loose and untagged, and no one able to tell off-hand which is Democrat and which is Republican. Here, for instance, is a writer in the "Sun" who says he is a Democrat and therefore ought to know another Democrat when he sees him, assuring us that Taft is more of a Democrat than Bryan. And here is Bryan himself claiming to be the legitimate heir to the precious "policies" of Republican Roosevelt.

Seven thousand policemen are called out to protect the British House of Commons from a "mob" of 100,000 women who wish to present a petition in favor of equal suffrage. And yet old-party members have the impudence to get up and explain that they vote against the extension of the franchise to women solely because they think the women do not desire it. From which we infer that old-party politicians in England are of pretty much the same breed as old-party politicians in the United States.

The Republican "Sun" is rivaling the Democratic "World" and the Hearstite "American" in claiming for its particular backers the credit for the expected release of Jan Pouden, the Russian revolutionist whom the authorities wanted to send back to be tortured and murdered by the Czar. All three of these papers were audibly silent about the Pouden case for more than eight long months, until the Socialist and union organizations and papers forced it upon public attention. If Root could get the full credit of freeing Pouden, it might go a little way toward balancing the disgrace attaching to Taft for hobnobbing with Nicholas the Bloody and drinking the health of theocracy. But unfortunately for that, he took up the case a little too late.

Too many millions of people know by this time that the Socialists took up Pouden's case when it was obscure and difficult and made his cause popular and goaded the old parties to action.

Competition is the life of trade, say the Democrats. They mean that competition among the workmen for a chance to work is necessary to keep up the profits of the possessing class.

There is only one party that is not complaining of apathy these days. The "Red Special" does not indicate any waning of Socialist enthusiasm.

Chanler says he does not wish to see the anti-gambling law repealed. He winks the other eye as he says it—meaning that a law which is not enforced does no particular good or harm to anyone. The difference between electing Chanler and electing Hughes is that, if Hughes is chosen, an attempt will be made to enforce the law against gambling, while all the labor laws on the statute books will remain unenforced, as they are now; while if Chanler is elected, the anti-gambling law as well as the labor laws will be a dead letter. We understand that gamblers and moralists may have their choice between the two eminently respectable candidates. As for working men, if they want to have labor laws enforced, they will have to look to Wanhope to enforce them.

If you think men who have grown old in productive labor are at least as deserving of pensions as men whose work has been the destruction of life and property under the name of war, vote for the Socialist party, the only party which holds that the nation owes a debt of gratitude to its aged and disabled workers.

Holy John Wanmaker exhibits a "model home" which, with its furnishings, costs only \$250,000. If the average workingman would be frugal and industrious, work steady and save all his money to buy a home, he could have such a model dwelling within five hundred years.

If there were no army of the unemployed, it would be necessary for the capitalists to create one. They need the unemployed in their business—need them to compete with the workmen employed and so keep wages down.

A SONG OF THE BALLOT.

By HELENA SHARPSTEEN.

There are things that give us heartache as we see them every day,
 And things that sting our eyes to bitter tears;
 There are things that set men swearing as they make the women pray,
 Give pangs to saints and cynics food for sneers.
 In the hundred, hundred years
 Little better life appears
 Than it was those other times, so long remote;
 And there is no other way
 To bring on a brighter day
 Than to think, and then to vote, vote, vote!

How we rant and rage and quarrel with the wrongs that won't come right,
 And long for sword and helm and lusty war;
 For the days when deep conviction could strike holy in its might,
 To leave on sin its burning, biting scar!
 Yet within our very hand,
 In this our modern land,
 Is a weapon stronger, surer than ere smote
 Wrong low in ancient years;
 O cease your tears and fears;
 Take up your weapon—vote, vote, vote!

You have force, and such as kingdoms and their kings have sought in vain,
 Since the days when Freedom shook her beauty free;
 Hers, the balm to heal all wounds, as hers the lips to soothe all pain,
 Hers the beaconing of lovely things to be!
 O she is our very own,
 With her surging, singing tone—
 A banner cry o'er all the land afloat;
 Deep laden with that power
 Which she brings us for her dower—
 Hear Freedom crying: "Vote, vote, vote!"

Ours the shame, if shame here bideth; ours the crime, if crime there be;
 Ours the sorrow and the sinning and the rue;
 We would cry upon the gods, in men-wise, while our gods are we,
 For who speaks, and who decides? 'Tis I, 'tis you!
 Cease lamenting that but brands,
 Take the world in these, your hands,
 The victor song shall pour from every throat!
 For never was more power
 Than shall be yours that hour
 When you arise and vote, vote, vote!

PRELIMINARY EXPENSE.

"You've promised your wife a silk gown, I hear," said Backlotz.
 "Yes," replied Subbaba, "and it's cost me \$5 already."
 "For material?"
 "No, indeed; that's what she's spent in carfare looking up samples."

KNEW HER.

Miss Bargaine, I see that choice Bengal tigers have been marked down to \$500 each.
 Old Grouch, for goodness sake, don't let my name be

CONCERNING HELL.

By MARY DUDDERIDGE.

The Christian "thers used to spend a great deal of time trying to reconcile the felicity of the blest with the misery of the lost. If they had only looked around them they might have saved themselves all that trouble, for they would have seen that it is not only possible but the easiest thing in the world for the people—pleasant, amiable and even tender-hearted people—to be perfectly comfortable and happy in the midst of tears and anguish. We have hell all around us now, and we stand it very well, indeed. It may disturb us slightly to see our friends and near relatives condemned to the inferno, but as a rule, we soon get over it and conclude that it is probably the proper place for them.

We couldn't do without our hell. We find it, as one gentle theologian said of the orthodox hell of fire and brimstone, "most entertaining." If we didn't have any social contrasts, any picturesque beggars or crippled children, life would be very dull, we imagine. We must have a hell to give us sensations, not having brains enough to get them from the unfolding leaves or the springing flowers, from the sweet influences of Pleiades or the bands of Orion, from the mysteries of birth and death or the miracle of love.

We like to patronize the damned and get sentimental about them. We even exploit their sufferings for our own advantage, to gain front seats in heaven or social position and various other advantages on earth; and when now and then one of them chances to escape from the place of torment his "struggles" make excellent copy for the newspapers.

A QUEER LOT, INDEED.

These Socialists are a queer lot. They are like the Chinese in politics; they do everything up side down. They are all propagandists. They sell their campaign literature, and actually make money on it. It is a point of honor with every Socialist in New York, for instance, that this city, being on the route of the "Red Special," must do its share to make the tour a financial success. Campaign time is only a sort of checking-up season for the Socialists. They work all the year round, and every day of all the four years between Presidential elections. They are the Salvation Army of politics. They know how to reach the people, and they keep everlastingly at it. Nobody is too high or too humble for them to reach out for him. They are the one element in politics to which it is utterly useless to direct the argument of expediency. J. C. Welliver, in Washington Times.

WE NEED NOT FEAR FREEDOM.

I do not know what woman will do when she is free. I am willing to trust her. I do not even know what man will do when he is free. But what I do know is that all outworn institutions of human tyranny that fear the free man are the same ones that doubly fear the free woman; and every weapon which revolutionary logic can give me for my own salvation I will glory to place in my sister's hand for her salvation, too.—Franklin H. Westworth.

"THE DIGNITY OF LABOR."

The paucity that are perpetually sung to the dignity, honesty and worth of manual labor by our ministers, teachers and politicians are natural, and in a way sincere enough; for it is recognized that if there were none to do the hard labor there would be no ease and comfort for the retainers. But for all the honesty, dignity and worth of the manual laborer upon whom we depend for our necessities, we do not seem to value him as he deserves.

HANDS AND BRAINS.

By EUGENE V. DEBS,

Candidate of the Socialist Party for President.

Just a hand! A human factory hand!
Think of a hand with a soul in it!
In the capitalist system the soul has no business. It cannot produce profit by any process of capitalist calculation.

The working hand is what is needed for the capitalist's tool and so the human must be reduced to a hand.

No head, no heart, no soul—simply a hand.
A thousand hands to one brain—the hands of workingmen, the brain of a capitalist.

A thousand dumb animals, in human form—a thousand slaves in the fetters of ignorance, their heads having run to hands—all these owned and worked and fleeced by one stock-dealing, profit-mongering capitalist.

This is capitalism!
And this system is supported alternately by the Republican party and the Democratic party.

These two capitalist parties relieve each other in support of the capitalist system, while the capitalist system relieves the working class of what they produce.

A thousand hands to one head is the abnormal development of the capitalist system.

A thousand workingmen turned into hands to develop and gorge and decorate one capitalist paunch!

This brutal order of things must be overthrown. The human race was not born to degeneracy.

A thousand heads have grown for every thousand pairs of hands; a thousand hearts throb in testimony of the unity of heads and hands and a thousand souls, though crushed and mangled, burn in protest and are pledged to redeem a thousand men.

Heads and hands, hearts and souls, are the heritage of all.
Full opportunity for full development is the inalienable right of all.

He who denies it is a tyrant; he who does not demand it is a coward; he who is indifferent to it is a slave; he who does not desire it is dead.

The earth for all the people. That is the demand.
The machinery of production and distribution for all the people. That is the demand.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people. That is the demand.

The elimination of rent, interest and profit and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people. That is the demand.

Co-operative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic. That is the demand.

The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN. That is the demand.

This is Socialism!

A DOCTOR'S PRESCRIPTION.

By JOHN R. McMAHON.

Once there was a man who was feeling badly and who went to a doctor. After examining him carefully, the doctor said:

"You have a serious disease. It has run on a long time. You inherited it in a latent form and it has developed virulently of late. It will require a thorough and revolutionary treatment."

"Can't you fix me up quick?" asked the patient. "The doctor on the next block told me he could do it."

"I could tell you the same, but it wouldn't be true," replied the physician.

"Well, I can't stand for any revolutionary treatment," said the sick man. "Life is too short."

"It will be short, indeed, unless you take my advice," retorted the other.

"Well, I think you're on the level, doc, and you understand my case all right, but can't you give me something so I can worry along for a while?"

"I could give you some drug, yes. But that is not my way of practicing. It would only make your condition worse in the end."

"But say, doc, my affairs ain't in shape to try any radical business this year. Maybe next year or the year after I'll begin your course of treatment."

"And what will you gain by that, my friend?"

"Well—er—maybe I'll be more ready for it in my mind."

"Yes, unless your case becomes incurable or requires a serious major operation, which will be worse than treatment now possible."

"It's an awful hard thing you put up to a man, doc."

"Truth is not so hard as self-deception, my friend."

"You say there's no living way to escape this revolutionary treatment?"

"No man with your disease has ever escaped it in history."

"Can't I put it off for just a little while and maybe dodge part of the first course?"

"On the contrary. As I said, delay adds to the danger. In any event, you will have to begin right at the beginning and follow out every detail of the treatment."

"I'll have to begin at the beginning sometime anyway?"

"I assure you, my friend, you'll have to begin at the beginning."

"You say I've simply got to take the revolutionary treatment to save my life?"

"That is exactly what I say."

"Well, doc, I'm about sick of those fakirs on the next block—they've been doping me and skinning me for quite some time—one of 'em said I wasn't sick and charged a big fee, and another said I was sick and it didn't matter and he charged a big fee—and I guess you can just make me out the revolutionary prescription on a red card and I'll see how I feel after November."

"You'll feel a good deal more of a man, I warrant," said the worthy physician, accepting a twenty-cent fee. "A red card and a white ballot will soon restore you to normal manhood. You will be able to sleep and enjoy life."

"I'll take it, doc. I'll take it."

CLEAR THE WAY.

Men of thought—be up and stirring night and day;
Sow the seed—withdraw the curtain—clear the way!
Men of action, aid and cheer them as ye may!

There's a fount about to stream,
There's a light about to beam,
There's a warmth about to glow,
There's a flower about to grow,
There's a midnight blackness changing into grey.
Men of thought and men of action, clear the way!

Once the welcome light has broken, who shall say
What the unimagined glories of the day?

What the evil that shall perish in its ray,
Aid its dawning, tongue and pen;
Aid it, hope of honest men;
Aid it, paper, aid it, type;
Aid it, for the hour is ripe,
And our earnest must not slacken into play;

Men of thought and men of action, clear the way!

Lo! a cloud's about to vanish from the day;
And a brazen wrong to crumble into clay.

Lo! the right's about to conquer; clear the way!
With the right shall many more
Enter smiling at the door;
With the giant wrong shall fall
Many others great and small,
That for ages long have held us for their prey.

—Charles Mackay.

THE FOUNDATION OF BUSINESS.

Deception may almost be called the foundation of business. It is true that if all business men would altogether discard it matters would probably be far better even for them than they are, but taking the human character as it is, it is frankly avowed by business men themselves that no business could succeed for a single year if it were to attempt single-handed and alone to adopt such an innovation. The particular form of deception characteristic of business is called shrewdness, and is universally considered proper and upright. There is a sort of code that fixes the limit beyond which this form of deception must not be carried, and those who exceed that limit are looked upon somewhat as is a pugilist who "hits below the belt." But within those limits every one expects every other to suggest the false and suppress the true.—Lester F. Ward in "Pure Sociology."

THE GROSS INJUSTICE.

The politician was in a bad humor. "This isn't right," he said. "The national committee has only sent us \$10,000 to handle the election in this town and we haven't enough. Last national election we had \$20,000 and had a hard time making it go around. "In the first place we have to hire four carriages at \$5 a day. That's \$20. Then we have to pay rent on our headquarters for two months, which amounts to \$40. Then there's the incidental expenses of the chairman, which run up to \$140. Now, how much have we left? Just \$9,800. "There are five precinct chairmen, who receive \$100 each to handle their precincts on election day. This is a measly sum for their work, too. That leaves about \$9,300 for myself and my friends. I tell you, this isn't fair. It's a gross injustice."

"We simply have you such a doctor. I guess it's been committed down, else."

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS.

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

PART III.

The Great Fortunes from Railroads. (Copyright, 1908, by Gustavus Myers).

CHAPTER IV. (Continued.)

THE ONRUSH OF THE VANDERBILT FORTUNE.

The federal armies not only had to fight an open foe in a desperately contested war, but they were at the same time the helpless targets for the profit-mongers of their own section who insidiously slew great numbers of them—not, it is true, out of deliberate lust for murder but because the craze for profits crushed every instinct of honor and humanity and rendered them callous to the appalling consequences. The battlefields were not more deadly than the stuffs supplied by capitalist contractors often were. These capitalists passed themselves and were hailed as eminent merchants, manufacturers and bankers; they were mighty in the courts and in politics; and their praise as "enterprising" and "self-made" and "patriotic" men was lavishly diffused. It was the period of periods when there was a kind of adoration of the capitalist taught in press, college and pulpit. Nothing is so effective, as was remarked of old, to divert attention from scoundrelism as to make a brilliant show of patriotism. In the very act of looting government and people and devastating the army and navy, the capitalists did the most ghastly business under the mask of the purest patriotism. Incredible as it may seem, this pretension was invoked and has been successfully maintained to this very day. You can scarcely pick up a volume on the Civil War or a biography of the statesmen or rich men of the era without wading in fulsome accounts of the untrifling patriotism of the capitalists.

Patriotism at a Safe Distance.

But, while lustily indulging in patriotic palaver, the propertied classes took excellent care that their own bodies should not be imperilled. Inspired by enthusiasm or principle a great array of the working class, and a considerable proportion of professional men, volunteered for military service. It was not long before they experienced the disappointment and demoralization of camp life. The letters written by many of these soldiers show that they did not falter at active campaigning. The prospect, however, of remaining in camp with insufficient rations, and (to use a modern expressive word) graft on every hand, completely disheartened and disgusted many of them. Many having influence with members of Congress contrived to get discharges; other lacking this influence deserted. To fill the constantly diminishing ranks caused by deaths, resignations and desertions it became necessary to pass a conscription act.

With few exceptions the propertied classes of the North loved comfort and power too well to look tranquilly upon any move to force them to enlist. Once more the government revealed that it was but a register of the interests of the ruling classes. The Draft Act was so amended that it allowed men of property to escape being conscripted into the army by permitting them to buy substitutes. The poor man who could not raise the necessary amount had to submit to the consequences of the draft. With a few of the many dollars wrung, filched or plundered in some way or other, the capitalists could purchase immunity from military service.

As one of the foremost capitalists of the time, Cornelius Vanderbilt has been constantly exhibited as a great and shining patriot. Precisely in the same way as Croft makes no mention of Vanderbilt's share in the mail subsidy frauds, but, on the contrary, ascribes to Vanderbilt the most splendid patriotism in his mail carrying operations, so Croft and other writers unctuously dilate upon the old magnate's patriotic services during the Civil War. Such is the sort of romancing that a law may be questioned.

frauds he had long been carrying on.

When Lincoln's administration decided in 1862 to send a large military and naval force to New Orleans under General Banks, one of the first considerations was to get in haste the required number of ships to be used as transports. To whom did the government turn in this exigency? To the very merchant class which, since the foundation of the United States, had continuously defrauded the public treasury. The owners of the ships had been eagerly awaiting a chance to sell or lease them to the government at exorbitant prices. And to whom was the business of buying equipping and supervising them intrusted? To none other than Cornelius Vanderbilt.

Every public man had opportunities for knowing that Vanderbilt had pocketed millions of dollars in his fraudulent hold-up arrangement with various mail subsidy lines. He was known to be mercenary and unscrupulous. Yet he was selected by Secretary of War Stanton to act as the agent for the government. At this time Vanderbilt was posing as a glorious patriot. With much ostentation he had loaned to the government for naval purposes one of his ships—a ship which he could not put to use himself and which, in fact, had been built with stolen public funds. By this gift he had cheaply attained the reputation of being a fervent patriot. Subsequently, it may be added, Congress turned a trick on him by assuming that he gave this ship to the government, and, to his great astonishment, kept the ship and solemnly thanked him for the present.

Vanderbilt's Methods in War.

The outfitting of the Banks expedition was of such a rank character that it provoked a grave public scandal. If the matter had been simply one of swindling the United States Treasury out of millions of dollars it might have been passed over by Congress. On all sides gigantic frauds were being committed by the capitalists. But in this particular case the protests of the thousands of soldiers on board the transports were too numerous and effective to be silenced or ignored. These soldiers were not regulars without influence or connections; they were volunteers who everywhere had relatives and friends to demand an inquiry. Their complaints of overcrowding and of insecure, broken-down ships poured in and aroused the whole country. A great stir resulted. Congress appointed an investigating committee.

The testimony was extremely illuminative. It showed that in buying the vessels Vanderbilt had employed one T. J. Southard to act as his handy man. Vanderbilt, it was testified by numerous ship owners, refused to charter any vessels unless the business were transacted through Southard, who demanded a share of the purchase money before he would consent to do business. Any ship owner who wanted to get rid of a superannated steamer or sailing vessel would find no difficulty if he acceded to Southard's terms.

The vessels accepted by Vanderbilt and contracted to be paid for at high prices were in shockingly bad condition. Vanderbilt was one of the few men in the secret of the destination of Banks' expedition; he knew that the ships had to make an ocean trip. Yet he bought for \$10,000 the Niagara, an old boat that had been built for trade on Lake Ontario nearly a score of years before. "In perfectly smooth weather," reported Senator Grimes, of Iowa, "with a calm sea, the planks were ripped out of her, and exhibited to the gaze of the indignant soldiers on board, showing that her timbers were rotten. The committee have in their committee room a large sample of one of the beams of this vessel to show that it has not the slightest capacity to hold mail." (4) Senator Grimes con-

tinued: "If senators will refer to page 18 of this report, they will see that for the steamer Eastern Queen he (Vanderbilt) paid \$900 a day for the first thirty days, and \$800 for the residue of the days; while she (the Eastern Queen) had been chartered by the government for the Burnside expedition at \$500 a day, making a difference of three or four hundred dollars a day. He paid for the Quinebang \$250 a day, while she had once chartered to the government at one time for \$130 a day. For the Shetucket he paid \$250 a day, while she had formerly been in our employ for \$150 a day. He paid for the Charles Osgood \$250 a day, while we had chartered her for \$150. He paid \$250 a day for the James S. Green, while we had once had a charter of her for \$200. He paid \$450 a day for the Salvor, while she had been chartered to the government for \$300. He paid \$250 a day for the Albany, while she had been chartered to the government for \$150. He paid \$250 a day for the Jersey Blue, while she had been chartered to the government for \$150." (5)

These were a few of the many vessels chartered by Vanderbilt through Southard for the government. For vessels bought outright extravagant sums were paid. Ambrose Snow, a well-known shipping merchant, testified that "when we got to Commodore Vanderbilt we were referred to Mr. Southard; when we went to Mr. Southard, we were told that we should have to pay him a commission of 5 per cent." (6)

Other shipping merchants corroborated this testimony. The methods and extent of these great frauds were clear. If the ship owners agreed to pay Southard 5—and very often he exacted 10 per cent. (7)—Vanderbilt would agree to pay them enormous sums. In giving his testimony Vanderbilt sought to show that he was actuated by the most patriotic motives. But it was obvious that he was in collusion with Southard and received the greater part of the plunder.

Horrors Done for Profit.

On some of the vessels chartered by Vanderbilt, vessels which under the immigration act would not have been allowed to carry more than 300 passengers, not less than 950 soldiers were packed. Most of the vessels were antiquated and inadequate; not a few were badly decayed. With a little superficial patching up they were imposed upon the government. Despite his knowing that only vessels adapted for ocean service were needed, Vanderbilt chartered craft that had hitherto been almost entirely used in navigating inland waters. Not a single precaution was taken by him or his associates to safeguard the lives of the soldiers. It was a rule among commercial men that at least two men capable of navigating should be aboard, especially at sea. Yet, with the lives of thousands of soldiers at stake, and with old and bad vessels in use at that, Vanderbilt in more than one instance, as the testimony showed, neglected to hire more than one navigator and failed to provide instruments and charts. In stating these facts Senator Grimes said: "When the question was asked of Commodore Vanderbilt and of other gentlemen in connection with the expedition, why this was, and why they did not take navigators and instruments and charts on board, the answer was that the insurance companies and owners of the vessels took that risk, as though"—Senator Grimes bitingly continued—"the government had no risk in the lives of its valiant men whom it has enlisted under its banner and set out in an expedition of this kind." (8) If the expedition had encountered a severe storm at Cape Hatteras, for instance, it is probable that most of the vessels would have been wrecked. Luckily the voyage was fair.

Frauds Unpunished.

Did the Government make any move to arrest, indict and imprison Vanderbilt and his tools? None. The farcical ending of these revelations was

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid. See also Senate Report No. 84, 1863, embracing the full testimony.

(7) Senator Hale asserted that he had heard of the exacting of a procentage equal to 10 per cent. in Boston and elsewhere.

(8) Ibid.: 886.

the introduction in the United States Senate of a mere resolution censuring them as guilty of negligence. Vanderbilt immediately got busy pulling wires, and when the resolution came up for vote a number of Senators, led by Senator Hale, sprang up to withdraw Vanderbilt's name. Senator Grimes thereupon caustically denounced Vanderbilt. "The whole transaction," said he, "shows a chapter of fraud from beginning to end." He went on: "Men making the most open professions of loyalty and of patriotism and of perfect disinterestedness, coming before the committee and swearing that they acted from such motives solely were compelled to admit—at least one or two were—that in some instance they received as high as six and a quarter per cent. . . . and I believe that since then the committee are satisfied in their own mind that the per cent. was greater than was in testimony before them." Senator Grimes added that he did not believe that Vanderbilt's name should be stricken from the resolution.

In vain, however, did Senator Grimes plead. Vanderbilt's name was expunged and Southard was made the chief scapegoat. Although Vanderbilt had been tenderly dealt with in the investigation his criminality was conclusively established. The affair deeply shocked the nation. After all it was only another of many tragic events demonstrating both the utter inefficiency of capitalist management and the consistent capitalist program of subordinating every consideration of human life to the mania for profits. Vanderbilt was only a type of his class; while he was found out he deserved condemnation no more than thousands of other capitalists, great and small, whose methods at bottom did not vary from his. Yet such was the network of shams and fallacies with which the supreme class of the time enmeshed society that press, pulpit, university and the so-called statesmen insisted that the wealth of the rich man had its foundation in ability and that this ability was indispensable in providing for the material wants of mankind.

(9) Ibid.

(To be continued.)

ART AND LABOR.

That a building should look what it is, and be what it is built to serve—no one now dares to dispute. The beauty itself comes second to truth, and must be sought in the architecture of nature herself; that the art of building reflects the life and manners, the passions and religion, of those who build; that in building we have to consider the hands by which it is wrought; that art is not an end in itself, but the instrument wherein moral, intellectual, national and social ideals are expressed—all this is now the alphabet of sound art. The life and work of the actual worker is, after all, the essence of art. . . . Think of the slavery of the modern workman to his machine, the moral, social and esthetic evils of mechanical handiwork, the dreariness of the conventional imitations of woods and marbles. . . . It was the studies and the meditations which are embodied in the "Seven Lamps" that first turned John Ruskin from drawings to man, from wall pictures to history and to social institutions—which converted him at last from an esthetic connoisseur into a moralist who went forth into a scornful world to teach a new gospel of work and a regeneration of the social organism.—Frederic Harrison.

THE CAUSE OF POVERTY.

Is this struggle for a living to ever end? It would seem that our poverty and degradation is not due to the unproductiveness of labor nor to the niggardliness of nature. The land and machinery and the skillful and willing workers are here. All that is necessary to supply every human need is to give the worker access to the machinery and land; but because we permit the capitalist class to stand between the worker and the opportunity to produce

ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR, STUDIES FLEEING.

By BEN HANFORD.

Last week, at twenty-one years of age, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., WENT TO WORK in a carpet factory. It is so unusual for the offspring of our parasitical class to do any useful work that an exception, as in the case of young Roosevelt, is something more than a nine day's wonder. The press printed Teddy's picture, also pictures of his clothing, his overalls, the factory in which he works and the house where he boards. It is declared that he is going to learn the carpet making business thoroughly.

I am no prophet, but in a short time I know that I shall read in the papers that Roosevelt has been promoted—on account of his remarkable industry. Later I shall read that he has again been promoted—on account of his remarkable efficiency. Still later, he will again be promoted—for his faithfulness and conscientious fidelity to his employers. And so on. On his first day, so say the news reports, little, twenty-one-year old Teddy was so engrossed in his work that he did not hear the noonday whistle.

Workingmen of the United States should pay attention to young Roosevelt's activities. Note the age at which he goes to work—twenty-one years. Had he been a workingman's son he would probably have been compelled to go to work in a factory at the age of sixteen years, or even younger. The difference between going to work in a factory at the age of sixteen and twenty-one is greater than can be told in print. It is the difference between being dwarfed and full-grown. Between strength and weakness. Between health and disease. To many it is the difference between life and death. Millions of boys and girls have been old and feeble at the age of twenty-one—because they went to work in a factory at the age of sixteen. But young Roosevelt's life has been devoted to the development of body and mind till his twenty-first year. It is sad to think that few of the children of the working class can avoid wage slavery after their sixteenth year. Many begin the deadly grind long before that age.

Roosevelt was "well born." Think what that means. Between his conception and his birth his mother never went hungry, nor did she ruin the health of herself and her unborn child by overwork. Young Roosevelt and his parents and his grand-parents had all the necessities and all the comforts of life, and as a result he is strong and healthy in body and mind. How few workingmen's children have healthy, well-fed and well-educated parents and grand-parents.

The papers say that young Roosevelt is "learning to make carpets." This is not entirely correct. Young Roosevelt, like his good bourgeois father, has capitalist aspirations. Instead of "learning to make carpets" young Roosevelt will learn how to make OTHER PEOPLE make carpets. You workingmen are the OTHER PEOPLE.

The news dispatches tell us that young Roosevelt was set to work sorting fleeces, and that his intelligence and aptitude in judging wool were very noticeable. Observing workingmen, however, will find that it is not sheep's wool that young Roosevelt is studying.

The real thing that young Roosevelt will learn in the carpet factory will be HOW TO FLEECE WORKINGMEN. Judging him by his father, the art that young Roosevelt acquires will be, not how to sort sheep's wool, but how to pull the wool over the eyes of the working class. As reported in the papers Teddy is in daily communication with the owners and managers of the factory. While he is acquiring a knowledge of the various mechanical processes of carpet making in the factory, we may be sure that the managers and owners are teaching him much more important things. From them he will learn, not how to make carpet, but how to manage carpet makers. The owners of the factory will teach young Roosevelt how to get into the factory; how to get along with the management; how to

report to the words of every man, not "loyal" to the management; how to get rid of any employe who dares talk to his fellows of higher wages or shorter hours of labor. In short, Roosevelt is studying how to make the "hands" in a carpet factory do more work for less wages, or work more hours for the same wages. THAT is the real bourgeois ideal.

No doubt, also, young Roosevelt's employers will recommend him for membership in the Citizens' Industrial Alliance and the Manufacturers' Association, where he would be heartily welcomed by such ardent patriots as Van Cleave, Peabody, Gooding, Haskell, Parry, Post and others of like fame or infamy.

Having learned carpet making as outlined above and achieved a position as a Captain of Industry, we shall later hear of young Roosevelt as a candidate for office. He will tell us that he "used to be a workingman," and that he believes in the "square deal" for labor. Then, if he is elected to office, he will, like his august father, declare that his understanding of the "square deal" is the "open shop."

In making the above prediction as to the career of young Roosevelt I run no hazard. If in his veins there is a single drop of his father's blood, such must be his course. Workingmen of the United States must be greatly interested in him and his future.

Every workingman who wants his children to go to work in the factory at sixteen years of age or under should vote for Taft or Bryan.

Every workingman who wants his children to be in the home and the school until they are twenty-one years of age or over, with the best possible opportunities for physical and mental development, should vote for Eugene V. Debs and the entire Socialist ticket.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY CATECHISM ON WAR.

What is the first duty of a nation? To glorify itself and serve itself forever, and by any means which may not bring it in conflict with a more powerful nation.

What are Christian nations? Nations with large armies and navies.

What is a treaty? A solemn agreement between two or more nations, which the weaker are in honor bound to obey.

What is arbitration? A means of settling disputes between nations so equally matched that one is afraid to go to war and the other does not dare to.

What is benevolent assimilation? The process of adapting the resources of the weak to the benefit of the strong. It is practiced by lions and tigers towards lambs and deer, and by Christian nations (see def.) towards barbarous and semi-civilized peoples. Also sometimes known as the spread of civilization. The most efficient and generally used instruments for this beneficent process are missionaries, rum and rifles.

What are rules of war? Certain humane regulations which are binding on all civilized nations not engaged in actual warfare.

MIGHT SHATTER THE UNIVERSE.

It is too bad that Mr. Roosevelt's fawn-like shrinking from publicity prevents his meeting the German Emperor. The problem of such a meeting has kept awake many men of science and sociology. If two inappreciable spouters parallel nonpareils, universal sciolists, general bosses and equal geniuses meet, what happens? Will they complete each other? Will they kill each other? And what happens to the rest of the world, if there is any rest to it while the great twin brethren hold the scene?—New York Sun.

BANG!

Pat.—What caused the explosion?
Mike.—Riley was carryin' a case of dynamite when the dinner waiter blew.

UP BROADWAY.

By ROBERT D'HENRI.

Up Broadway she walked with slow, heavy step, carrying a big bundle of firewood on her head. Her loose, multi-colored clothes gave her an appearance of abnormal size and shape not at all in harmony with the figures of the other pedestrians.

She supported her burden well. But suddenly she stopped. One of the boards, to her priceless article, had slipped off the pile and fallen to the ground. She looked pleadingly at the passersby, mutely requesting that someone be kind enough to restore the board to its place.

Two young men stopped, laughed aloud, and hurried away. Other men looked, hastily decided that they were too busy to pause, and continued on their way.

A bevy of girls stopped. "Oh, my!" exclaimed one, "monopolizing the way. Ain't she silly to carry them things?" And she manoeuvred her companions around to keep at a clear distance from the woman.

I approached and lifted the board to the top of the pile, helping her to get a firm hold on it. Slowly she turned about and a broad smile on her olive-colored face spoke plainer than words, "Thank you, ever so much."

A few passersby gazed at me, and the look on their faces denoted pity for me for stooping to so low an act.

I noticed the disappearing figures—bankers, lawyers, public officers of all degrees. Many of them were raised to their present positions by mothers who probably also gathered wood and engaged in other menial tasks. And all of them owe their stations in life to this woman and her fellow creatures who toil to create the world's good.

"How I wished to cail aloud to these degenerates and ingrates, and cry aloud to each of them: "For shame, unworthy son! Child of poverty, see the image of your own mother. Observe the toil and struggle to which you owe your material riches. Bow to her upon whom you showered abuse! Your social position is degrading. Your heart is dying for sympathy to your brothers and sisters. Awake! Down from your sandy pedestal of respectability and snobbery! You are the keeper of your unfortunate brother. They have fallen in the ditch of poverty. Help them to their feet. Awake! Awake!"

HUMAN NATURE.

By CLARENCE V. RAWSON.

We frequently hear the idea expressed by even some "educated" people, I am tempted to say those who have not been made stupid by their education, that "Socialism does not take account of human nature," and that "human nature would have to be made over" to have Socialism obtain. That old idea is based on a total misconception of Socialism as a namby pamby sentimental "dividing up." It is to prevent dividing up, forced and unjust dividing up, that Socialism is working. Since man has not evolved yet from the predatory stage, we have the idea of politically or socially applied sociology called Socialism to organize production and distribution for the benefit of ALL, thus to minimize the opportunity for predatory activity. If predatory activity—competition—could be absolutely equal it might not be entirely bad, though very wasteful. But since we cannot evolve backward in the matter of collective production equal competition is impossible. And the Socialism platform is the only one which intelligently takes account of the remaining predatory instinct in man. That platform is genuine literature, for the only true literature is that which expresses the life of the people in other than mere narrative form. And the person who does not know the literature of Socialism, whether he be academically educated or not, is illiterate.

A RESEMBLANCE.

Benham.—You can't drive me.
Mrs. Benham.—That's th' trouble with a donkey.

LABOR DIRECTORY.

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

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 241 E. 84th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—316 E. 6th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 243 E. 84th St., 7.30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2059 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—323 E. 75th St., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

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

UNITED JOURNEMEN TAILORS' UNION meets second and fourth Mondays in Link's Assembly Rooms, 281-233 East Thirty-eighth St.

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THE CANNIBALS OF CIVILIZATION

We consider the cost of a thing purchased or obtained to ourselves; about its cost in effort to the producer we do not allow ourselves to think; indeed we should be laughed at for any exhibition of conscience on the subject. And our equal insensibility to the pathetic meaning of the work of the past, and to that of the work of the present, largely explains the wastefulness of our civilization—the reckless consumption by luxury of the labor of years in the pleasure of an hour—the inhumanity of the thousands of unthinking rich, each of whom dissipates yearly in the gratification of totally unnecessary wants the price of a hundred human lives. The cannibals of civilization are unconsciously more cruel than those of savagery, and require much more flesh.—Lafcadio Hearn, in "Kokoro."

ON THE SPOT.

She.—I always feel perfectly safe while you are driving the car.
Dr. Smash.—I'm glad of that. But why have you such confidence in my doctor?
I guess it's because you're a doctor.

A CASE OF SACRILEGE.

By EDWIN BJORKMAN.

Having completed an exhaustive study of German history for his great work on the literature of the nineteenth century, George Brandes was moved to exclaim: "The German's worst enemies were always the other Germans." Had he spoken similarly of the French or the English, of any class or trade, of any group of human beings tied together by bonds of common interest, his remark would have been equally well founded. And it has long been a proverbial assertion that, if you want to know the worst about any man, you must turn to his dearest and nearest friends for information. Let me add as a personal contribution my strong suspicion that the friends rarely wait until asked before giving out whatever be available of damaging information. What it all comes to in the end is simply that truth concerning any man or matter and institution or faith must come from those who know most about it—a fact that does not obviate the necessity for less instructed outsiders to see that the truth in question is neither suppressed nor overlooked. Applied to the case interesting us Socialists most these remarks imply that in our search for weapons against the existing economical and political order it is by far less important to learn Marx by heart than to search and analyze all that is written on the other side. And it is particularly wise, I hold, to watch everything which is produced by the defenders of the old regime when they do not realize that any disputed issue is involved. In this way I manage every so often to call precious pieces of evidence from sources generally supposed to be supremely "safe and sane" from the capitalistic viewpoint—such sources, for instance, as the columns of the New York "Sun."

There I found only this morning an article concerning certain legal proceedings now in progress at Boston and having for their purpose to restrain a middle-aged widow of unassailed sanity from disposing of her own, her "private," property according to her own will and desire. She is, it seems, a member of one of those numerous mystic sects that have been springing up all around the country with increasing frequency during the last five or ten years. Of the value or validity ascribable to the tenets of this particular sect we need not speak here; nor does it matter to our present quest whether the founder and head of that sect be a seer or a scamp. He, his faith, and his followers are, no doubt, neither worse nor better than other men, other alleged or real revelations, and other "saved" or "deluded" seekers for a truth that will fit all men for all times to come. That this one man, like most other human beings under the present system, is after as much of the safeguards against need as he can lay his hands on, is not to be doubted and less to be wondered at. And when the whole daily press quotes as indisputable proof of his knavery that he buys ordinary American olive oil in the bulk—as cheap as he can get it, that means—and then sells it to the believing ones as genuine Assyrian oil, thus obtaining from them ten times the real value of the misrepresented product, how can we beneficiaries of an all-blessing and never-failing competitive system find any fault with him for developing the inherent consequences of that system to their utmost possibilities. Are not the personal reminiscences of another famous dealer in oil just now running their serial course for the benefit and guidance of a growing generation?

No, indeed; the details of the case will not lend themselves to the establishment of that case as an exception having no bearing on the everyday run of affairs. The doings of the leader are no worse than those of the average "captain of industry" who buys in the cheapest and sells in the highest market while subsidizing legislators and Pinkertons for the right of doing so without interference of anybody not interested in the same game and on the same side of the game as himself. Nor are the "superstitions" advanced by the leader and swallowed by his followers any further removed from the accepted

paths of reason than related gropings for light indulged in by other sects of greater age and reputation. This last assertion I make with some hesitation. I admit, considering that the Zoroastrian typesetter from Chicago who heads the sect now under discussion dares to advocate such ridiculous, not to say criminal, principles as that rolling around in the fresh, dewy grass of the dawn is good for the naked body, or that men and women ought to eschew corsets, tight shoes and all particles of dress not actually needed for protection.

"But let us get at the facts I have in mind. Here is a middle-aged, widowed and childless woman of good repute and evident sanity who owns something like \$100,000 and expresses the intention to leave the said sum to the sect already referred to instead of to her—children?—no!—husband?—no, no—intimate friends?—no, no, no!—but to her niece. Do you realize the degree and kind of relationship involved: a young woman who has happened to be born the daughter of another woman who happened to be born the sister of the woman who now wants to dispose privately and according to her own tastes and convictions of property supposed to be her own to the extent of making any attack on it a crime. This young woman, having heard a report of her aunt's intention to bestow her property on the cause in which she believes more than a chance established tie of distant kin-

ship, goes to a court established for the purpose of guarding justice and equity in the land. To this court she makes the request that a guardian be appointed for her aunt lest she, the petitioner, lose the \$100,000 supposed to belong to her aunt at least during the latter's lifetime. And does the learned court instruct the young woman to mind her own business? Or to cease interfering with the sacred rights of private property? No, the learned court serves notice on the aunt to "show cause" why the request of her niece shall not be granted and she, the aunt, be prevented from exercising her strictly legal right of disposing of what is her own. And now scores of people are spending long days in that courtroom at Boston taking and giving evidence as to whether the young woman has been able to damage the reputation of her aunt, and of the sect to which that aunt belongs, sufficiently to warrant the court in preventing a sane and healthy and non-criminal woman from looking after her own affairs.

I fear the intricacies of the case have rendered my description of it somewhat confusing. But the reader will be able to grasp the heart of the problem implied, I am sure. Let me state that problem as succinctly as I can. If private property not needed for a person's "keep" be "sacred," how can any other person than the owner have a right to say what shall be done with it? And if any other person, whether relative or friend or prospective heir, has the right to interfere with that property while the owner is still alive and enjoying the

unimpaired use of all senses and faculties, how can that property then be called "private," and how can the rights assured to it be called "sacred?" I have pondered this problem long and earnestly—at first without a ray of light to illumine the deep, enveloping darkness. At last, however, a possibility in the way of solution suggested itself to my puzzled mind.

It may be, I said to myself, that the "privacy" and the "sacredness" of property are so private and sacred that the mere intention of circumventing that privacy by handing the property over to a group of men instead of to single men and women can be regarded such a crime against the existing order that it only enables but actually warrants the court in excluding the owner of that property from the free use of it.

But, I added immediately, if that be so, why have not the courts interfered with the repeated reckless transfer of millions from Messrs. Rockefeller, Carnegie and others to various sects and institutions and "causes"? And there my search for the true inwardness of this matter came to a complete stop. I have not been able to find the answer yet.

TAFT'S PLAN.

"Of course," said the candidate, "I can't be expected to please everybody."

"No," answered the old campaigner; "the best you can do is to look benignly pleasant and convey the impression that everybody pleases you."
—Washington Star.



ADDRESS TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

(Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party at Chicago, May 14, 1908.)

The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage workers under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

It Does Not Dictate.

The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

Confronted by Great Crisis.

Organized labor is to-day confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

Courts Always Hostile.

The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, the payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workingmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workingmen to belong to unions.

While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workingmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workingmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a right to profits and that the workers have no rights in opposition to them.

Danbury Hatters' Case.

In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous "Dred Scott decision" of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the anti-trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

Ballot Is a Weapon.

At this critical moment the Socialist party calls upon all organized workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workingmen on election day.

Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor of the Socialist party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule.

MAKING CRIMINALS.

The making of criminals is a very important American industry. Proceed as follows:

Find out something that a large number of people desire to do and then make a law against it. The law should be sufficiently elastic to admit of exceptions when the public good or the offender's purse seems to demand it.

After the law is made hire a few good policemen to lie in wait for offenders. It is necessary to catch a criminal before you make him. Many men have remained good all his life by not being caught. After you get hold of one he will probably tell you that he did not know the law. If he does, tell him that ignorance of the law excuses no one. If he insists, tell him that even the lawyers don't know the law, as, otherwise, there would not be so many of them. If he insists further, crack him over the head with a mallet. If the man has no money at all, crack him in the head in the first place.

Next, publish his name in all the newspapers. This is for two reasons: First, to make him more of a criminal, and second, to show that the police department is doing its duty.

Next, chuck him into an unpleasant place as can be devised. At night surround him with a choice collection of vermin. For this purpose an entomologist should be consulted. In the daytime make him work like a dog, but do not give him anything for it. Give it to some one else. Perhaps the best way to dispose of the surplus product is by the contract system, although there are other forms of graft nearly as good.

After a few years of this he is probably a full-fledged criminal. In order to test your work, turn him loose without any money or any friends. If he comes back in a short time you have succeeded. If not, you have failed; but it usually works.

—Ellis O. Jones, in Life.

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NAMELESS HEROES.

There are countless heroes who live and die,

Of whom we have never heard; For the great, big, brawling world goes by,

With hardly a look or word; And one of the bravest and best of all, Of whom theist can boast, Is the man who falls on duty's call, The man who dies at his post.

While his cheek is mantled with manhood's bloom, And the pathway of life looks bright, He is brought in a moment to face the gloom,

Surrounding the final night, He buoyantly sails o'er a sunlit sea— And is dashed on an unseen coast— Till the ship goes down at the helm stands he— The man who dies at his post.

Who follows the glorious tide of war, And falls in the midst of fight, He knows that honor will hover o'er And cover his name with light; But he who passes unsung, unknown, He hears no applauding host; He goes in the dark to his fate, alone, The man who dies at his post.

Who bears with disease while death draws near, Who faces his fate each day, Yet strives to comfort and help and cheer

His comrades along the way, Who follows his work while he yet may do, And smiles when he suffers most, It seems to me is a hero true— The man who dies at his post.

There are plenty to laud and crown with bays

The hero who falls in strife, But few who offer a word of praise To the crownless hero of life, He does his duty and makes no claim; And to-night I propose a toast To the silent martyr, unknown to fame, The man who dies at his post

—Denver News.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE.

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

Socialism has quickened the intellect of the worker, and has first enabled him to think, however faintly, on political and economic topics. It has, by organizing thousands of social clubs, given these whilom dull and torpid masses a genuine taste for and appreciation of purely esthetic pleasure, such as music, singing, theatrical performances, concerts, and, above all, books. The Socialists in Germany have done what the government had left undone, viz., founded thousands of workingmen's libraries. The Socialist press has in this respect done wonders.—Wolf von Schliemann, "Germany."

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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 253 local branches with 31,507 male and 6,508 female members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen 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 \$5.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$0.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively, \$25.00 death benefit guaranteed to the beneficiaries of every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the third class upon payment of an initiation fee of \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but all candidates have to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invite to do so. Address all communications to William Meyer, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third Avenue, Room 2, New York City.

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IN THE MAGAZINES.

"Rich and Poor in America" is an article by John Martin in this month's International Socialist Review, which discusses the accumulation of wealth and the average wage. From 1860 to 1900 the national wealth increased from sixteen billion to ninety-four billion dollars, though the population had increased but two and a half times. Millionaires have multiplied and multi-millionaires came into existence within the half century and still the average wage paid the eighteen million workers in the United States is \$400, and more than ten per cent. are buried in paupers' graves. "Only one form of organization," says Mr. Martin, "can secure for the worker the big slice of the national cake which is now eaten in idleness by bondholder, trust manipulator and city landlord. By only one form of organization can the startling inequalities of fortune that have marked recent decades be cured, the highest average of well-being attained, degrading poverty and debilitating luxury alike prevented. That organization is the co-operative form, the democratic assumption of ownership, risks, management and profits, a form culminating in the co-operative commonwealth, the glowing goal of Socialism."

Dr. Henry Smith Williams writes in this month's "McClure's" on "Alcohol and the Individual." The writer repudiates the idea that one can be a "moderate drinker." He says: "If in reply the reader shall say 'There is some quantity of alcohol that constitutes actual moderation; some quality that will give me pleasure and yet not menace me; I answer thus: 'Conceivable that is true, though it is not proved. But in any event no man can tell you what the safe quantity is—if safe quantity there be—in any individual case. . . . In the laboratory some animals are killed by doses that seem harmless to their companions. These are matters of temperament that as yet elude explanation. But this much I can predict with confidence—whatever the 'safe' quantity of alcohol for you to take, you will unquestionably at times exceed it.' He sums up the effect of alcoholism in the following manner: 1. It is threatening the physical structure of the stomach, liver, kidneys, heart, blood vessels, nerves and brain. 2. It decreases capacity for work in any field—physical, intellectual and artistic. 3. It lowers the grade of the mind and dulls the higher esthetic senses. 4. It lessens the chances for longevity; and, 5. It is entailing upon descendants yet unborn a "bond of incalculable misery."

"Current Literature" has an article on "What Tolstoy Means to America." It tells of the interest the American people have shown in him, as was manifested by the comments elicited at his eightieth birthday. It quotes the review of Benjamin de Casseres which differentiated Tolstoy, the artist, from Tolstoy, the thinker. The article combats Mr. Casseres' view and says that "It is not representative of the Americans who have done the most to spread Tolstoy's message in this country." Clarence Darrow, the late Ernest Howard Crosby and William D. Howells are cited. The latter in his book, "My Literary Passions," says: "Tolstoy has not influenced me in esthetics only, but in ethics, so that I can never see life in the same way I saw it before. . . . Tolstoy gave me heart to hope that the world may yet be made over in the image of Him who died for it. . . . The supreme art in literature had its highest effect in making me set art forever below humanity, and it is with the wish to offer the greatest homage to his heart and mind that I close this record with the name Leo Tolstoy."

"Education and the Socialistic Movement" is a well written article by John Bates Clark in the "Atlantic Monthly" for October. It opens with the Cleveland prophecy and goes into the subject by stating that "at the very outset there appear certain undisputed facts which create a prima facie case in its favor, and the first of them is the beauty of the ideal which it represents." Professor Clark depicts the imperfection of present

society, both on its ethical and its economic side, and dwells on the inequities of the corporations, trusts and "graft." He believes though that Socialism would intensify the desire for public position, since all will be conducted through politics; hence the necessity for a wider education. The writer concludes with the following: "Like Webster, we may hail the advancing generation and bid them welcome to lands fairer than our own with promises to grow fairer and fairer forever. That this prospect be not imperiled—that the forces that make it a reality be enabled to do their work—is what the men of the future ask of the intelligence of today."

Seth Low writes in the October Century on "The Writ of Injunction as a Party Issue," giving "a comparison of the Republican and Democratic platforms in their treatment of the labor question." Except for the explicit endorsement of the bill passed by the United States Senate in 1896 when the Senate was under Democratic and Populist control, the plank in the Democratic platform bearing upon the question, might fairly be described as meaning anything or nothing, according to the wishes of the reader. In other words,

in its platform Democracy says first that it does not propose to weaken the dignity of the courts, and, second, that the injunction should not be issued in any cases in which an injunction would not be issued if no industrial dispute were involved. This probably means nothing, because injunctions cannot be used in labor cases or in any other except upon the allegation that irreparable injury will be done if the injunction is not issued.

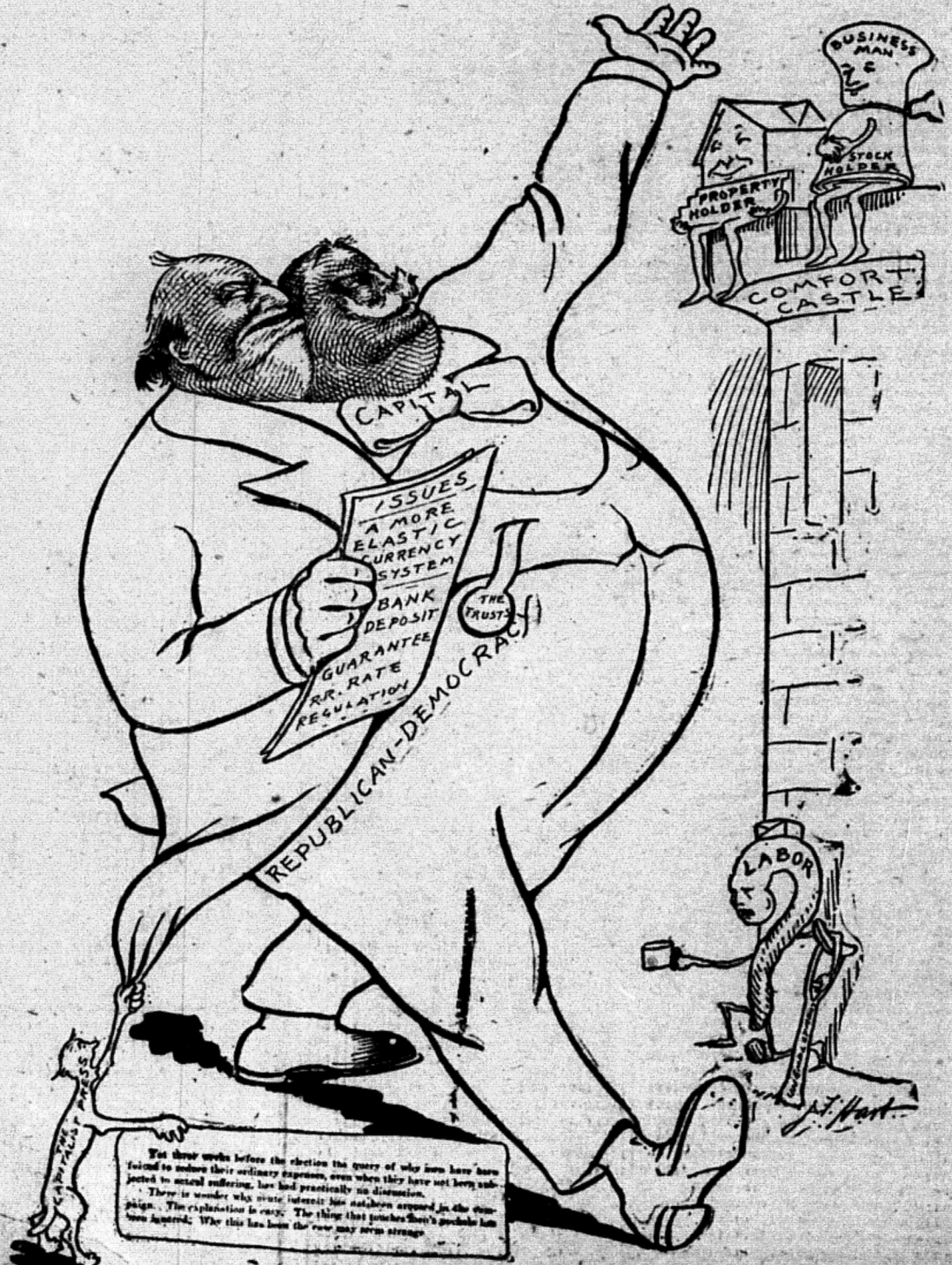
NOTES OF NEW BOOKS.

Those who have read Hanford Henderson's "Children of Good Fortune" and "Education and the Larger Life"—and they ought to be many—will welcome his latest work, "The Lighted Lamp," which embodies his sane and brave views of life in the form of a novel. It is gratifying to know that the advance orders have been unusually large.

Lovers of music will learn with interest that a book on the life and work of the gifted and unfortunate Edward McDowell, by Lawrence Gilman, who wrote the study of McDowell's art for the "Living Masters of Music," is soon to appear.

"The World I Live In" is the title of a book by Helen Keller, which will be published within a few weeks. In what sort of a world does one live who can neither see nor hear nor speak? The question must be an intensely interesting one for all who have read of what this woman, the subject of such a combination of afflictions, has been able to learn and to do.

W. W. Passage has prepared and the Wilshire Book Company (200 William street, New York), has published an eight-page leaflet entitled "Eugene V. Debs on the Color Question," which includes Debs' straightforward treatment of the negro question in his letter to Rev. J. Milton Waldron, president of the Negro National League, and other extracts from his speeches and writings bearing on the subject. A portrait of Debs and a cartoon by Ryan Walker appropriately illustrate it. The leaflet deserves a wide circulation, not only among the colored people whom it most directly concerns, but also among whites, to whom a right understanding of the negro question is of great and growing importance. It will be sent, post-paid, for 10 cents a dozen copies, or 50 cents a hundred.



THERE IS APATHY BECAUSE THE REAL ISSUE IS

THE PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Democratic party is allied with the capitalist class and the ruling class of the country is allied

with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interests of the possessing class.

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

OUR WORKING PROGRAMME.

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

GENERAL DEMANDS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

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

9—A graduated income tax.

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

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

12—The abolition of the senate.

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

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

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau

of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

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

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

18—The free administration of justice.

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

THE "RED SPECIAL" AT JOHN BROWN'S TOMB

By OTTO McFEELY.

(Workers' Press Association.)

On October 17 at 9 o'clock the "Red Special," carrying Eugene V. Debs, stopped at Harper's Ferry, where John Brown made his stand against chattel slavery. The sun was shining brightly and the temperature was benign. Fifty townsfolk, including a few negroes, gathered about. The band that had made music twice across the continent in the great effort to call the working class to the standard that means their own freedom offered the "Marseillaise."

Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President on the Socialist ticket, stepped to the modest monument on the site of Brown's fort.

"It is fitting that the 'Red Special' should stop here," he said, "and that we should do honor to John Brown. He was the greatest liberator this country has known. He dared the whole world and gave up his life for freedom. What more can a man do?"

"A few years ago I came and followed his steps from this spot all the way to Charlestown, where he was hanged. All the way he was the only calm person. Kindly, sweetly and not even hating those who hounded him he went his way."

"Even members of the poor despised race for which he had done so much were taught to despise him and to look upon him as something vile. On that bright, sunny morning when he was led upon the gallows, he smiled. 'This is a beautiful country,' he said. 'I had not seen it before.' He went to his death without fear, knowing his work was done."

"As I stand here on this spot where he stood I can see him as he stood here with a rifle in his hand, and his sons on the ground, one dead and the other dying. What a heroic figure he is as I see him. Even to-day he is not appreciated. But as time goes on the fog that obscures the acts of great heroic men will be swept away and he will stand as one of the most heroic figures in the world. Emerson has said: 'The time will come when John Brown will have made the gallows as glorious as Jesus Christ made the cross.' The Socialist party is carrying on the work begun by John Brown."

The candidate of the working class seemed inspired in the presence of the mountains and river made historic by the great liberator. Beautiful sen-

tences came rapidly and easily. Fortunately, they all were taken down by a stenographer, and probably will be published in the Socialist press.

The members of the National Campaign party gave three cheers for John Brown and for the emancipation of the wage slaves of to-day.

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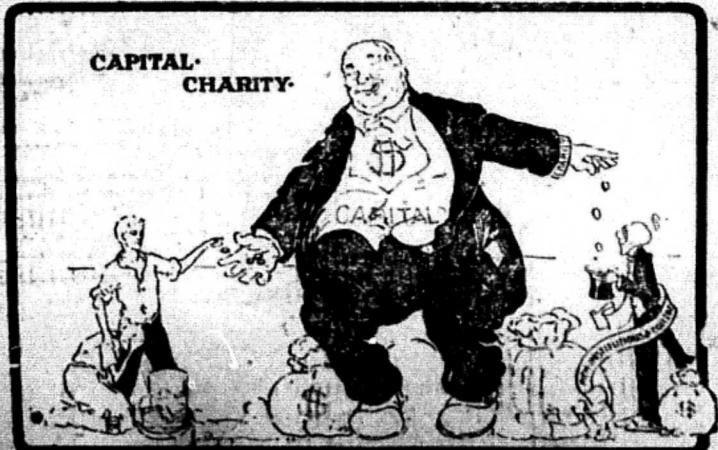
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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 24, 1908.

IS REVOLUTION IMMINENT?

By ROBERT HUNTER.

One evening I was sitting with a band of highwaymen—all millionaires of the ordinary anarchist type.

They had worked themselves into a passion about social injustice, and were hinting at revolution.

"The people won't stand for it," one of them shouted. "He is an arrogant autocrat," blurted out another.

Sprinkled among whiskies and sodas and cocktails and other refreshing drinks were similar explosive sentences.

A little chap with an eye-glass began to hammer on the table with his stick. "Morgan is a bull-headed cad," he shouted; "a high-handed brute."

"Two years ago my wife and I engaged passage for the winter cruise on one of the White Star boats. It was scheduled to go far to the South, where we should have a warm, sunny voyage, touching at the Madelras, Gibraltar and Mediterranean points.

"Morgan was on board, and he tried to patronize us all by sending fresh flowers every day to our tables.

"Instead of having a warm voyage it was terrifically cold. The winds were icy, the skies overcast, and as most of us had not come prepared for cold we really suffered.

"Finally we found out that Mr. Morgan had instructed the captain to sail north, as he wanted to keep in touch with his office through the Marconi stations.

"What do you think of that for an outrage?" fumed the little man as he looked about. "At Madelra we were told we could go ashore for a couple of hours. We engaged carriages, hurried about, and returned to the ship on time. And then we waited FOUR hours until Mr. Morgan decided he had seen enough."

"Why, that is monstrous!" said another. "There'll be a revolution in this country with such high-handed proceedings on the part of men like Morgan."

"I had an experience with that fellow," said another millionaire. "Two years ago we made up a train of private cars to go up to the Yale football game. Morgan had a car, and Leeds, and Belmont, and a few others, and we were told that the train would depart immediately after the game was over; and most of us had arranged to get back to New York at half-past seven and dine at Delmonico's.

"After the game we hurried to the train, but we were told that Mr. Morgan had decided to have tea with some friends.

"We waited AN HOUR—until Mr. Morgan turned up, and the train pulled out.

"Pretty soon we began to run at a snail's pace. We saw we were going to be late for dinner, and we were in a pretty bad humor. Then we inquired of one of the trainmen what the trouble was.

"He told us that Mr. Morgan had decided to eat his dinner on the train, and he did not like to run fast while eating.

"Well, do you know, we didn't get into town until nearly nine o'clock, and couldn't get any sandwiches, or anything to eat; and we were nearly famished."

"By George, that's the limit," said one of his sympathizers.

"Just think of a man having power like that; stopping steamboats and trains, anything he pleases, and running them on any schedule he pleases. Why, it's a holdup, and I tell you people won't stand for that sort of thing."

The furious little man with the eye-glass and stick gulped down his cocktail and rose to go. And as he stepped out of the club he said: "By heavens! Morgan's getting altogether too much power in his hands. This panic is pinching all of us, and it is HIS work. A lot of my friends are getting sore. If Morgan's not careful there'll be a revolution in this country."

As we turned into Fifth avenue he signalled a hansom, and we stood for a moment on the curbing. A man with his hat well over his eyes and his coat tightly buttoned stepped up and in a husky voice said: "Have either of you gentlemen got the price of a bed. I've been out of work for over two months."

"You probably wouldn't work," said the little man.

"No, honest, I'm a good union man, and if there was any work in my trade I'd get it."

"A union man, eh? Well then, you deserve to be out of work for letting a lot of drunken walking delegates and Socialists live off you. It's you union men who make all the trouble, and if you would stick by your employers, who are your friends, instead of by a lot of grafting labor leaders, you wouldn't be in this condition."

The little man sprang into his cab and was whirled away.

But as I saw the look that came into the eyes of the hungry man as they followed the retreating cab, I said to myself: "Yes; it's quite possible; there MAY be a revolution in this country some day."

WE WANT ALL TO BE FREE.

When one man is overfattened by luxury, another man must be starved to that extent. When one man is surfeited with opportunities there is somewhere another man whose life is incomplete. I protest against a society which is so hideously out of focus. I protest against the starved lives of the world, the lives without rest, without sunshine, without art, without music, without travel, without any opportunity to rise above the level of vulgar mediocrity. I want all men and women to be free, free to develop the whole heroic stature of manhood and womanhood. I want a complete life for every human being, lived in an atmosphere of fearless liberty. Franklin H. Wentworth.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

National Secretary, J. Mablon Barnes, 180 Washington Street, Chicago.

OUR CANDIDATES:

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

GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

1888	2,038	1896	28,564
1892	21,187	1900	94,981
1904	406,230		

SHALL THE VOICE OF LABOR BE HEARD IN CONGRESS?

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

The most remarkable campaign in America is drawing to a close.

The country is in the throes of an industrial depression such as it has never experienced. It began last fall, has steadily grown worse and there is no sign of its ending.

The Philadelphia "Public Ledger," a most conservative organ, in its issue of September 22 declares that at least 75,000 people in the Quaker City will have no work this winter, and that at least 250,000 mouths will have to seek food from charity or go hungry.

THIS MEANS THAT ONE OUT OF EVERY SIX PERSONS IN PHILADELPHIA WILL HAVE TO FALL INTO THE BREAD LINE AND RAP UPON THE DOOR OF THE SOUP HOUSE TO KEEP FROM STARVING. AT THIS RATE NO LESS THAN FOURTEEN MILLION PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES WILL BE UPON THE VERGE OF STARVATION THIS WINTER.

This is the most terrible condition that has ever existed in America. It is a condition that deserves the serious attention of everyone who has the slightest spark of sympathy for his fellow men. It deserves the deepest thought and immediate attention of our nation's statesmen.

Yet, in the face of this unprecedented distress, THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES STAND HELPLESS.

TAFT shifts the responsibility upon God. "Only God knows," says he; what's to be done to relieve the suffering of the working people.

BRYAN, more astute politician, avoids the question. He talks about everything under the sun except that which is of vital concern to the American people.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS CONTROL CONGRESS. But Congress has not raised a finger in behalf of the working people.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS CONTROL ALL STATE LEGISLATURES. YET NOT ONE state legislature has raised a finger in behalf of the working people.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS CONTROL ALL CITY COUNCILS. YET NOT ONE city council has seriously attempted to relieve the suffering of the working people.

IF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES INTEND TO MAKE THE PEOPLE DESPERATE FROM THE PANGS OF HUNGER, they need do nothing other than they are doing.

IF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES INTEND TO DRIVE THE PEOPLE TO RIOT AND BLOODSHED FOR BREAD FOR THEIR LOVED ONES, they need do nothing other than they are doing.

No one believes that the Republican and Democratic parties are consciously pursuing a course calculated to result in the slaughter of innocent men and women. It is not so much the inhumanity of the two old parties as their CRIMINAL INCOMPETENCY that hurts.

When the old-party representatives meet in Congress it is to consider what the oil "interests" want, what the railway "interests" want, what the manufacturing "interests" want, what the coal, steel and copper "interests" want, what the banking "interests" want, what the commercial "interests" want; whether it is to be high tariff or low tariff, federal guarantee of bank deposits or rate legislation—lingering phrases that are of no import-

ance to the working people who are the largest class in the country.

Old-party representatives never consider what is of importance to the railway men, to the coal and copper miners, to the steel workers, or to the factory "hands." THE OLD PARTIES REPRESENT CAPITAL; NOT LABOR.

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN SERVE THE "INTERESTS;" NOT THE PEOPLE. Whether it is good times or bad times, does not bother them. They want the offices and the graft. The two old parties have outlived whatever usefulness they ever had. They are rotten to the core.

Then what's to be done in the terrible crisis that is upon us?

LABOR MUST DEPEND UPON ITSELF. IT MUST SUPPORT ITS OWN PARTY—THE SOCIALIST PARTY. IT MUST ELECT THE CANDIDATES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO OFFICE.

EUGENE V. DEBS, locomotive engineer, the man who has fought and sacrificed and gone to jail for labor, and who, better than anyone else in America, expresses the heart-throbs of the working class, must be inaugurated next March.

BEN HANFORD, printer, perfect type of the intelligent worker, who has devoted his life to the cause of the lowly, must call to order the next Senate of the United States.

AND EVERY CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, whether for Congress, for State or local office, must be elected this coming November.

Can it be done?

YOU KNOW IT CAN BE DONE.

The working people have the votes. They have their party. Their party has a program for the local, state and national relief of those suffering from hard times. It has a program, which it will carry out, that once and for all will remove the possibility of another industrial depression coming upon us. THEN VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET, AND VOTE THE WHOLE SOCIALIST TICKET.

Workingmen, in this campaign it is not a question whether Republicans or Democrats shall wax fat in the spoils and graft of office. It is a greater question than that. IT IS A LIFE AND DEATH QUESTION.

When you take your ballot in your hand, remember that your wife's and children's happiness depends upon where you put that cross.

When you take your ballot in your hand remember that you can by a stroke of your pencil prevent the possibility of bread riots and bloody struggles in this country.

With your ballot you can force out of office every lackey of the "interests" any every hireling of King Capital.

With your ballot you can send labor's representatives to Congress and to every legislative hall to voice the needs of the common people.

Let Election Day be your day of triumph, workingmen. Let March witness the inauguration of your chosen comrade and it will be your hour of rejoicing.

The happiness, the peace and the security of the American people depends upon you, workingmen.

THAT IS WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE THE STRAIGHT SOCIALIST TICKET!

A CONFIDENT LOVER.

"That young couple must be gaged."
"Do they act spooky?"
"No, but he smelt when they walk a-