

Go to the Booths

They may have something
of interest to you

Information Booths

They have literature and perhaps can
answer your questions. Take a look.

Button Booths

If you have not a "We'll Stick" but-
ton, go there for one. If you can use
more let them know.

Minnesota Leader Booths

There are two of them. Take a look
at the cartoons there and inquire
about the live wire paper. You will
be more alive than ever if you read
it.

The New Freedom

That is President Wilson's book,
which is gripping all liberals. It
talks like the Nonpartisan League,
only much better. Go to the Infor-
mation Dept. Booth and take a look.

NONPARTISAN CAMPAIGN RALLY

of organized farmers and organ-
ized labor to launch a people's
crusade to capture the state of
Minnesota for government of the
people, by the people, and for
the people



St. Paul Municipal Auditorium
March 19, 20, 21
1918

Under the Auspices of the
National Nonpartisan League

**Farmers' and Workers'
National Nonpartisan League
Campaign Rally**

Tuesday, 2 p. m.

MARCH 19TH, 1918

Patriotic band selection—Minnesota State band, Tony Snyder, conductor.

J. M. Clancy, president St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, chairman.

Singing of "Star Spangled Banner," by audience, accompanied by the Minnesota State band and Winifred Von Wald, soprano, soloist.

Address of Welcome—Oscar E. Keller, Public Utilities commissioner, St. Paul.

Magnus Johnson of Litchfield responds to address of welcome in behalf of farmers.

Patriotic band selection—Minnesota State band.

Jules J. Anderson of Duluth Trades and Labor Assembly responds to address of welcome in behalf of labor of northern Minnesota.

Mrs. Hulda Harold Bain of California—"Loyalty." Wife of Capt. Robert Thurston Bain, chief of the U. S. Bureau of Navigation, Honolulu.

Winifred Von Wald, soprano, solo—"America".

Tuesday, 8 p. m.

MARCH 19TH, 1918

Returns from the city election will be announced between speeches.

Patriotic selection by the Minnesota State band.

C. L. Mayo, president of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, chairman.

Winifred Von Wald, soprano, soloist.

Walter Thomas Mills of Berkeley, Cal.—"Despotism or Democracy."

Patriotic selection by the Minnesota State band.

Albert Blair of New York—"The Press."
Thomas Van Lear, mayor of Minneapolis—"Loyalty and Politics."

Wednesday, 10 a. m.

MARCH 20TH, 1918

George Grenville, chairman of labor's Joint Legislative Committee, chairman.

Patriotic selection by the Minnesota State band.

Judson King of Washington, D. C., executive secretary of Popular Government league—"The Fight for Popular Government."

R. B. Martin of Montana—"Enforcing Law in Montana."

Wednesday, 2 p. m.

MARCH 20TH, 1918

Magnus Johnson, Litchfield, Minn., chairman.
Herbert Hoover's message to producers and consumers of the Northwest.

Governor Frazier of North Dakota—"The Farmer and Democracy."

Red Cross representative will make appeal.
President A. C. Townley of the National Nonpartisan League—"Politics and Free Speech."
Collection for the Red Cross.

Wednesday, 8 p. m.

MARCH 20TH, 1918

George Grenville, chairman of labor's Joint Legislative Committee, chairman.

J. M. Clancy.

T. E. Tillquist, B. of L. F. & E.

Louis Sharpless, B. of L. E.

C. E. Fitzgerald, O. of R. C.

T. J. McGrath, B. of R. T.

A. E. Smith, railroad shop crafts.

Geo. W. Lawson, secretary Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Lynn Thompson, general organizer, Minneapolis Trades and Labor Association.

Gilbert Hyat.

Thursday, 10 a. m.

MARCH 21ST, 1918

David Paquin, chairman state executive committee, Nonpartisan League, will preside.

Selection by Minnesota State band.
George D. Brewer—"What the Nonpartisan League Will Do."

Ben F. Wilson—"The Farmer and the Working Man."

Rev. S. R. Maxwell—"The Farmer and Progress."
J. M. Anderson, president Equity Co-Operative exchange.

Thursday, 2 p. m.

MARCH 21ST, 1918

David Paquin, chairman state executive committee, Nonpartisan League, will preside.

O. M. Thomason—"Why Is the Nonpartisan League?"

A. E. Bowen—"The Minnesota Situation."
Candidates indorsed by the Nonpartisan League for state offices.

Resolutions will be read and adopted.

Thursday, 8 p. m.

MARCH 21ST, 1918

A. C. Townley, presiding, will speak on "The Message of the Farmers to the Workers."

The Nonpartisan candidate for governor will speak.

The Nonpartisan candidate for attorney general will speak.

Patriotic selection by the Minnesota State band.
Hon. James Manahan—"Minnesota's Opportunity."

The audience will sing "The Star Spangled Banner," accompanied by the Minnesota State band.

For further information see Carl Beck, Secretary in Charge (desk next to platform.)

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

To the Comrades of the
16th Congressional District

O'Brien, Texas, June 9, 1917

You are aware of the fact that the interests are trying to crush the powers that are standing for Co-Operation, and I wish to appeal to you for aid in financing a defense fund for the members of the F. L. P. A., who are Socialists. Prominent Socialists of this order are being made the victims. Comrades, to the rescue of your Brother. Send in funds by which we can fight the battles of Justice in the United States Courts. They are not guilty, and it is up to us to see that they are given a fair and impartial trial. Send donations to the

District Secretary, **JOE HUDSPETH.**

Please Act at Once.

O'Brien, Texas

1924 - 1926
Newsletters

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

To the Comrades of the
16th Congressional District

O'Brien, Texas, June 2, 1924

You are aware of the fact that the interests are
trying to crush the power of the working class
operation, and I wish to express my sympathy in
naming a delegate from the members of the
D. P. A., who are the only socialist
of this order and who are the only
rated to the rescue of your brother. Send in
lands by which we can fight the battles of justice
in the United States Court. They are not guilty,
and it is up to us to see that they are giv-
on a fair and impartial trial. Send donations to
the

District Secretary JOE HUDSPETH

Please Act at Once.

O'Brien, Texas

**An Exact Reproduction of an Article that was Suppressed by the Management of the Peacock
Signal, Friday, March 24, 1911, and was not Published in the Aspermont Star of the Same Week. Look well
for the cause, Mr. Farmer. How Many Times will you be Done by the Land Speculator and Town Boomer?**

**A \$50,000 Bond Issue
and A Farmer's
View of It.**

Peacock, Tex., March 14, 1911.
Dear Mr. Editor:

I am sending a copy of this letter to both papers of our county and am asking you gentlemen to give same publication in your respective papers.

First I want to shake with "Henry" of Brandenburg who had the nerve to speak out for himself as he did in the Aspermont Star.

I believe we farmers often lose out by not keeping a better track of our public affairs. We too often leave this to the politician and the town man, when it is as much our duty, if not more our duty, than it is theirs, especially when it comes to our county roads and schools and bond issues. We pay our part of the taxes if we are not a part of any corporation or railroad or big land owners. I have not heard of any of these crying for a \$50,000 bond issue either.

Two weeks ago the Star said, "It is useless for the Star to point out to the property taxpayers of Stonewall county that we need a courthouse, because it is plain to every reasonable man that we do," then he goes on for a whole column trying to point out to us that we do need a court house and a \$50,000 bond issue to build it with. I agree with him that we need a court house, but the question is,—"Do We

Need a \$50,000 Bond Issue to Build It With?" I say NO with big letters, and I believe a majority of our tax papers will agree with me. What is the financial condition of we farmers today, and as to that the financial condition of our county generally? We have made nothing more than a spare living for several years and the last two years have been almost total failures. Many of us are one or two years behind with our debts; lots of our people have not been able so far to pay last year's taxes.

But back to the issue;—now

And what rate of interest is it bringing the taxpayer of Stonewall county? Ten per cent? No, the bank is only paying 2 1-2 per cent.

I believe the sinking fund of a court house bond issue will go the same way, or may be at a less rate of interest. It is true that the farmers do pay 10 per cent and often a much greater rate of interest for this sinking fund but the bank beats the taxpayer to it. Last year one bank took all the county money and paid 4 per cent for it; this year the Star says one bank took all the county school funds at a rate of 2 1-4 per cent and the other bank took the other county money at a rate of 2 1-2 per cent. I wonder why this money was split and the rate so much reduced? Now count the interest on the sinking fund of \$1250 each year for the next 40 years at 2 1-2 per cent and you will find it amounts to \$25,625; take this from \$150,000 (the cost of the interest and sinking fund for 40 years,) and our house will cost \$124,375, at the very least for a \$50,000 building. Now brother farmers, we are all living in temporary houses at home, working hard and trying to get out of debt and trying to make a living and every one of us would like to have a good comfortable home for ourselves and our families, but who of us would build such a home if we could get the money at 5 per cent a year and had to keep it 40 years and pay one-fortieth of it back each year and keep on paying the interest on this one-fortieth every year until the 40 years shall have expired?

At the end of 20 years we will have paid one-half of the cost of our house out but we must still pay interest on the whole cost for 20 years longer. If we would not build us a home on the bond issue plan, can we afford to build a county home on the same plan? The Star gives one reason for this bond issue is to give our county officials a good home. Were not the conditions just the same when our county officials made the race last year as they are today? If they were not satisfied without a \$50,000 bond issue why did they not let it be

sheriff and treasurer, \$7 for county attorney and \$10 for county judges' offices per month. Add the four numbers and multiply by 12 and you will get \$738, not \$1,000, nor as has been reported in our part of the county, that the rents amount to \$1,200 or \$1,500 per year. If you are going to enlighten our people go get the facts and publish them, unless you fear the facts in this case. And every cent of this rent goes to our home people, when bond interest and sinking funds go away from our people forever. I know rent money is a lost money and I do not favor paying it, so here are two propositions I want the tax payers of Stonewall county to consider. I will stand for either but I prefer the latter. (1) To move the Rayner court house to Aspermont and enlarge it, if necessary, just as soon as the financial condition of the county will permit it. (2) To build a good substantial frame building, say to cost between \$2,000 and \$4,000; this will serve our needs in every respect for at least five years. Let us figure some on this proposition. I will say, take the \$3750, the expense of one year for a \$50,000 bond issue and build a frame house that will suffice for all our needs, (except those of the land speculator,) for at least five years, and during the next four years we will have saved four times \$3750, which is saying the tax payers the amount of \$15,000 and at the expiration of the five years we can sell our frame house for \$2,000 or \$2,500, which will make a total saving in five years of \$17,500. This amount will move the court house from Rayner to Aspermont and rebuild it as good as new and even enlarge it one-third, then we will have a better court house than many other counties of our state. Here is the proof of this statement. Three of the oldest citizens of Stonewall county have told me (and one of them said he helped to build it), that the Rayner court house cost the county just \$24,100, and that it was twenty years ago; and listen, they say it only cost the contractors \$16,000. Where did the other \$8,100 go? It went to "sweeten the pot" and the tax payers

figures.

The Star says that a \$50,000 court house will increase the value of your lands \$2 or \$3 per acre; then according to his reasoning a \$100,000 bond issue will increase them \$4 or \$6 per acre. Why not then build a \$1,000,000 bond issue house and our lands will go so high we will all be millionaires. Did the Rayner court house twenty years ago increase the land values? If so, let he who knows speak out. Did Jones county's \$100,000 bond issue increase her land last year to the amount of \$4 or \$6? Well just go down in Jones county and see one of her taxpayers. The Star says we can pay the interest and sinking fund on a \$50,000 bond issue and reduce the taxes of Stonewall county 20 per cent (one of the commissioners told him so.) What reasoning! In other words we can put an extra expense of \$3750 upon ourselves every year for forty years and reduce taxes 20 per cent. Any one knows that our taxes will be \$3750 more every year for forty years if this bond issue carries than they will be if it fails to carry.

Then these promises! Let us ask them to "deliver the goods" first. What did they promise us two years ago? They said it would not increase our taxes, but without the bond issue, when we went to pay our taxes in January, 1910, we found these promises false and we paid 25 per cent more taxes than ever before, and they were not lowered any when we paid them this year, we had to fight like the mischief to keep them from going higher than before. O, Mr. Star man, you will have to try a new bait this time. If \$3750 is added to our yearly expenses and taxes reduced 20 per cent at the same time, I say, Henry, what will become of our roads and other improvements that we farmers need? And here comes the Star again telling Henry there are only \$400 in the road fund and asking if he will vote for a county road bond in his precinct? I will bet a dollar to a ginger cake that if this \$50,000 bond issue carries and taxes are reduced 20 per cent Henry will vote road bonds or have no roads. Farm-

and the rate of taxes lowered, or the valuation is lowered and the rate raised? Very little difference indeed. It will not make the bond issue one cent less to him.

This promise of lowering our taxes recalls another man we must watch. He is the man who is going around among his neighbors and pretending to be against the bond issue but is afraid that our commissioners court will build a \$50,000 house on the scrip plan and it will cost us twice as much as by the bond plan. He is out, have heard of him already. This man will vote for the bond issue and is sneaking around trying to scare you into doing the same. Sneaking is a very mild name for him. I do not believe we have a man in our court who would be so low as to abuse the confidence and usurp the power which his fellow men have placed in him by electing him to this trusted position. It is absurd to think of such a thing. He could never again look his neighbor in the face and he would have to wear the brand of traitor to his fellow man's confidence. Did the court not have the chance to build a \$50,000 house last year on the scrip plan? Why did they not do it? If we do have such a man in our court let him come out and make a public statement that he will favor doing such an ignoble thing; he has two weeks time to make such a statement in. The Star says that "If this bond issue carries it means a great deal to the laborers of our county. It will mean the turning loose of \$50,000 during the spring and summer months. In the summer time when men and teams, yes, hundreds of them are idle. It means work for them to tide over hard times until another crop is made." What a wonderful man this is. I say, who is this man? This Prophet? This Agitator? Is he one of the Wise men of the East, led into our midst by a guiding Star? Or a Moses sent into our midst to lead us out of the wilderness? Or, perchance, an Elijah, who has been fed by the ravens and has subsisted out of the inexhaustible meal barrel of the widow and her son come into our midst? I will dare say

on April 8th, 1911, and let me call the attention of every farmer and every taxpayer of Stonewall county to this date, April 8th, 1911, and urge you to go to the ballot box and vote. You will only lose one-half day from your work and this half day will save you more than many hard days work will make you, as Henry said, "I do not believe the taxpayers will vote this enormous and useless debt upon themselves and upon their children." We can vote it down and then go to the Commissioners' court and ask an economical management of this affair and they will grant it to us, and I believe we have a court row that will do the will of the people. Let us not be bluffed by threats of any one as has been done in the past. Let us not be misled by figures that are not good honest figures. Let us not listen to promises but demand that the goods be delivered first. Let us not listen to the hot air spewers but get down to good sound reasonings. Let us not vote to put dollars in the land speculators' pockets but to protect our own and our children's future. Let us march like brave men to the ballot box on Saturday, April 8, 1911, and cast a fearless vote against this useless monster, this \$50,000 bond issue.

And right here let me caution you, my fellow taxpayers, against the old tricks of election schemes, such as getting out big scarry reports a few days before election day, just so close to election that we will not have time to investigate them. Be on the watch for them for they are not real "bombs" but only "fiz-crackers," they contain no lead and shoot only black powder that makes lots of noise and smell mighty bad. Pay no attention to them. Here is one they are fixing to shoot off unless they give it up because we caught them before they got their fuse lighted, a fellow dropped around the other day and gave me a "confidential" talk: he did not know just exactly who told him but was sure he caught onto something. Now listen: Our district judge or district attorney is going to make us build a big court house

majority of our tax papers will agree with me. What is the financial condition of we farmers today, and as to that the financial condition of our county generally? We have made nothing more than a spare living for several years and the last two years have been almost total failures. Many of us are one or two years behind with our debts; lots of our people have not been able so far to pay last year's taxes.

But back to the issue;—now let's make some figures, plain, honest figures that everybody can understand, (let us quit guessing at things and quit letting the other man figure for us.)

A \$50,000.00 bond issue at 5 per cent for 40 years means what? Listen! 5 per cent on \$50,000 for one year means \$2500 for interest on this bond issue. This means \$2500 for interest alone every year for 40 long years on the tax payers of Stonewall county. And \$50,000 besides this interest must be paid during these 40 years to meet the payment of these bonds at maturity, thus we must pay in addition to this interest \$1250; (\$50,000 divided by 40 years,) each year to pay-off these bonds at maturity.

This \$1250 is called a sinking fund, (I guess it is because it sinks the taxpayers so deep in debt.) Now take these amounts, \$2500 for interest and \$1250 for sinking fund, add them together and we have a debt of \$3750 each year for 40 years the taxpayers of Stonewall county will have to pay for a \$50,000 bond issue. In these 40 years we will have to pay 40 times 3750, which is \$150,000 and only get a \$50,000 house; in other words we pay \$3 for \$1 value in this bond issue house, and as Henry of Brandenburg said, it will be a debt upon us and upon our children and children's children. Now it has been argued heretofore that this sinking fund of \$1250 can be loaned to the farmer at 10 per cent a year and consequently nearly eliminate the original cost of the house, but I dispute this argument, or at least a greater part of it. There is no law permitting such a loan to the farmer, (I got my information from one of the county commissioners,) and if the sinking fund can be loaned to the farmer at any rate of interest, why has not the sinking fund of our \$30,000 road bond been loaned to the farmers? Where is this sinking fund today? According to report two weeks ago in the Star of the proceedings of our Commissioners court, it is by now in the First National Bank of Aspermont,

pay interest on the whole cost for 20 years longer. If we would not build us a home on the bond issue plan, can we afford to build a county home on the same plan? The Star gives one reason for this bond issue is to give our county officials a good home. Were not the conditions just the same when our county officials made the race last year as they are today? If they were not satisfied without a \$50,000 bond issue why did they not let it be known then? The Star is awful afraid the old clerk's office is going to tumble in and bury our clerk or that it will burn down and destroy the records. It might be a good idea to place a night watchman in the clerk's office. If this office is in such a dilapidated condition, why has it not been reported to the commissioners' court, and if it has been brought to their notice why have they not taken some action? Some used to be afraid the old court house would blow down or cave in and on one or two occasions, I understand, court was adjourned for fear she would go down in a sand storm, but she stood the storms and blew not down, she stood the ages and caved not in, till the all-consuming power of fire was called down upon her. Suppose we had built our \$50,000 court house a year ago, would it not have been an ash heap? Now what would such a loss have amounted to? From insurance companies you can only collect three-fourths of the value of a house which in this instance would have been \$37,500. But what did I show you that this \$50,000 bond issue house would cost the taxpayers at the very least figures? It was \$124,375; now take the insurance money, which was \$37,500, from this amount and we would have a loss amounting to the sum of \$86,875. Before we place this enormous amount in perishable property should we not have some water protection? What say you, brother farmer, to this? Again the Star has said that the county is at "great expense" (emphasis on the great) of \$1,000 per year for office rents. Now, Mr. Editor, you accused "Henry" of not knowing what he was talking about. Do you always know what you are talking about? Or are you not willing to give the figures for fear they will not bear out your statements? I was in Aspermont on Trades day and it took me about ten minutes to find that the county is only paying \$738 for a whole year's rent. It pays Mr. Will Guest \$25 a month for court room, the bank \$19.50 for the

large it one-third, then we will have a better court house than many other counties of our state. Here is the proof of this statement. Three of the oldest citizens of Stonewall county have told me (and one of them said he helped to build it), that the Rayner court house cost the county just \$24,100, and that it was twenty years ago; and listen, they say it only cost the contractors \$16,000. Where did the other \$8,100 go? It went to "sweeten the pot" and the tax payers did not get any of the pot and part of that old debt hangs heavy yet, heavy over our heads. They said the stones that were used to build the Rayner court house were quarried thirteen miles from Rayner, hauled there on wagons and dressed and that the lumber and steel joists were hauled from Abilene, 65 miles, on wagons. How much more in this time of railroads, with lumber in Aspermont, and the steel joist and other parts on hand, the stone quarried and dressed, could be done with the same amount of money. Would not such a house, as the Star might put it, be an ornament to our county and a palatial home for our county officers?

What did we do last year with the old jail building? It cost \$18,000 twenty years ago. Last year it was contracted and is being reproduced in Aspermont today for \$5800. Why can't the court house be reproduced in the same proportion of its former cost? It can be done and I believe it is our duty to do so and keep down this \$50,000 bond issue. But back to the jail. I do not want to overlook or mislead in any way; we have the cells of the old jail which are being used again and their original cost was \$5,000. Take this from \$18,000 and we have \$13,000, the original cost of what we are reproducing in Aspermont today for \$5,800, thus saving \$7,200, or over one-half of the original cost. Why can we not save the same proportional amount on the cost of the court house? The same proportional cost of the court house will only be \$10,845. Take this \$10,845 from our savings of only five years of bond expense (\$17,500) and we have \$6645, to enlarge our Rayner court house with. In this way we will save enough in five years' time to build our court house. Good honest figures, farmer taxpayers, make them for yourselves and see if they are not honest, or carry them to your school teachers, or your merchants, or your bankers and ask them if they are not honest

if \$100 is added to our yearly expenses and taxes reduced 20 per cent at the same time, I say, Henry, what will become of our roads and other improvements that we farmers need? And here comes the Star again telling Henry there are only \$400 in the road fund and asking if he will vote for a county road bond in his precinct? I will bet a dollar to a ginger cake that if this \$50,000 bond issue carries and taxes are reduced 20 per cent Henry will vote road bonds or have no roads. Farmer friends do you not know that we must have more roads and better roads and many other improvements over our entire county for the next number of years than we have had in the past, and do you not know that it will take more money to defray these expenses? Our county is yet in her infancy so far as her improvements are concerned. Then tell me that taxes can be reduced 20 per cent. While here Mr. Taxpayer, let me call your attention to the fact that our state papers are saying that Mr. Colquitt, our governor, says that our state funds are so deficient that it will be necessary to raise our state taxes to the tune of 7 or 8 cents on the \$100. What a fine chorus to run with our \$50,000 bond issue song. I got this information from the Ft. Worth Record, Ft. Worth Star-Telegram and the Dallas News on Feb. 24th and 25th. Again the Star says it will only cost Henry 54c on the \$1,000 to issue \$50,000 worth of bonds. Why did he not give his figures, good honest figures? Get down your slate and pencil again. Our total taxable value is in round numbers \$5,500,000, and \$3750 is 7 cents on the \$100, or 70 cents on the \$1000, in place of 54 cents on the \$1000 (add four 0000 to \$3750, two 00 for cents and 00 for each \$100, and we have \$3750,0000; now divide by your \$5,500,000, you get the 7 cents on the \$100; now multiply by 10 because ten \$100 make a \$1000, so you see it is 70 on the \$1000. Now again, suppose taxes are reduced 20 per cent; well 20 per cent of \$5,500,000 is \$1,100,000; take this \$1,100,000 from \$5,500,000 and we will have \$4,400,000 and by the same process as above we will have to pay 8 1-2 cents on the \$100 or 85 cents on the \$1000, or nearly twice the amount stated by the Star.

Now, Mr. Editor, be honest and tell Henry that you are the man who is "running off at the head about things you know nothing of." What difference does it make to the tax payer whether the valuation is raised

means work for them to tide over hard times until another crop is made." What a wonderful man this is. I say, who is this man? This Prophet? This Agitator? Is he one of the Wise men of the East, led into our midst by a guiding Star? Or a Moses sent into our midst to lead us out of the wilderness? Or, perchance, an Elijah, who has been fed by the ravens and has subsisted out of the inexhaustible meal barrel of the widow and her son come into our midst? I will dare say that after April 8th, 1911, he, like Elijah of old, will hike himself out on the prairie and stretch himself in the shade of a mesquite tree and say as Elijah said: "Now, O Lord, my work is done, take my life and let me go home to my fathers." I can say this much with due respect, that I have heard that he is not now and will not be a legal voter in Stonewall county on April 8th, 1911. This man calls upon us as farmers to vote this \$50,000 bond issue upon ourselves and to continue for 40 long years, that we might do a little hauling this summer. O, farmers, listen to his hard time song now, his little tale of woe. We might get to haul the sand to go in the mortar, and if we do not haul it at their figures they will get the railroad to haul it. Can a farmer lay brick or stone? Then how much of the \$50,000 will be "turned loose?" The contractor will put at least \$10,000 and may be more down in his jeans, the material will cost its thousands, and yet this man says \$50,000 will be turned loose to us laborers. More figures, good honest figures(?)

I want to call your attention to another Text that was preached from to us two years ago in nearly every school house in our county. It is this: "The railroad will pay taxes on a taxable value of \$15,000 per mile." But after the Doxology was sung and the meeting broke up, the railroad pays tax on \$8,000 per mile. More figures, good honest figures(?)

Now I might have made some mistake in my figures, but me and the kids nearly wore our slates and pencils out figuring on these things and I believe they are all good honest figures, but suppose you get your slates and pencils out and see if I have figured right.

Here is what we farmers must do; figure for ourselves. Don't sit around and let the other man figure for you, or you will get figured out every time. Now this question will be voted upon

ers, they contain no lead and shoot only black powder that makes lots of noise and smell mighty bad. Pay no attention to them. Here is one they are fixing to shoot off unless they give it up because we caught them before they got their fuse lighted, a fellow dropped around the other day and gave me a "confidential" talk; he did not know just exactly who told him but was sure he caught onto something. Now listen: Our district judge or district attorney is going to make us build a big court house if we do not vote these bonds upon ourselves. It is leaking out, listen and you will soon hear it, if you have not already heard it. Oh, don't these land speculators shoot big guns? They are always afraid we poor, ignorant, blind farmers are going to walk right off into a hole and break our necks. They have got so much sympathy for us, just looking to our welfare all the time. What did our district judge do over a year ago? Did he not call the grand jury's attention to make some recommendation about the people building a big court house? And that grand jury made the report and recommended that the court house be built. We did not build it, did we? No. Did the district judge or the district attorney make us build it? No. Last fall after the old court house burned our district judge charged the grand jury that some recommendation must be had to build this big house. This time the grand jury utterly ignored his charge, and made no recommendation.

Why did not this district judge or district attorney make us build this \$50,000 house? Because neither district judge nor district attorney can make us vote \$50,000 worth of bonds or make us build such a house. Stonewall county must provide a house for her court and offices for her county officials but no one has the power to force us to vote a \$50,000 bond issue or force us to build a \$50,000 house of any kind. Are we peons as in Old Mexico? Or slaves to be driven by masters? Or cattle to be herded and driven by the land speculator's whip? We who have homes and want homes in Stonewall county must be scared and driven by the land speculators who want to sell out their lands at a big profit and get out of the county and leave us with this 40-year debt upon us. Let them shoot their bombs and fiz-crackers, but on the 8th day of April we will give them "What Patty Gave the Drum."

COUNTY TAX PAYER,
From the Peacock Neighborhood

THE BOMBSHELL THAT HENRY FORD FIRED

By ALLEN L. BENSON

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HENRY FORD has cracked the shell of hell. He who will may put his eyes to the crack and look out. Everyone in the world is putting his eyes to the crack, though not every one is looking out. The whole world is talking about Ford. Wherever men and women toil most, there is the talk most earnest. Five dollars a day for floor sweepers—think of it. Twelve millions a year given to employees—can we be dreaming? And daily hours cut from nine to eight—will not somebody kindly wake us up?

Nobody can wake us up. We are not asleep. All that we have read about Ford is true. The great automobile manufacturer is giving away money by the million—not as Rockefeller gives it, to universities and churches; not as Carnegie gives it, to found libraries in his own honor—Ford is giving the millions back to the men who hammered them out with their bones. He might have kept them all. He voluntarily chose not to. For Ford, as a human being, I am strong. He is a man.

I should like now to have you look through the crack that Ford has put into the shell of hell as I look through it—and then ask yourself whether I have pointed out anything that is not there. But to see through this crack clearly it will be necessary for you to keep Ford's millions a little away from your eyes. A silver dollar, held within half an inch of your eye, you know, will shut off the view of a valley a thousand miles long.

I said I was strong for Ford. I am. I am strong for him because he wears no bristles upon his back. I am strong for him because he is doing what no other man of his income ever did—giving back to his employees half of his profits. But I am strongest for him because he has proved many things that Socialist

writers have been telling you for years. When we wrote you yawned. You said we were dreamers. Some of you said we were fools. No matter what you said. The point is, you did not believe us. We pictured to you a world for which you did not dare to hope. You did not believe a world so much better than this could exist. But you were wrong. Ford has proved you were wrong. You were wrong because you did not dare to hope enough. The human race never dares to hope enough. So long has it been harnessed to hardship that it scarcely dares hope at all. A politician who promises next to nothing—and does not deliver that—is usually believed. We Socialists, who promise what the earth really holds, are set down as idle dreamers or malicious demagogues.

It is time now to get down to brass tacks. Money talks. Ford's money is talking. We Socialists told you that under a just system of industry even the lowliest worker need not lack a decent living. Ford has not established a just system of industry, even in his own factory. He is returning only half of his profits. But the lowliest man who works for Ford receives not less than \$5 a day. That is \$1,565 a year. Ford is paying many of his workmen more than \$2,000 a year. The average annual wage of the American workingman is less than \$500 a year.

The difference between what Ford is paying and what the others are paying indicates part of the robbery that the others are practising upon their victims. It does not represent all of the robbery, because Ford is not yet paying his employees what they earn. Ford's employees, like all other employees, earn all that is produced in excess of what is actually produced by the proprietors themselves. Most great proprietors produce nothing. Ford is an exception. He is entitled to his just reward. But his just reward is not what he is getting. His plant last year produced \$25,000,000 of profits. Ford took more than half of this sum and his six partners took the rest. No man on earth can earn \$12,000,000 or \$15,000,000 a year.

No man on earth can wisely use so much a year. Ford knows this as well as anybody. The fact that he has chosen to surrender half of his profits shows that he knows it. The fact that he has chosen to return half of this money to his employees instead of using it to found libraries and endow colleges shows that he

knows to whom it belongs. Ford has been a workingman himself. He is not entirely blind. He knows what it means to work and get only a part of what one earns.

But let us hurry along. We Socialists told you that under a just system of industry even the lowliest workingman need not lack a decent living. You hooted at us. You said we were fools. The rich men said we were crooks. What does Ford say? He says he can afford to pay and will pay floor sweepers not less than \$5 a day. What do you think of a minimum of \$5 a day? You, Mr. Average American Workingman, who receive less than \$500 a year, what do you think of \$1,565 a year? Could you live in comparative decency on that? Would your family feel a little more comfortable than it now feels on less than \$500 a year? How would you like to work for Ford? Would you accept a job in his factory if he were to telegraph you? Would you suspect his money of being counterfeit?

Then, why do you always suspect Socialist promises of being counterfeit? Can nothing but the actual sight of money convince you? All that Ford has told you in terms of money we have told you in words. We have told you even more. We have told you that you may have all your labor produces if you will but go about it in a sensible way to get it. Ford has told his employees they may have half of the additional \$25,000,000 a year that they should get. When Ford promises to return ten or twelve millions a year you take him exceedingly seriously. If you are near enough to his factory, you crowd around the gates and howl for jobs. You block the streets until the police have to come and chase you away. But when Socialists tell you that you could just as well have the whole \$25,000,000 as half of it, you yawn and declare you believe you will vote the Democratic ticket and keep the tariff down or vote some other ticket and put the tariff up.

The man who perpetually yawns is exceedingly likely to dislocate his jaw, but he is not in great danger of yawning a new suit of clothes upon his back, or a barrel of flour into the kitchen. It is time that we, as a nation of working men and women, began to give some serious thought to the problem of how we may best go about it to make life more nearly worth living. If nothing can convince us except the actual sight of money, let us thank God

that Ford has money. He has put a crack in the walls that even a donkey should be able to see through.

But we should ask too much of Mr. Ford if we were to require him to pull us through the crack. Ford has done enough for us. We should now do something for ourselves. He has shown us that half of his profits are enough to enable him to reduce daily hours from nine to eight and increase the pay of all men more than 22 years old to \$5 a day. We should be able to do the rest of the problem ourselves. It is nothing but a problem in mental arithmetic. We have only to divide the remainder of Ford's annual profits by the number of his employees to ascertain how much more Socialism would increase wages.

The remainder of Ford's profits are \$12,500,000.

The number of his employees is 25,000.

Enough profits are left to increase by \$500 a year the wages of each man, woman and child who works for Ford.

That would be a little more than \$2,000 a year for floor sweepers and still more for others.

If Ford should say to his employees that he would give each of them \$500 more a year, you would believe him. You would believe him because you know he has the money. Yet Ford cannot divide \$12,000,000 by 25,000 more accurately than I can. I know what the result is as well as he does. I know that if Ford's employees, in common with all the rest of the people in the United States, owned the Ford factory, precisely as they do the parcel post, that the employees, instead of Mr. Ford and his partners, would get the remaining \$12,500,000 a year. All this is but the simplest truth, and the sooner the working class of the United States awaken to its truth the sooner will "Ford wages"—and better—be paid to everybody in the United States.

But every industry in the United States is not a Ford automobile factory—this from our friends the grafters who want to keep things precisely as they are. Hardly anybody, they say, is making so much money as Ford and almost nobody could afford to pay so much wages as he is paying.

Nonsense! Every great industry in the United States can afford to pay as much as Ford is paying. Little business men could not afford to pay as much, because they are doing business in a wasteful, picayuneish way, but the great industries are as well able as Ford to pay what he is paying. The automobile industry is highly competitive. The great trusts, which have nearly, if not quite, destroyed competition in their respective lines—those trusts are in far better position than is Ford to pay high wages. Ford's business seems an exception to ordinary industries only because his dividends are so large. Let me tell you why his dividends are so large.

The Ford Automobile Company in 1913 made profits of \$25,000,000. The rule among big business men is to issue as much stock as the profits will pay dividends upon. That is the way business men estimate values. Earning power is the test. If a concern can produce profits of \$1,000 a year, the concern must be worth \$25,000, because \$1,000 is 4 per cent. of \$25,000. The advantage of this scheme is that it gives the insiders an opportunity to get their own profits quickly. They do not wait weary years for dividends. They simply start the presses to printing stock. The stock is sold to the public at high prices and bought back, in panic times, at low prices. The insider cannot lose. The outsider cannot win. The insider does not intend the outsider shall win.

The Ford Automobile Company, as I have said, produced in 1913 profits of \$25,000,000. It was known far and wide as a highly prosperous concern. According to all the rules of high finance, it should have been capitalized at an enormous sum. According to all the rules of high finance, its stock should have been touted broadcast as a great investment and sold to everybody who could be induced to buy. If Henry Ford had been the ordinary big business man, he would have done these things. Upon the basis of his \$25,000,000 of profits he would have capitalized his concern at \$625,000,000 or thereabouts. Upon a capitalization of \$625,000,000 he could have paid an annual dividend of 4 per cent. As the owner of more than half of the stock he could have put more than \$300,000,000 into his own pockets and become another Carnegie. He could have reduced wages, starved his employees into strikes, shot them down if necessary, and virtuously resisted all demands for more wages by declaring that he

was already paying so much wages that he could pay only 4 per cent. dividend upon his stock.

But Henry Ford did none of these things. The Ford Automobile Company, instead of being capitalized at \$625,000,000, is capitalized at \$2,000,000. The stock of the company, instead of being scattered broadcast through the country, is owned by seven men, Mr. Ford himself owning more than half. Mr. Ford, in other words, has been and is engaged in the making and selling of automobiles rather than in the making and selling of stock.

Therein Ford differs from the conventional big business man. Because his company is honestly capitalized, his books in 1913 showed a profit of more than 1,200 per cent. It is because his books showed a profit of more than 1,200 per cent. that the Ford company is pointed out as an unusually successful enterprise. If the Ford company were capitalized for seven or eight hundred million dollars, the very men who now regard it as a gold mine would regard it as a gold brick.

And it would be a gold brick to everybody except the men who sold the brick. They would have the seven or eight hundred millions and would be so respectable that their respectability would shed censure as a duck's feathers shed rain. But the cheated stockholders would be dissatisfied with the small return upon their investment, and the workers would be dissatisfied with their wages. The wages of floor sweepers would not be increased from \$2.34 a day to \$5, nor would \$10,000,000 be handed out each year to other employees. More likely the wages of everybody would be reduced. And the reduction would be based upon the excuse that is everywhere given by big business men: "We must reduce wages in order to pay our stockholders a fair rate of interest."

We hear this cry every day. The railroad companies want to reduce wages or increase freight rates—they do not much care which. The mining companies cannot afford to pay their employees living wages. No millionaire will admit that he is making a dollar in excess of necessary household expenses. Ford is the only millionaire in the United States who is crying to his employees for help to spend his money.

Yet common sense should tell us that the Ford plant is not the only industry in the United States that is making much money.

Why should the Ford plant be so considered? The Ford plant makes nothing but automobiles. Automobiles are not necessary to life. Most people do not have them. Most people never will have them. Concerns that make and sell what everybody must have should be much more prosperous than a concern that deals in what only a few can have. A great railroad system should be much more prosperous than an automobile plant. The Beef Trust should be more prosperous than an automobile plant. The Woolen Trust should be more prosperous than an automobile plant. The Steel Trust should be more prosperous than an automobile plant. Yet not one of these trusts declare a dividend in 1913 of 1,200 per cent. Not one of these trusts has since established a minimum wage of \$5 a day and reduced daily hours from nine to eight. Not one of these trusts pays anything but the lowest wages upon which its employees will consent to exist. They are all doing business—feeding, transporting and otherwise serving the American people, but they are all paying wages that Ford's employees would not look at, and calling upon the police, if necessary, to prevent their employees from using force to get more.

The American people are being fooled—that's all. The business buccaneers of this country are concealing their profits behind watered stock. What Ford is doing all the great business interests of the United States could do if they would.

The railroads could decrease freight and passenger rates and increase wages.

The Beef Trust could increase wages and reduce the price of meat.

The Woolen Trust and the Steel Trust could sell their products for less and pay their employees more.

Ford wages can be duplicated by any trust that is willing to retire its watered stock and return to its employees half or more of the profits.

But there comes the rub. To get the desired result both of the foregoing conditions must be brought about. Capitalization must be brought down to an honest basis and capitalists must be found who will give half of their profits back to their employees. The

fulfillment of either of the conditions without the other will not be enough. It is theoretically possible, though highly improbable, that the trusts will be forced to an honest capitalization. But what if the trusts were to be forced to an honest capitalization tomorrow? What good would that do the men and women who work for the trusts? That is a question that is not answered by gentlemen who would settle everything by squeezing the water out of stock. Squeezing water out of stock, while a highly meritorious proceeding, does not necessarily amount to anything to the employees of stockholders. Squeezing the water out of stock merely prevents rich men from gold-bricking small investors. It does not compel stockholders to pay wageworkers more wages. Ford's honest capitalization did not amount to anything to his employees until he coupled with it a determination to return to his employees half of his enormous profits. Without undermining the very foundations of the capitalist system, what law can be passed to compel capitalists to return half or more of their profits to their employees? No such law can be passed. Therefore, the squeezing out of water from stock is no remedy for insufficient wages. It is a remedy only for a certain class of bad investments.

The only remedy for the miserable conditions under which labor exists is Socialism. Ford's plan, splendid as it is in comparison with the policies of other capitalists, is defective in many particulars, of which I shall mention two. It gives his employees only half of the \$25,000,000 annual profits, when they should have all of the profits except what might justly be paid to him as compensation for his services, which are of undoubted value; and, being entirely voluntary, Ford's plan may be withdrawn by him at any moment.

No man should have the right to withdraw at any time anything to which any other man is entitled. Either Ford's employees create the wealth that is produced in his plant or they do not. If they do not create this wealth, it would be interesting to discover who does create it. If they do create it they are entitled to all they create all the time. If they did not create the \$25,000,000 of profits that the plant produced in 1913, then Ford and his six partners did create them and are now doling them back to their employees in the form of charity. If the workers of this

country, in demanding higher wages, are seeking charity, I have not heard their cry aright. If Ford, in announcing his profit-sharing plan, branded it as an act of charity, I did not read his announcement aright.

"All our men," said Henry Ford to the New York Times, on January 11, 1914, "have helped us in our business. We feel they are entitled to share in the profits."

Not a word about charity in that. Nor in this:

"I do not believe in prolonging the conditions which, ever since the Civil War, have been developing into a curse upon the country—the conditions which have built up a few millionaires and actually pauperized millions or kept them poor. Such conditions are out of date."

Such conditions certainly are out of date. Such conditions were never in date. They were never just. They are not just now. But to declare them "out of date" accomplishes nothing. Even if they are out of date, the conditions still exist. What we need is to put them out of existence. How can we do that? Ford's plan will not do it. Ford's plan is voluntary. If we wait until the great capitalists of this country voluntarily offer to relinquish half of their profits to their employees, we shall probably wait until Gabriel blows his horn. Who is willing to wait so long? If every capitalist should voluntarily follow Ford's example tomorrow, what could prevent them from changing their minds day after tomorrow?

Don't let your mind buckle up at this point. Here is where you should do your thinking. It is because you always stop before you get to this point that you never get anywhere. We have uncovered the loot—how are we to recover our property?

We have shown that stock watering is a device by which profits are concealed—how are we to get what we have lost?

You cannot do it by decreasing the tariff.

You cannot do it by increasing the tariff.

You cannot do it by fussing with the currency.

You cannot do it by passing more foolish laws against the trusts.

Only one law can be enacted against the trusts that will do the people any good. Pass a law compelling the trusts to sell their plants to the government, at a just price, and you will have done something. You will then be in a position to know that you will get the profits made by the trusts. Owners never have any difficulty in collecting the profits that their industries make. Outsiders are the only ones who have difficulty in collecting profits on other people's property.

The American people are outsiders. They should be insiders. The people of the United States should own the industries of the United States. They do all the work in these industries. They have need for all the products of these industries. Why should they let a few insiders own everything while all the rest of the people stand outside and pay everything? It is not because industry would cease if the insiders ceased to own. Owners are not workers. They used to be, a hundred years ago, but they are not now. Business has grown too big. Owners now merely own. Morgan makes no steel, nor helps move a railway train. Rockefeller only plays golf. Not a great captain of industry works anything but the public. With rare exceptions, such energies as they devote to business are devoted only to the business of profit-making.

Profit-making does the public no good. If the public must be buncoed out of a profit, the public has no interest in the destination of the profit. It is immaterial to the public whether the profit goes to Morgan, to Rockefeller or to the Vanderbilts. The public should not, therefore, be compelled to pay Mr. Morgan for so arranging matters that a certain profit goes to him rather than to somebody else. That kind of "work" does not constitute public service and should not be paid for by the public.

Yet it is the only kind of work these gentlemen do. To do this "work" is the only excuse they have for owning the country's industries. If they were to get out, the industries would go on. The men who are making steel would continue to make steel. The men who are digging coal would continue to dig coal. The men who are weaving wool would continue to weave wool. Noth-

ing would happen except that a few grafters would no longer be permitted to fatten at the expense of everybody else. What Ford has done for his 25,000 employees would be more than duplicated for every other working man and woman in the United States. Ford is giving only half of his profits back to the men who originally created them. Socialism would hand over the other half. Socialism would leave nothing for the mere owner—for the man who did nothing but stand at the pay window with a club.

Men like Henry Ford would be taken care of. Men like Henry Ford are as easy to take care of as they are scarce. In the New York Times interview that I have quoted he said: "I don't expect to leave much of a fortune when I die." He knows how little money can do toward the making of happiness. Yet he knows how necessary it is that everybody should be able to receive for his labor enough money to enable him to live comfortably. "I believe it is better for the nation," he said to the Times, "and far better for humanity, that between 20,000 and 30,000 men and women who work for me should be contented and well fed than that a few millionaires should be made."

The needs of all the rest of the people are as great as the needs of Ford's employees. He believes—and quite rightly—that he has helped humanity by giving half of his profits to his employees. I believe humanity would be helped still more by giving all of the profits that now go to capitalists to the working men and women who are creating them. That is what Socialism stands for. It exists for no other purpose. It has a plan for putting its program into effect. The trusts can be paid for with bonds. The bonds can run 50 years. The profits from the trusts could thus be used to pay for the trusts. The cost could be spread over more than two generations. Nobody would feel the burden. On the contrary, prices could immediately be greatly reduced without reducing wages.

That is what we need in this country. We need to widen the margin between income and necessary expenditure. It does no good to increase wages if the cost of living be also increased so much that nothing is left of the increased wages. Nor does it do any good to reduce the cost of living, if wages be so reduced that the worker can pay only for the cheaper living. The people of

this country will never be any better off until the cost of living can be tremendously reduced without reducing wages at all, or until wages can be tremendously increased without increasing the cost of living at all. Which brings us to the paltry promises that the other political parties make—and don't keep.

How miserable are the promises of the Democratic party—empty though they have proved to be—beside what Henry Ford is actually doing. The Democratic party promised to reduce the cost of living by reducing the tariff. If anyone can show that the cost of living has gone down since the Underwood tariff law became effective he will have accomplished something that Bradstreet's has been unable to do. The Democratic party promised that it would increase prosperity by "reforming" the currency. The currency has been reformed, but 325,000 men are idle in New York city alone, and millions more are idle throughout the country. The Democratic party promised to stop extortion by "strengthening" the laws against the trusts, but when Mr. Wilson outlined his anti-trust program to congress, Wall Street smiled all over and declared publicly that the President's statesmanship was superb.

Nor is that all. What if the Democratic party had actually kept its promise to reduce the cost of living? What if the Democratic party had made the average man's living cost nothing? The average man's living must cost less than \$500 a year, because his total income is less than that sum. What if the Democratic party had enabled the average man to live for nothing and save his whole income of less than \$500 a year? What would that achievement have amounted to beside the act of Ford in paying even his floor sweepers \$1,565 a year? If Ford's floor sweepers want to live on less than \$500 a year, as most American workmen are compelled to live, each of Ford's floor sweepers can save more than \$1,000 a year. Ford actually increased the wages of each of his floor sweepers \$833 a year. He more than doubled their wages, swelling them from \$732 to \$1,565. The Democratic party never promised the working people of the country more than a paltry reduction in the cost of living, with no guarantee whatever that wages would not be correspondingly reduced. As a matter of fact, the Democratic party has not reduced the cost of living at all. Yet Mr. Wilson continues to enjoy world-wide renown as a great statesman.

Nor did Mr. Roosevelt, in his most extravagant moments, ever promise anything that could be compared with what Henry Ford has done and is doing. Mr. Roosevelt, if he be read carefully, never really promised much of anything. He talked glibly about "social justice," but he never took the trouble to translate his phrases into terms of beef and potatoes. Any political phrase that cannot be translated into terms of beef and potatoes is poor politics for those who consume the political phrase but cannot consume the beef and potatoes.

What we need in this country is more food, more clothing, better shelter, more leisure and less political hot air. Mr. Roosevelt willing, as he always is, to promise at least all he believes he can deliver, really never promised anything that was definite enough to be identified by an adding machine. If he had promised to the people of the whole country even half of what Ford is actually delivering to his employees, it is a grave question whether he would have received as many votes as he did. It would have seemed too much. Nobody would have believed the country's industries could stand the drain. Yet Ford, honestly capitalized as his company is, has turned the trick and is still paying an annual dividend of 600 per cent. upon his \$2,000,000 of stock.

We who live in this country should dare to hope. We are living in both a marvelous country and a marvelous age. We have the men, the machinery and the materials with which to produce everything we need. We should no longer be content with a bare living. We should live well and live easily. We should work less and consume more. We should demand much and insist upon getting it. We should have no patience with politicians who promise us trifles and give us nothing. Any politician who promises us trifles is either crooked or lacking in realization of what are our just deserts. We who do the work of this country are entitled to everything that is produced in this country. We should have no multi-millionaires here. We should have no paupers here. We should have neither if everyone were to have the value of what he creates and no more.

We need only to go about it sanely to satisfy our needs. The industries of this country are no longer suited to private ownership. Anything that cannot be run by its owners is too large for its owners to own. Lincoln said no man was good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. We say that

no man has a moral right to own what he cannot operate, but which other men must operate if they are to live. The small group of men who own the industries of this country cannot operate them and do not need them. The great group of men who operate the industries of this country do not own them, but must have access to them if they are to live. They cannot obtain access to them except by making terms with their owners. The terms are always the lowest wages upon which the workers will consent to exist. These must be the terms because there are always idle workers ready to take the jobs for wages that will yield a bare living.

Democrats declare these statements are false. Progressives declare these statements are false. Republicans declare these statements are false. We Socialists respectfully call attention to the fact that the capitalist who are robbing you are financing each of the parties that declare we Socialists are liars. We also call your attention to the conditions that now exist and have existed since you were born—and long before. The workingmen of this country, like workingmen the world over, have been and still are poor.

If you want to fill your pockets, you must open your eyes. Two classes are struggling for the possession of the wealth that is being produced in this country. The workers are trying to keep what they make. The capitalists are trying to get all they can. Strikes are an expression of this conflict. Politics is an expression of this conflict. Of the two politics is the more important. The gentlemen who are relieving you of so large a proportion of what you produce are, for the most part, proceeding according to law. They know, because they made the law. They are exceedingly particular as to what the law shall be. They would like the law always to be on their side. It is easier to do anything when the law is on one's side. You should know this as well as they do. You should know it so well that you would go about it intelligently to make the law as you want it.

That is precisely what you do not do. When you strike you do not choose J. Pierpont Morgan or John D. Rockefeller as your leader. You choose one of your own men. But when you go after something of much more importance—that is to say, political power—you always choose J. Pierpont Morgan or John D. Rockefeller as your leader, I mean you always vote with some party

that is controlled and financed by the rich men whom you wish to conquer.

You see Roosevelt, but you do not see George W. Perkins.

You see Wilson, but you do not see August Belmont and Thomas F. Ryan.

You are solemnly assured that Perkins, Belmont and Ryan do not count, but when your hero has finished his term in the White House they are always more enthusiastic about him than you are. You may not know why, but they do. You believed he belonged to your side. They knew he did not. Some of the men who recently built a monument in Princeton, New Jersey, to the memory of Grover Cleveland are the men whom Cleveland was elected to put out of business. It is always so. A man who is elected by the capitalist class cannot be depended upon to prevent that class from preying upon the people.

The Socialist party is trying to take possession of this country on behalf of the men and women who are doing the work of this country. It is not financed by any capitalist. Its only source of income is the 25 cents a month that each of the workers who belong to the party pays into its treasury. It has no other purpose than to promote the public welfare. It knows not how the public welfare can be promoted except by urging the people to take over the ownership of the country's industries and operate them for the public benefit. We believe we can pack meat without Mr. Armour. We believe we can do everything there is to be done without the help of anybody. We know we can do everything that is to be done, because we have always done it and are still doing it. We should only miss the activities of the gentlemen who keep us poor while we are working. We believe we could endure their absence. We also believe we could endure the absence of their agents in congress. We believe congress, without any trust agents in it, would be quite a respectable body. We should not trust it too far—we should hold it in check with the initiative, the referendum and the recall—but we believe it would do very well. Since the government has succeeded in digging the Panama Canal, we believe it could be trusted to dig coal and grind wheat, weave cloth and smoke hams.

In short, we believe so much in our country that we are exceedingly anxious to take possession of it. We should like to place everybody, not merely on a level with Mr. Ford's floor

sweepers, but up with his \$3,000 or \$4,000 a year mechanics. At present each of Mr. Ford's floor sweepers is annually in receipt of an income that is more than three times as great as that of the average American—and Mr. Ford has enough left to pay a dividend of 600 per cent. upon his stock. Mr. Ford and his floor sweepers may be proud of this fact, but how do you feel about it?

Join the Socialist Party. Vote the Socialist ticket. Get in line. It is unthinkable that present conditions can forever continue. The ownership of the earth cannot forever be kept in the hands of a few. The workers must be the owners. Do you believe otherwise? If not, vote the only ticket that will express your desires. Dare to hope—and then vote as you hope.

The price of this pamphlet is 5c; 25c per dozen; 50 cents per hundred; \$3.50 per thousand and can be had at the address below.

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"Socialists must understand that before they can be thought capable of managing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by proving their ability to manage their own political organization; that must be the means of fitting its members for larger duties and greater responsibilities; they must acquaint themselves with the executive work, keep posted as far as possible as to party activity in every field; elect none as officials or representatives but those qualified; they must develop confidence and faith in their own ability to settle all problems and overcome all difficulties between here and the co-operative commonwealth. The writing of books, making of speeches, publishing of papers, however important, will be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not equipped to take full advantage of them.

"Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist may apply himself offers less individual glory or immediate reward than that of faithful devotion to the details of management of the party organization, and that very fact makes it all the more necessary."

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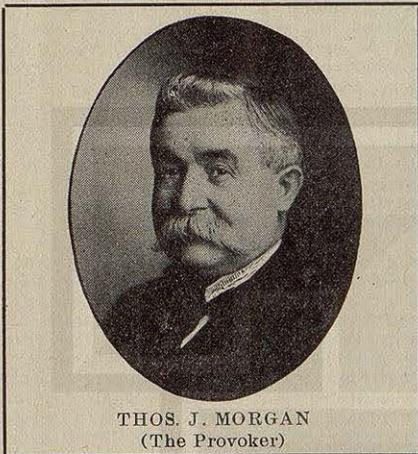
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THE PROVOKER

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THOS. J. MORGAN
(The Provoker)

PERSONAL.

The publication of the Provoker is a personal contribution to Socialist thought and action within the party—not an INDIVIDUAL “ENTERPRISE” for getting a living or profit from it. Comrades can assist by correspondence, especially by subscriptions from party members. Back numbers and sample copies will be sent on request.

THE PROVOKER'S POSITION AND PURPOSE.

The Provoker has been asked to make his position and purpose in the Socialist party clear and presents this reply:

HIS RIGHT TO BE HEARD.

As a wage worker, 33 years; labor unionist, 25 years; Socialist, 35 years; lawyer, 16 years, he has acquired a knowledge of the wage-workers' position and needs which justifies him in suggesting lines of thought and action he thinks their progress requires.

HIS VIEWS.

The workers create and maintain all nations. Their average intelligence is the highest measure of each nation's civilization.

The individual intellect and social state of Czars, Kings and Capitalists does not change this fundamental fact, for the workers are “The People.”

In all nations the workers are the hereditary and habitual subjects of individual and class rule. Socialism predicates a state created, maintained,

controlled and managed by the workers themselves, in which rulership based on the physical and intellectual superiority of an individual or class would be a contradiction of the fundamental principle of its existence.

THE INTELLECTUAL RISE OF THE WORKERS.

The rise in average intelligence of the workers towards that ideal state is indicated in their creation and self government of labor unions. But hereditary and habitual submission to individual or class rule so confuses thought and action that the pretentious “intellectual” superiority of an individual—Gompers and his class of professional “Labor Leaders,”—is permitted to dominate and obstruct their upward progress.

Hereditary and habitual reverence of “superiors” and hero worship so befores their view that the Gompers' and Mitchel's can safely act as **TOADIES** to the master class and be associates of criminals whose control of unions is obtained and held by means as murderous as those employed by the “Black Hand.”

The intellectual rise of the workers is further indicated by their creation and maintenance of co-operative societies. But in these as in unions, the same self abasement and reverence for pretentious “superiority” prevails, and individuals are permitted to obtain control, repudiate co-operative principles, by capitalist business methods create a permanent “intellectual” class of “Leaders” and hire and discharge working members by the competitive rules of the Capitalist's “Labor Market.”

The creation and maintenance of Socialist organizations indicate a further rise in the average intelligence of the workers. The pioneers in this work had a higher ideal than that of Unionists or Co-operators. In place of the material advantages they sought, pioneer Socialists had to sacrifice good will of fellow workers; become objects of contempt and ridicule; hooted and stoned in public places; arrested, fined, and imprisoned, and discharged and blacklisted by employers. Under this material and mental pressure Socialist organizations were organized. The tragic nature of this pioneer work is indicated by the deaths of eleven of the small group associated with The Provoker, six by self destruction and five by capitalist courts. Continued sacrifice wore away prejudice and built up the organizations. As they increased

in membership and importance "Intellectuals" found positions of prominence in them; obtained control of their means of communication and publicity; kept their individual names constantly before the eyes of working members; magnified the importance of their positions and personal "sacrifices" till they monopolized the attention and confidence of the wage-working members, and thus became the "Representatives" and "Leaders" of the party, just as the Gompers' and Mitchel's have in Labor Unions.

Socialists, like their fellow wage-workers in unions, are influenced by their hereditary and habitual submission and are induced thereby to cease their own educational activities in the party, repudiate their own abilities to manage it and reverentially turn in dependence upon the pretentious claims of "Intellectual Leaders," who, with a few exceptions, come from the business and professional class with social relations, habits and thought, distinct from those of the wage-workers they "lead."

Like Gompers' connection with the Civic Federation at one end and slugger and bomb throwers at the other, these Socialist "Leaders" drink and sup with the master class, and associate with "Business Men" and "Stock Gamblers" in the party, who in the last few years have taken hundreds of thousands of dollars of hard earned savings of trusting comrades by means which would have made Judias and Ananias turn green with envy.

These "Leaders" and confidence men in the party conventions and party organizations, have reduced wage-workers in the party to the same position of subjection they occupied in the affairs of the nation and labor unions.

Reverence for "Intellectuals" and "Hero Worship" is the very soul and spirit of depotism, its natural products are Popes, Czars, Rockefeller, Gompers and "Socialist" leaders, and their superstitious dependents who move backwards, or rest on the mental crutches made for that purpose. "Intellectual Leadership" is a type of Chinese paralysis, which affects every nation, hinders progress everywhere, and produces either a revolution or a living death. The presence of this disease in the Socialist party is manifest in the eruption of professional "Leaders," actuated by individual material interests, class education, hereditary and habitual thought, social relations and ambitions, all of which impell them to look down upon wage-workers "with evil contempt or indulgent good natured—"I will take care of you"—attitude, which befools the slavish and insults and stirs the free mind to protest and resistance.

The real Socialist believes in the latent ability of wage-workers to control and manage the organizations they create and maintain. This belief distinguishes the Socialist movement from all others. Without this ability there cannot be a co-operative commonwealth. The real, honest, intellectuals in the

party believe in and work for this. The dishonest spurious intellectuals repudiate it.

The Provoker's aim and object is to make these facts clear and thereby check and possibly remove the paralyzing influence which impells wage-workers to rely upon others and mistrust themselves. The Provoker will try to arouse the reasoning self-confidence of the wage-worker; to aid in establishing their complete control and management of the party and all the means of communication and propaganda necessary to its progress and thereby remove all the business schemes and confidence games which now disgrace and rob the membership; to aid in their physical and intellectual management of the party to demonstrate to their fellow workers that it is possible to raise their average intelligence to the height required to establish the Socialist state in which there will be no Pope, Czar, King, Capitalist, Gompers or other "intellectuals" to "lead," rule and obstruct progress. The Provoker suggests that it is the duty of every worker in the party to work for this result in his local, and the duty of all real "intellectuals" in the party to use their mental powers not to "Lead" but to advise and aid wage-working members to discard all intellectual crutches and raise their intellectual level by doing the work of management themselves, and acquire by the process of thinking and the doing, that mental confidence which all "Leaders" from the Pope down, know will eventually destroy their rulership, free "the People," and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

A STATEMENT FOR THE INFORMATION OF PARTY MEMBERS.

To Members of the Socialist Party:

I assume we are agreed that there is a "class struggle"; that success depends upon the demonstrated ability of the working class itself to organize, manage, direct and control its economic and political fight, before it can manage and control all means of production and distribution, and abolish wage slavery by the establishment of co-operative industry.

I further assume that we are agreed that there is an idealism which impels individual workers to sacrifice their personal interests, liberty and life in efforts to advance the welfare of their class, and that by such idealism the labor and political organizations of the working class have been created.

I assume also that we agree that "economic determinism," or what individuals conceive to be their immediate necessities and material interests largely controls the thought and action of mankind as a whole.

Socialists note the results of this private materialistic influence in the present condition of the pure and simple form of trade unionism by which Gompers and other exalted individuals have

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perverted the wage workers' organizations, created and maintained by wage workers at so much personal sacrifice. Many of us have observed the same influence in colony and other "co-operative" schemes. All who cared to might have seen it cause the private use and sale of the Greenback party, Populist party, People's party, Union Labor party and other "reform" organizations and movements, wherein a few individuals climbed on the backs of the rank and file into positions of power and personal profit.

Socialist speakers and writers never tire of pointing to the universal power of private material interests as illustrated by the bossism, grafting and fraud in capitalist business and politics. And are loud in their condemnation of churchmen and other "respectables" for the crime of silence which cloaks and sanctifies the corrupt results of this materialistic force.

Party members, however, believe that this power of private material interest does not enter the Socialist party and their faith and confidence in comrades of prominence is proof of this faith. This belief is maintained by the silence of those in high positions, who know the extent of this destructive force in the party.

My attempts to break this silence have produced very unpleasant results to me personally and so far the individuals whose private interests were involved by my attempts have mostly succeeded in burying the facts I presented under clouds of suspicion as to my personal motives, and by that means escaped thorough investigation and exposure.

For years I have contended that in proportion as the wage-working members of the union or Socialist organization allow the management and control thereof to pass from them, to paid professional non-wage workers, in just that proportion will the power of management, direction and control be used to serve the private material interests of those who seek the opportunities offered.

It is not my purpose at this writing to describe the extent, influence and effects of private material interests within the Socialist organizations of the United States that have come within my observation and experience; my present object is to arouse attention to the subject matter.

THE PROVOKER'S RIGHT TO BE HEARD.

The right of The Provoker to be heard in the Socialist party rests on the record of its publisher and the facts he presents. A glance at his record may help to make his right clear.

He became a Socialist at the time he entered the service of the Illinois Central Railroad Co. in Chicago as a machinist. The English-speaking members of the party numbered perhaps a dozen. The use of his name on the Socialist ticket endangered his job and family support, a probability feared in all the eighteen years' service for that company.

In 1877 he was a member of the National Socialist Committee, which met at 9 a. m. each Sunday in a cellar under a saloon. His public agitation began on the street and in saloons, an agitation which produced 7,000 votes and election of three Socialists to the legislature in 1878.

He was city organizer in 1879 when the agitation produced 12,000 votes; elected four aldermen; established a daily Socialist paper, and a place for professionals. These, as editors and others, who found a living in the party, made the daily paper their private instrument, by which they repudiated the national organization, denounced political action, advocated physical force, suppressed by violence all Socialist propaganda, caused the Haymarket tragedy and hanging of the anarchists. At great personal risk he spoke at mass meetings for their defense fund, made their funeral oration in the cemetery where they were buried. For this his home was avoided as an anarchist nest, his violent expulsion therefrom was contemplated by his angry neighbors, his children ostracised in the school and playgrounds. He was president of the Amnesty Association, organized to secure the pardon of those imprisoned. He was delegate in the Socialist National Convention, 1888; delegate and opponent of Gompers in the conventions of the A. F. of L., 1890-1892, 1893-1894; was Socialist nominee for mayor of Chicago, 1891, indorsed by the National Socialist organization, which sent Editors Alexander Jonas and Daniel De Leon from New York to assist as speakers in this campaign. He was organizer of the English-speaking Socialist organization in Chicago from 1889 to 1896. In 1899 he spent a month in the eastern states reorganizing the party split by the professional De Leon. He was an active advocate of the unity of the anti-De Leon, S. L. P., the Social Democratic party and participant in the fight with professionals who vigorously opposed that unity during 1900 and 1901. He was a delegate at the unity convention in Indianapolis and party conventions of 1904 and 1908. He secured the expulsion of anarchists and impossibilists from Local Cook County who, having control of the local organization, attempted to destroy the Socialist campaign in 1904 by their repudiation of the national platform immediately after the national convention had adjourned. He was chairman of Local Cook County after this clearance in 1904 to 1907. For years he has been the party's choice for judge on every judicial ticket. He was party nominee for United States senator last year. Is its attorney now, and has been for years past. And at this writing is announced as principal speaker in the present congressional campaign to fill a vacancy caused by Congressman Lorimer's entrance to the United States Senate.

In thirty-five years of party work, of which the foregoing is a mere sketch, he never held a salaried office, never received a dollar for party work in Chi-

ago and Cook County. He earned his living at wage labor till a grandfather, and since at his law business. In all the years he has paid dues and made donations to party funds; never lost courage or faith in the movement. What that means only a very few Socialist pioneers understand.

The tragedies of the early agitation are merely suggested by the suicide of six, hanging of four and imprisonment of three—thirteen victims—taken from the small group of associates and comrades of years ago. The sacrifice of body, mind, family and life in laying the foundation of the Socialist movement of today will never be told, as the victims and the facts are buried in the years that have passed since wage workers who formed the National Committee did their work without pay in a cellar under a saloon, and organized and agitated at the risk of their means of life, and the present time in which Socialists pay \$5,000 a year rent for the National, State and County headquarters and office of the Daily Socialist in Chicago, and many thousands a year more for professional agitators. The fact that now salaried professionals and others who claim a right to live on the party free from its control, are looked up to as the builders of the Socialist structure, and I, the publisher of The Provoker, looked down upon as a mere "knocker," a disturber of party harmony, indicates the drift from progress by the sacrifice of wage workers to stagnation and corruption by salaried professionals. This record of the publisher of The Provoker proves his right to be heard; his purpose to extend his constructive activities in the party; his right to place the facts of party history in simple and permanent form; his right to create a literature for comrades, in which they will find instruction and direction whereby as wage workers they will learn how to manage party affairs, protect themselves and save the Socialist party and movement from the deception, fraud and destruction of professionalism.

WHO'S THE "PROVOKER"? Idolatry.

In all ages mankind has worshipped idols. Physical prostrations and sacrifices before graven images are now duplicated by mental prostration and humiliating sacrifice of reason before the idol of "Leadership."

Individuals of common clay, favored by the accident of birth or fortunate circumstances, are heroized, martyred and Cannonized by those whose mental mirage creates these mental idols in place of the graven images their pagan ancestors worshipped.

While the forms of idolatry change the substance still obstructs the progress of man to the age of reason and Socialism.

Reason Vs. Superstition.

Socialist organizations logically have but one purpose—to remove the superstitions which hinder the free thinking

and free action of the wage workers by which that self-confidence and self-esteem is created which is necessary in free, self-governing members preparing the way to a co-operative commonwealth.

As the Socialist Party grows this fundamental reason for its existence becomes obscured by the superstitious importance given to individuals.

A Moses or a Christ.

The idea grows in the imagination of new converts that a Moses or a Christ will come to lead adoring wage workers into the promised land. This idea differs from the ancient stories, in that, instead of directing the mind's eye to the rush covered margin of a river or to a common cow shed, the eyes of these mentally dependent members of the party are turned upwards above the level of the wage worker to the college, university, church and palace, ready to note and welcome whoever comes therefrom with flattery or honest sympathy.

For these the way of prominence and power is made easy. Earnest, obscure workers who furnish the life and soul of the party are thrust aside so these idols are lifted on high, so all can see and worship.

Strange Gods.

Among the idols worshipped for a time in the Socialist Party, reason discovered a Pinkerton detective as sole national organizer, authorized to have access to the records of every local. Another, a preacher of national notoriety, acquired by his profession and practice of anarchy in public and private life. Another, an intellectual, financial and moral confidence operator. Each of these appeared in spotless white to their deluded worshippers, and seen by the outside world for just what they were, were held aloft as representative exhibits of the character of the Socialists in general.

"Peerless Leaders."

The party imitates the political organizations of the master class with its "Peerless Leaders" and "Permanent Candidates" for every position of prominence and power.

It is not only their worshippers that wonder who else could be found fit for these exalted places, but the idols themselves come to believe that there are no other pebbles on the political beach, as illustrated by the fact that when one of these party idols was asked "Would his condition enable him to accept a pending nomination?" his reply was, "Who in hell else is there if I don't accept it?"

Heresy.

To oppose this idolatrous superstition in the party is to provoke antagonism, invite the charge of heresy or sacrilege, and subject not only The Provoker to misunderstanding, misrepresentation, ostracism and general condemnation, but it includes all who support his reasonable inquiries into the truth or approve his

efforts to break the silence on which the existence of all forms of idolatry live.

The Provoker's Shield.

To defend the right of free inquiry and free thought in the party and properly protect his unknown supporters, The Provoker presents in the most concise form his own record for examination and reasonable criticism.

The Provoker's Record.

When eight years of age The Provoker joined his mother and father at a blacksmith's forge and with the hammer began his industrial struggle for existence as a wage worker, a struggle which continued for thirty-eight years. Forty-two years ago he married a wage worker, who is still his partner. Forty-one years ago he came from Europe and made a home in Chicago. Twenty-eight years ago he made his home on the spot where he now resides. Thirty-eight years ago he joined the International Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union and maintained his membership for twenty-five years, when at the age of forty-six a public supreme court examination admitted him to the legal profession.

A Union Man.

When he entered the union in 1871 his education was limited to the ability to read and the mechanical knowledge acquired in sixteen years of wage service.

Became a Socialist.

Hardship suffered in the panic of 1873 shattered his confidence in American industrial conditions and perhaps prepared the way for conversion by the first Socialist speaker he heard. In 1874 he joined a dozen men who formed the English section of the Workingmen's Party of the United States.

Became an Agitator.

He subscribed for ten copies a week of "The Labor Standard," the sole organ of the party in the nation, and began active participation in party work with the gift of nine of the ten copies purchased to fellow wage workers and by unseen work of preparing for meetings on street corners and elsewhere. The need was great and the desire to help stimulated thought and action.

He Begins to Talk and Write.

Vocal expression was begun and the task of writing handbills and advertisements undertaken. Thus the foundations were laid on which his education was slowly built.

The Labor League.

The same year he represented his union in "The Labor League," the first delegate body organized in Chicago, consisting of eight unions. The disappointed political ambitions of the leading delegates in 1876 killed it.

In the Strikes of '77.

In 1877 during the industrial strikes which for a time paralyzed the indus-

tries of the great cities, closed the car shops and induced The Provoker to represent the demands of the men to the officials of the road. This action, the organization of the trade unions into a central body, known today as the Chicago Federation of Labor, and his activities in the Socialist Party, brought him into public notice, which endangered his living as a wage worker.

A Member of the N. E. C.

The same year he was elected as a member of the National Executive Committee, which met at 9 a. m. Sundays in a cellar under a saloon at 30 West Lake street.

Socialist Organizer.

In 1878 he was elected "Organizer," the chief executive officer of the local organization, and held that position without pay for three years. He was chairman of the first county convention of the party and one of its nominees for county commissioner. The ticket polled 7,000 votes; three members were elected to the state house of representatives and one to the state senate.

He Caused a Legislative Inquiry.

In 1879 The Provoker's resolutions in the trade assembly he had organized in 1877 brought a legislative committee to Chicago to inquire into industrial conditions. He appeared before this committee as chairman of the Trade Unions Committee and as "Organizer" of the Socialist Party. The proceedings of this inquiry filled columns of the daily press and were published by the state legislature. The creation of the State Bureau of Statistics was one of the results of this work.

Presents Socialism to a Congressional Committee.

The same year as statistician of the Trade Assembly he prepared a report of all the standard trades, which fills seven pages in the official report of the Wright Congressional Committee which came to Chicago, and as chairman of a committee elected by the Socialists presented a statement and submitted to an examination by the congressional committee, which fills fourteen pages of their official report.

The following extracts from this congressional report will give an idea of the Socialist platform therein published as part of its proceedings:

Socialist Platform Adopted 1877— Extracts.

"Labor being the source of all wealth and civilization, and useful labor being possible only by and through the associated efforts of the people, the means of labor should therefore in all justice belong to society."

"The industrial emancipation of labor which must be achieved by the working class itself * * * is the great end to which every political movement should be subordinated as a means. * * * Therefore we demand that the resources of life, the means of produc-

tion, transportation and communication, including land, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canal, etc., become the common property of the whole people * * * and thus abolish the wage system."

A Socialist Festival in 1879.

Following the visit of the legislative committee, a Commune Festival, held Saturday evening and the following afternoon, drew 50,000 persons and funds that made the Arbiter Zeitung a daily. The next month the Socialist ticket polled 12,000 votes and elected four Socialist aldermen, and not a dollar spent for personal service. In June \$3,000 was cleared at the party picnic.

He Opposes Paid-for Service.

Increase in membership and funds created a struggle for paid positions in which the opposition of The Provoker was beaten down.

Spread-the-Light Clubs.

The Irish comrades, aided by The Provoker, formed two "Spread-the-Light Clubs" and sent \$1,700 to the Irish Land League, and while the "Irish World" represented the fight for the abolition of landlordism in Ireland, The Provoker supported it with thirty subscribers.

He Repudiates Parnell.

The advent of Parnell and his introduction of peasant proprietorship in place of the abolition of landlordism and the swing of the Irish World ended The Provoker's support, and to anticipate Parnell's visit to Chicago he arranged a demonstration for the abolition of landlordism held the day before Parnell's arrival in Chicago. It started with 1,000 men in line and was joined by the striking stockyard butchers and ended with 5,000 in line at Twelfth street Turner Hall, in which Parnell's desertion of the land league fight against private ownership of land was unanimously condemned.

1879. In the K. of L.

He was member of Local 522 and representative in District 24, Knights of Labor.

1879. Organized the Central Labor Union.

He organized the German trade unions into a delegated body—the Central Labor Union of Chicago—which continued to 1910, this year, when it joined the A. F. of L.

1879. Labor Day Orator.

He was the orator at the trade unions demonstration, Odgen's Grove.

1880. At the Greenback Convention.

He was one of forty delegates sent by referendum vote of the Socialist Labor Party to the National Greenback convention for propaganda purposes.

He Wrote the Land Plank.

The forty delegates adopted his land plank on which to make their fight.

Land Plank.

"Land, light, air and water are the free gifts of the Creator to all mankind, and all laws and customs which enable a few to monopolize these gifts we condemn and seek to abolish."

He Got the Ears of 1,500 Delegates.

The Provoker was the only one of the forty delegates who succeeded in getting a hearing, and his ten minutes' speech secured the adoption of the land plank by the overwhelming vote of the convention.

Professionals Repudiate the Party.

Professionals in charge of the Daily Chicago Arbiter Zeitung repudiated the referendum vote indorsing the report of the forty delegates, seized the paper, established the weekly "Alarm" and anarchist agitation, destroyed the Socialist movement in Chicago and elsewhere.

1880. Propaganda By Town Meetings.

The Socialist organization being destroyed by physical force, The Provoker organized and carried on Sunday "Town Meetings" for two years.

He Raised a Home While the Anarchists Raised Hell.

Sickness of his wife induced The Provoker to go south of city limits and build a small cottage and limit his activity to the Trades Assembly.

The Anarchist Bomb Explosion.

May 4, 1886, The Provoker visited the superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad as head of a strikers' committee. The same night the bomb exploded at the Haymarket meeting of the anarchists.

Challenges a Juror.

The Provoker and his son, both wage workers on the I. C. R. R., swore to the perjury of Juror Denker. The supreme courts ignored the truth, and, acting on a lie, hanged the anarchists.

Orator at Anarchists' Funeral.

The Provoker spoke at a number of mass meetings to raise funds for the defense of the anarchists and was chosen one of the two English speakers to deliver the funeral oration over their bodies when deposited in the cemetery.

Tried to Save Their Lives.

After sentence The Provoker caused the Trades Assembly to send a committee to the governor to commute the death penalty.

The United Labor Party.

He joined in the organization of a political protest against the hanging, wrote the platform, plan of organization, had charge of the convention and as one of a committee conducted the campaign of the United Labor Party, which polled 35,000 votes and elected eight trade union workmen to the state legislature.

"Save the City From the Reds."

He frustrated the efforts to capture this political organization, wrote its city

platform and named its candidate for mayor (an iron moulder). This campaign forced the Democrats to surrender the city government they had controlled for eight years and join the Republicans on one capitalist candidate, "to save the city from the reds."

Chairman of the Amnesty Association.

Citizens organized the Amnesty Association, with the editor of one of the great dailies chairman. He resigned under pressure and The Provoker was elected chairman.

Visited the Governor.

The Provoker and wife, with a number of prominent citizens, visited Governor Fifer to urge the pardon of Oscar Neebe, sentenced to fifteen years.

At Oscar Neebe's Wedding.

Neebe's release from prison was celebrated by his immediate wedding at the home of his parents. The Provoker was the one invited guest.

Reorganize the Socialists.

The mayoralty campaign of the United Labor Party ended the political demonstration in favor of the anarchists in 1887, and The Provoker reorganized the English Socialists and resumed propaganda by Sunday town meetings at Waverly Hall. These meetings, like those held in 1880-2, became famous through the extended reports of their proceedings in the daily press.

Garside, the Professional.

In 1888 the Socialist Party's one national lecturer and organizer, Garside, arrived in Chicago with authority to examine the roll of membership and all other records. In two weeks The Provoker denounced him as an associate with anarchists and an advocate of their ideas and caused his expulsion. His private correspondence in later years revealed the fact that while a professional in the party, he was in the service of the Pinkerton Detective Agency.

Delegate in Convention.

In 1888 The Provoker arranged for the national convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, and represented the English speaking Socialists therein.

Professionals Split the Party.

The next month (October) the New York and other professionals held a convention in which anarchists and expelled members of the party were "delegates." The leaders returned to New York, seized the national headquarters, threw the national secretary and the editor of the party weekly down stairs, and took charge of the party. A part established headquarters in Cincinnati. Factions began, in which The Provoker and his English speaking comrades refused to take part, and continued their propaganda.

1890. Opponent of Gompers.

Represented the Chicago Trades Assembly in the A. F. of L. convention in

Detroit. Secured the floor for the excluded delegates of the New York Central Federated Trades, a service which that body acknowledged with a rising vote of thanks. He "insulted" Gompers by his exclamations of disgust at Gompers' ignorant reflections on the European labor movement and his affected poses as "president."

Was Nominated for President.

The Provoker allowed his name as a candidate against Gompers and received the support of one-third of the delegates.

The Provoker's Report Printed.

The Provoker's report of that convention was approved by the Trades Assembly and 5,000 copies printed. Its publication forced Gompers to publish a pamphlet in reply.

The Economic Club.

Several millionaires and powerful public men formed the Economic Club to educate the organized workers. The Provoker, by request, became one of its twenty-five members, the one wage worker. The lectures under the management of this club continued for four winters. The results so surprised the organizers and members of the club by the wonderful Socialist strength of both lecturers and audience that The Provoker fought successfully for the last two years to keep them from applying chloroform to end their disappointment.

1891. The Provoker for Mayor.

The Socialists united on The Provoker as Socialist candidate for mayor of Chicago. The New York faction sent Daniel DeLeon and Alex. Jonas to help in the campaign.

1891. Chairman Labor Day.

The Trades Assembly elected The Provoker (over the "grafters") chairman of its Labor Day committee and editor of its Labor day souvenir. He produced a 100-page book and obtained \$500 cash for the committee and 25,000 copies of the book for the advertising privileges. And this result was won in spite of the united efforts of the grafters, which even produced a strike of binders to prevent the completion of the books.

1891. The History of the Trades Assembly.

The Provoker was elected by the Trades Assembly to write its history for publication in its souvenir book and program for its annual ball.

His Wife Is Voted the Prize Chair.

At this ball The Provoker's wife was voted a prize easy chair as the best known woman in the labor movement of Chicago.

Wrote the Factory Laws.

The Provoker rewrote the English Factory Acts, had his work endorsed by the Trades Assembly and adopted by the city council, and they now form part of the Municipal Code of factory and

tenement house inspection and regulation.

Tenement House Workers.

The Provoker's wife made the first inspection of tenement house work and their joint report published by the Trades Assembly was the first on that subject.

Convict Labor.

The Provoker's wife, representing the Trades Assembly, visited Joliet penitentiary, and their joint report was the first published by the Trades Assembly.

The World's Fair.

The Provoker's plan, adopted by the Trades Assembly, to help secure the location of the World's Fair in Chicago obtained the support of organized labor in every state except New York, held by Gompers.

Union Labor to Build Fair.

The Provoker was secretary and spokesman for the Unions of Chicago in their fight to have the World's Fair built by Union Labor. His report (27,000 words, published by the Trade and Labor Assembly) formed a book of seventy-one pages.

Opened World's Fair on Sunday.

The Provoker proposed the Trades Assembly ask Congress to amend the Bill creating the Fair so it could be opened Sundays. As chairman of the Assembly's Committee he secured the support of the organizations of labor of every kind, except the Locomotive Engineers. Addressed the Congressional Committee in Washington and the Fair was opened Sunday.

Guide to French Delegates.

The labor unions of France sent 36 delegates to examine and report on the World's Fair exhibits of their particular trades. The Provoker secured them free passes to the Fair and was their guide during their visit.

1893. Selected by the Organized Machinists of Chicago, The Provoker wrote a special report of the Machinery Exhibit in the World's Fair for publication at the request of the Chicago Herald.

World's Fair Educational Congress 1893.

By invitation The Provoker addressed the World's Fair Educational Congress on the Education of the Wage-Workers.

The Unemployed World's Fair Builders, 1893.

The Trades Union of Chicago selected The Provoker as its wage-working speaker at its great mass meeting on the Lake front of the ten thousand men, discharged on their completion of the World's Fair buildings. The other speakers were Father McGlinn, Bishop Fallows, Henry George, Kate Field, Henry D. Lloyd, Samuel Gompers. Father McGlinn and Bishop Fallows were conspicuous in their clerical garb. The Provoker wore the cap, overalls and apron in which he had worked at the lathe and vice till noon of that day. The newspaper reporters used the

kodak on him and the editors of the Daily Press lambasted him as a demagogue for wearing his working clothes.

The Provoker Quits The Shop.

November, 1903, The Provoker, in his forty-sixth year, entered the night school of the Chicago College of Law, and in a small back room began his business life.

Convention—American Federation of Labor, Chicago, 1893.

The Provoker was the machinists' delegate in the A. F. of L. Convention, held in the City Hall Council Chamber, 1893.

Saved Gompers from Expulsion.

In that convention P. J. McGuire, First Vice-President and "Father" of the A. F. of L., with other leaders in control, had arranged for the election of John McBride for president and the expulsion of Gompers, on the charge of financial misconduct. This was to be done in "Executive Session." The doors were locked and all but delegates and press reporters were thereby excluded. Gompers was not aware of the fate prepared for him till The Provoker, who did know, woke him up with a demand for the opening of the doors, a notice to the Convention that, bad as The Provoker knew Gompers to be, he was entitled to notice of the charges and a fair trial.

Plank 10—A Political Program.

After saving Gompers, The Provoker presented a Political Program, the legislative platform of which contained all the standard demands of orthodox unionism except the tenth plank. This demanded the **Collective Ownership of All Means of Production and Distribution**. The Provoker's demand that this program be referred to a **Referendum Vote** of the members of all Unions in the A. F. of L. was adopted, and the **First and Last Referendum** of the American Federation of Labor was thus ordered.

Debs—Morgan.

By invitation The Provoker addressed the convention of the American Railway Union at Uhlich's Hall, Chicago, 1894. There he first met E. V. Debs, who introduced him to the convention the day before that body voted to join in the Pullman strike.

Kier Hardy—Debs—Morgan.

Kier Hardy, the first Socialist member of the British Parliament, was the Labor Day orator for the Chicago Trade Unions in 1894. The Provoker took him and his companion, Frank Smith, to Woodstock jail to see Debs. After a brief talk we all left the jail, and with Debs driving the team, a long ride revealed the beautiful country surrounding Debs' temporary home. After dinner we returned to the jail and there organized the **International Bureau** for the establishment of means of communication and information between the Socialists of the world, for the ad-

vancement of the principles of Socialism. Eugene V. Debs was elected President; Kier Hardy, Vice-President, and The Provoker, Secretary.

When Debs Left Woodstock.

The Provoker, by invitation, performed the task of reading the mass of congratulatory communications at the great mass meeting which welcomed Debs back to Chicago.

Labor Politics.

July 4, 1904. The Provoker, as delegate of the Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union, attended a Labor conference called by the Illinois State Federation of Labor with the intention of rounding up all the political forces of the labor movement for sale to the highest bidder in the Presidential campaign of 1896. With the assistance of Henry D. Lloyd, Jesse Cox, Mrs. Woodman and other Socialists The Provoker captured the conference by the adoption of Plank Ten as its political demand, and subsequently captured the Cook County convention for the same political program.

The DeLeon Socialists were represented in this conference and convention by Barney Berlyn and his associates.

(To be Continued in Serial No. 2.)

SPIES IN THE PARTY!

The following appears in this month's issue of one of the private enterprises published in the Daily Socialist office:

"WHAT IS THE MATTER?

"Socialist Stagnation—Are Spies in High Offices Succeeding in Disrupting the Socialist Party?

"By A. M. Simons, Editor-in-Chief, Chicago Daily Socialist."

In this peculiar way Simons, national committeeman from Illinois, national executive committeeman and ex-international delegate of the Socialist party, publicly declares there are "Spies in high office in the Socialist party," and asks, "Are they succeeding in disrupting the Socialist party?" He answers his own question in an eight-page article, using 3,500 words to say—Yes.

The way in which he thus proclaims that "spies in high office" are disrupting the party, by avoiding all names and facts, covers every official and professional in the party, including himself and his editorial associate, Peyton Boswell, with a cloud of suspicion.

As the cuttlefish when in danger darkens the water in which it hides with its inky fluid, so Simons, with confusing suggestions, covers the whole organization with dark suspicion, in which he invites the rank and file to hunt for those his silence hides.

This peculiar proceeding and method of Simons and his associate Boswell seems like an attempt to misdirect and confuse, and thereby forestall a real inquiry into the question, "What is the matter?" Their effort, however, is made too late, as the answer is presented in one word:

PROFESSIONALISM.

A PROFESSIONAL.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

First acquired public prominence in the church and temperance field.

In 1892 the World's Fair managers selected him to organize a World's Labor Congress. From this prominent position he launched

"Enterprise No. 1.

A World's Fair "hotel." Accommodation paid for in advance. When his trusting followers arrived in 1893 they found the "hotel" a wooden shell twenty miles from the center of Chicago and thirteen miles from the World's Fair. The public sensation this discovery created came to a climax by the destruction of the "hotel" by fire.

"Enterprise" No. 2.

1895-6. He entered the political field and as a professional Democrat stumped the country for Bryan and free silver.

"Enterprise" No. 3.

1897. He organized an agricultural and industrial school near the Insane Asylum at Kankakee, Ill. He created considerable enthusiasm and secured considerable public and financial support.

"Enterprise" No. 4.

1898. He located near the stock yards, Chicago, and transformed the remains of his Kankakee enterprise into a family co-operative establishment.

"Enterprise" No. 5.

1899. He organized a colony and located in the northern woods of Michigan to teach his followers how, to lead the simple life near to nature.

"Enterprise" No. 6.

1899. Leaving his followers to get out of the woods in their own way, he returned to Chicago and organized a public lecture course for moral and intellectual elevation. Some of his financial supporters wanted to participate with him in the collection and disbursement of the funds. The idea that such co-operation was necessary amused him, and when they insisted he quit and launched

"Enterprise" No. 7.

He called it "The People's University of America" and located his plant at Berrien Springs, near a summer resort in Michigan, across the lake from Chicago. As a feeder to his university he organized a Fellowship Club in Chicago, attracted many followers, who put their means into the "enterprise," a number of whom moved over to Berrien Springs.

"Enterprise" No. 8.

1900. Assisted by the editor of the Chicago Weekly Socialist, he entered the Socialist party with a blare of trumpets. Using the Chicago Socialist as his megaphone, he proclaimed the wonderful success of his university at Berrien Springs and his retirement therefrom to enter a wider field for self-sacrifice in the cause of Socialism. A few days after this entrance into the

party, the capitalist press reported the failure of "the People's University of America" at Berrien Springs and ruin of those caught in that "enterprise." I called the attention of the professionals then in control of the party in Chicago to Mills' public record and danger of admitting such a man in the party. The reply was, "We don't care a damn for his record so he makes good in the party," and he immediately proceeded with

"Enterprise No. 9."

Against the protest of the Socialist committee in charge of the great campaign mass meeting in Central Music Hall, 1900, he used the entrance and the meeting to announce the establishment of his "International School of Social Economy." The financial end of this "enterprise" is indicated by the following extract from one of his advertisements in the Chicago Socialist: "Twenty lectures, reserve seats 15 cents. A comrade selling ten tickets each week gets \$10 for his services and free admission. At least 200 subscribers for ten seats each week and \$1 in advance is required on the signing of the agreement." These figures show that by this enterprise he reached out for at least \$6,000 for the period of twenty weeks, using the party paper, party organization and party members as instruments.

"Enterprise No. 10."

1900. He became organizer for the south division of Chicago at \$10 per week, and George Evans, since expelled from the party, then campaign manager for the presidential campaign in Chicago, paid him privately \$15 a week extra to direct all his oratorical efforts at the Democrats in the stock yards, to the advantage of the Republican party in that district.

"Enterprise No. 11."

1901. He organized a "school" at Girard, Kan., under the auspices of the Appeal to Reason.

"Enterprise No. 12."

1902. Early in this year he organized a "school" in San Francisco.

"Enterprise No. 13."

1902. In the fall he organized another "school" in Denver.

"Enterprise No. 14."

1902-3. In the winter he organized a "school" in Kansas City, Mo. His call for money for this "enterprise" was so enthusiastically answered by "comrades" that he was able to spend at least \$2,000 in fixing up the big barn he rented back of the stock yards in that city.

"Enterprise No. 15."

He launched "The Socialist Teacher," a monthly publication designed to advertise and feed his school. Subscriptions, \$1 a year in advance. The dollars came in, "The Socialist Teacher" went out at the third number.

"Enterprise No. 16."

1904. He organized a Socialist colony for "comrades" who came from other places to attend the second three

months' course in his Kansas City "school." He located on the sunny side of "Rosedale Hill." Enthusiastic "comrades" were induced to engage in blasting ledges in the hillside on which Mills' plans pictured Socialist dwellings in the architectural style of the Spanish missions of Mexico.

"Enterprise No. 17."

He started another Socialist colony on the farm of Comrade Gates in Nebraska.

"Enterprise No. 18."

1904. He published his book, "The Struggle for Existence," proclaimed it the result of twenty years' study and research; but the comrade who prepared most of the historical matter says: "Mills' connection with that publication was the rankest thing in the history of book making." In the preface he gives credit for help to 3,000 comrades. And on the fly leaf notifies these and all others by his "copyright" in the United States and England that "all his rights are reserved" as private property.

"Enterprise No. 19."

1905. He arranged to use the entire party organization to sell his book. His success in this is merely indicated by the fact that the Chicago organization alone became responsible for the sale of one thousand copies.

"Enterprise No. 20."

1906. He presented a plan for a series of Sunday morning lectures by him in one of the theaters located in the center of Chicago. He enthused members of "The Commonwealth Club," who organized a committee to collect funds, \$500 to start, he secured the assistance of the county secretary, editor and manager of the Chicago Socialist; used the center of the front page of that paper to announce his enterprise, in which the party headquarters and party officials were all included, to give it the appearance of party indorsement. As chairman of the county and executive committees of the party, I successfully opposed this "enterprise" and drew upon myself a flood of personal misrepresentation and abuse from his admirers.

"Enterprise No. 21."

He organized a plan to supply all Socialist locals once a month with an article the members could offer to the local paper for publication or the waste basket. His charge per local was \$2 per month.

"Enterprise No. 22."

1906. In the Chicago Socialist, Oct. 20, 1906, we find he is located in Seattle as lecturer for a Socialist propaganda club composed of persons expelled from the Socialist party, co-operating in meetings held in opposition to the party organization.

"Enterprise No. 23."

1907. He joined Local Seattle and published "The Saturday Evening Tribune." Part of his advertisement in Socialist papers reads: "Send in \$7 for subscriptions and get a copy of 'The

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Struggle for Existence,' Walter Thomas Mills, Editor."

"Enterprise" No. 24.

While the comrades responded to his call for \$7 subs., he invaded Canada; engaged as campaign orator for "Labor" party candidates, run in opposition to the candidates of the Canadian Socialist party. April 19, 1907, the Canadian Dominion executive committee of the Socialist party officially notified the state committee of the state of Washington of Mills' disruptive work and furnished the sworn testimony of three Socialist members of the British Columbian Parliament and a number of other members of the Socialist party. On the demand of the Washington state committee that Local Seattle place Mills on trial for this offense against the Socialist party organization, Mills' admirers dominated the local, defied the state committee, and together with Mills were expelled from the party.

"Enterprise" No. 25.

With the "Saturday Evening Tribune," supported by the \$7 subscriptions of comrades throughout the country, he organized "The Adrian Irrigation Company," capitalized stock \$300,000, shares \$100, \$10 down, \$2 per month; offices, 311 4th avenue, Seattle; 621-622 Columbian Block, Spokane, Wash., Walter Thomas Mills, president. The land to be irrigated was in the "Big Bend Country," 112 miles west of Spokane on the banks of "Soap Lake." His Saturday Evening Tribune of Nov. 9, 1907, contained a full-page description of this "enterprise," written in the most seductive style known to Walter Thomas. In this description he declares a certain profit of from 200 to 300 per cent on the investment and appeals to comrades to rush for this stock as follows: "Some people would rush into shelter if it were raining dollars. Are you of that class? We are offering you an exceptional opportunity. Will you avail yourself?" Walter Thomas Mills, President." Comrades who had faith in Mills and were anxious to get the 200 per cent or more offered responded to the call. On the reverse side of this page of his Tribune, Mills' editorial defies the state committee as "an illegal body engaged in a mock fight, backed and financed by a group of influential capitalists."

"Enterprise" No. 26.

He resigns from the Saturday Tribune and expelled Local Seattle and departs, but not for the shore of "Soap Lake." He turns his face south to California, and later appears as an occupant of the Socialist headquarters in Milwaukee, Wis., prepared to continue his sacrifice for the cause under the management of Carl D. Thompson, national committeeman for Wisconsin. In the National Bulletin, August, 1908, page 3, third column, is a copy of Thompson's circular to party members sent through Texas and other states. Here is an extract: "Mr. Mills is a member of the Fourth Ward Branch of the Social Democratic party of Milwaukee, and has

been prominent in the Socialist movement since its beginning. If you want to stir up your community to its very foundations and create a deep and lasting impression, we can fix you up. Walter Thomas Mills is coming through your section soon. We are looking for dates for him—first come, first served, you know. Terms, \$10 per lecture and expenses, including hotel bills, entertainment and part of railroad fare." Thompson is noted as a humorist, but his reference to the "stir" and "impression" Mills can make in a Socialist community is the limit.

So after nine years of professional activity in the Socialist party, the character of which is but slightly indicated in the preceding items, we find him an honored member of the Socialist party of Wisconsin, his office in state headquarters, in comradeship with Victor Berger, professional associate of Carl D. Thompson, and thus indorsed and backed by all the prestige of the Socialist party of Wisconsin, he proceeds to "stir" up the Socialists of other states.

How he succeeded in the state of Washington is indicated in the record of the national convention of 1908, where a session was taken up by the factional fight he started in 1906, and in the National Bulletin of Aug. 19, 1909, where Secretary Barnes devotes four columns to communications which describes the complete disrupting of the party in the state of Washington.

The "stir" created by the Wisconsin-Thompson-Mills circular in Texas is shown in the same National Bulletin, Aug. 19, 1909. The correspondence relating to this matter fills about four columns. The Texas state secretary, alarmed for the fate of the party there, asks for protection by the enforcement of the national constitution, which gives each state organization control of its state agitation and propaganda.

The national executive committee declares it is powerless and leaves the matter with a great laugh at the literary character of the Texas secretary's communications.

The relation of this laugh of the professionals who compose the national committee to the subject matter can be estimated by the fact that about 5,000 words are used in the Bulletin about this fight but just begun in Texas, and correspondence in my hands show that a rival headquarters and rival state secretaryship has been established and that Mills' "students" and admirers promise to stir Texas as completely as the state of Washington has been "stirred."

In this August Bulletin Mills is permitted to use a half column in this fight. Following his cleverly veiled repudiation in his book, "The Struggle for Existence," of "party constitutions," "limitations of membership," "Socialist party trial boards," "withholding of party charters," "party regulations," "party discipline," "doctrinal purity" and his insistence for a "free field for speech and action," he denounces the state sec-

retary of Texas as he did in Washington and closes with this appeal to his Socialist comrades:

"Perhaps it is due to the comrades of Texas to state that I shall be glad to come to Texas and to share in their work whenever we can go after the enemy together—not after each other—or, just as unfortunate, to be made the unwilling party to their local quarrels. Fraternally, Walter Thomas Mills."

The ostentatious profession of devotion, self-sacrifice and his plea for harmony, which is condensed into the last paragraph of Mills' letter, indicates the psychological means used by him in his activity as a revivalist, promoter and financial guide and trustee, Socialist professor and "leader," to create confidence, establish faith, draw forth tears and dollars, secure a following sufficient to disrupt a Socialist state organization and gain a personal, political and professional comradeship and honor in Wisconsin.

Ignorance, the sufficient excuse of the rank and file of wage workers in the party; the individual impotency of Mills' victims; the weakness of individual protests like my own, is ample reason for the silence which has prevailed among these obscure elements in the party. But no such reason can excuse or shield the Wisconsin organization or its "leaders." Those comrades are admittedly the best informed on party affairs, the most learned in the philosophy, morals and history of the Socialist movement; their position is the most advanced in the political field; their organization the most perfect and exclusive, and with all of this to their credit, they embrace Walter Thomas Mills as one of the most desirable, able and worthy of comrades—clothe him with the prestige of their names and furnish him with their personal and organized indorsement and support.

As the American flag and patriotism are utilized by capitalists to blind the people, so the word "comrade" and "devotion to the cause" is used as a cloak under which such schemes as are herein recited are carried on, and by which hundreds if not thousands of the members of the party are victimized, with none to tell their story. And in the universal silence Walter Thomas Mills is free to repeat the old or invent new "enterprises" within the party.

Linked in this crime of silence we must include the whole national committee, the national secretary, the lecturers, organizers, editors and, above all, the Wisconsin state committee. The members of the party thus included are nearly all professional Socialists; they have possession of all means of information and communication in the Socialist party, and their active or tacit co-operation with the private "enterprises" of Walter Thomas Mills tends to show that the private material interests of the non-wage-working managers of the party unite them in silence and make them one in using the party organization for personal advantage.

I close this statement by reminding

my comrades that Walter Thomas Mills furnishes but a single illustration of the influence of private material interests and the disruptive power of professionalism in the Socialist party, and that I shall present other illustrations later on; and in the future be able to give a detailed account of some of Mills' enterprises, each one of which deserves a separate pamphlet.

"Enterprise" No. 27.

Extract from his circular announcement:

"School," "Six weeks in Oklahoma City."

"We want 100 comrades at \$10 each," as the "cost will be at least \$1,000."

This enterprise is indorsed by the "State Committee of Oklahoma." "I have the use of their big tent and camp outfit."

In six weeks comrades will be taught "how to enter the Socialist field as (professional) organizers and lecturers" and how to "raise funds."

"Enterprise" No. 28

Mills' twenty-seventh "enterprise," six weeks \$1,000 school at Oklahoma City, died a-bornin'. This failure for the time being has busted the clerical combination of the Rev. Carl D. Thompson, Rev. Walter Thomas Mills, Rev. Stanley J. Clark. Mills has left this blasted country for Merry England, where in fresh fields and pastures new he hopes to work the old or invent new "enterprises" to reach the slower financial emotions of stolid Englishers. To aid him in this twenty-eighth "enterprise" The Provoker mailed the complete list of his twenty-seven "enterprises" to those in England who know a good thing when they see it.

* * *

WALTER THOMAS MILLS left for England in a hurry. Three Pittsburg, Kan., comrades, lured to Oklahoma City by his "school" advertisements, are out their time, \$30 railroad fare and other expenses.

The Labor Leader (England), Dec. 24, says: "Walter Thomas Mills made a tariff speech in the Labor Party campaign." Mills says "he was the first international secretary chosen by American Socialists and author of the constitution for the new state of Oklahoma, the most perfect ever adopted"!!!

A postal card, post marked Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20, 1909:—Thomas J. Morgan. Dear Comrade, I am provoked by your Provoker to say that it is a great pity that after all your years of service in the Socialist Party you should use the little medium for good at your command, to malign and tear down the character and possible usefulness of Comrade Mills, whose ability for acceptable service is surely as marked as your own. Socialists belie their profession when they devote their energies to the belittling work of anathematizing and disgusting some of their comrades. It all savors of petty jealousy and is beneath you and the cause you would

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WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY?

Comrade John Spargo is a professional journalist and author. From his article in the Daily Socialist, Nov. 13, 1909, the following extracts are made:

"Every year we take in thousands of new members, at the end of the year there is little or no increase. Why is this?"

"Within three months nearly four hundred party members have written for my answer to that question."

"Those who have axes to grind run the party machinery."

"Comrades are taxed to the utmost for speakers, who pander to the ignorance of their auditors for the sake of applause."

"The result is, in a city of 75,000 we have 150 votes, where with a smaller population fifteen years ago we had 400 votes."

"Unless we can do better in the future, a new party will arise and sweep the Socialist party aside."

The attention of Spargo and other comrades is called to the following facts presented by The Provoker for mental digestion:

NEW YORK SOCIALIST VOTE, NOVEMBER, 1909.

In Greater New York, population over three millions, with three daily, four weekly and three monthly papers, the Socialist vote was 10,596, several thousand less than fifteen years ago, when smaller New York had a population but half as great.

CHICAGO SOCIALIST VOTE, 1909.

In Chicago, population two millions, with three daily, eight weekly and two monthly Socialist papers, the Socialist vote was about the same as in 1879, when, in a population of less than 400,000, 12,000 votes elected four party members to the city council.

Comrade Spargo notes the tax on party members for speakers, but overlooks the tax for support of "Socialist papers" and the financial draft on Socialists for gold mine stocks, whale oil stocks, Florida lands and other attractive get-rich-quick schemes too numerous to mention, advertised by the page, as in the same issue of the Daily Socialist, Nov. 13, 1909, in which Spargo's article is printed.

The cost alone of the Daily Socialist is \$100,000 a year, the New York Call the same, and the cost of the other 55 papers listed in the National Bulletin will easily raise the total to over a million dollars a year, most of which is paid out in rent and salaries.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALISTS.

Capitalist "Business" in the Socialist Party.

Last week The Provoker contrasted the results of socialist propaganda for love of its principles, with propaganda of professionals for the money there is in it, and cited the fact that Chicago in 1879 with 12,000 votes elected four socialists to the city council in a campaign in which not a dollar was paid to any person for party work except to the

Professionals of the German Daily. And that in 1909 with a population six times as large and the expenditure by Professionals of \$157,000 a year, the socialist vote was less than 15,000.

The struggle for existence in our capitalist system impells men and women of a low moral type to watch the creative results of ideal propaganda and grasp them for their own material advantage. Those who succeed getting official positions are CLEVER MAKE-BELIEVES, who by appearing to "DELIVER THE GOODS," are thereby enabled to substitute capitalist "business" in place of idealism and transform the socialist party into a "business" institution run by Professionals.

THE CRIME OF SILENCE.

Comrades, note the following, taken from the National Bulletin, September, 1909:

"Chicago, Ill., Sept. 13, 1909.

"To the National Executive Committee: "Dear Comrades—I herewith report action taken on motion submitted under date of Aug. 31.

"MOTION

"That the National office does not print any more of the matter sent in on the Texas controversy."

"Comrades Berger, Hilquit, Simons and Work voted in the affirmative. Other members of the committee not heard from. The motion is therefore adopted.

"BARNES."

This motion, which orders the suppression of the facts relative to the Texas "controversy," has reference to the raid of professionals, including Carl Thompson, Walter Thomas Mills and others, on the Texas state organization, and their establishment of a rival state committee and state headquarters.

PROMINENT PARTICIPANTS IN "THE CONTROVERSY" CLERICALS.

Rev. Carl D. Thompson, ex-preacher, state organizer, and national committeeman of Wisconsin.

Rev. Walter Thomas Mills, ex-preacher, free lance lecturer, and "enterpriser" in the S. P.

Rev. Stanley J. Clark, ex-preacher, ex-state organizer, ex-national organizer, ex-national committeeman, ex-editor, and state secretary for Arkansas.

Rev. Clinton Simonton, ex-preacher.

Rev. Charles L. Breckon, ex-preacher, ex-secretary Local Cook County, ex-manager Daily Socialist, ex-editor "The Laborer," Dallas.

Rev. D. D. Richardson.

CAPITALISTS.

John Kerrigan, ex-merchant; delegate national convention, 1904.

W. A. Blackburn, land speculator, reputed millionaire.

Alice McFadin, wealthy cattle and ranch owner.

J. C. Thompson, railroad tie contractor and lumberman.

MIDDLE CLASS (Bourgeoisie).

J. C. Rhodes, state organizer, lecturer.

Lee L. Rhodes, ex-political representative Populist Party, ex-state organizer.

Richey Alexander, ex-bookkeeper.

Geo. Clifton Edwards, Editor "The Laborer."

"THE LABORER."

"The Laborer" is the private property of a stock company, backed by the banks of Dallas with paid advertisements, which measure, in "The Laborer" of June 26, 1909, three feet two inches. With this capitalistic weapon Professionalism in Texas attacks the S. P. of Texas every week by misrepresenting the acts of its regular officers and sneers at Mother Jones as that "Poor, Old Woman, hired by the State Secretary, Bell.

STATE SECRETARY.

W. J. Bell, piano tuner.

Opposition State Secretary.

Richey Alexander, ex-bookkeeper.

The means of communication and instrument of attack, "The Laborer."

"A journal of the working class published weekly by the Laborer Publishing Company at Dallas, Texas. The editor is responsible for all matter printed except in the official department therein of the American Federation of Labor."

Seeking Control.

Invitation to the state secretary to come in out of the rain:

Office of The Laborer, Dallas, Tex.
December, 1907.

"W. J. Bell:—

Dear Comrade—You will be elected to succeed yourself as state secretary.

Now what will you take to move to Dallas? The location and mail facilities are so much better. All the Socialists will agree to let you tune their pianos if you will move. We would like you to consider such a move if the bread and butter problem can be solved."

The secretary declined the invitation, was re-elected and the state headquarters remained at Tyler where he supported his family for several years on a salary of less than \$400 a year from the party and by occasionally tuning pianos.

A few months after the attempt to lure the state secretary and party headquarters to Dallas "The Laborer" organized a new political party named—"The Good Government League."

March 7, 1908, "The Laborer," edited by the Rev. Charles L. Breckon, member of Local Dallas, commenced the opening of the new political party's campaign as follows:

(Extract from "The Laborer.")

"Good Government League."

"The campaign will open by a rousing mass meeting at City Hall, March 7, 1908. Charles L. Breckon (Editor), will speak on the necessity of political action of crafts and farmers' unions. Geo. Clifton Edwards will also speak."

Extract from poster:

"Grand political rally of the Good Government League. Charles Breckon and Geo. Clifton Edwards, editors of 'The Laborer,' speakers."

"The Laborer" being a private non-Socialist paper, was not subject to party discipline; but "Comrades" Breckon and Edwards were members of Local Dallas and as such were charged with participation in the organization of a political party necessarily in opposition to the Socialist Party of Texas. Local Dallas being controlled by the editors, directors, employes and friends of "The Laborer," ignored the charges and refused to try Breckon and Edwards for violation of the party constitution, and also refused to try John Kerrigan on a whimsical technicality not found in party law for offenses against the party and its members and thereby compelled

the state organization to revoke its charter.

The Texas "controversy" thus began by professionals using "The Laborer" as their instrument of destruction, spread and swept into the contest for party control the prominent individuals named already in this article and others who may be mentioned later.

The facts in this as in the Walter Thomas Mills expose will be sufficient to satisfy every reasonable comrade that professionalism is a contagious disease sapping the life of the Socialist movement and its political organization, and that a surgical operation is required to remove it.

I shall make some errors in my effort to condense the mass of written and printed matter from which I have to dig the facts, but they will be corrected if discovered before I reprint the whole story in pamphlet form as I intend to do with each particular phase of professionalism in the order in which I can get the facts.

"WE CAN FIX YOU."

Rev. Carl D. Thompson-Rev. Walter Thomas Mills Circular.—State Headquarters, Wisconsin.

"If you want to stir up your community to its very foundations and create a deep and lasting impression, we can fix you up. Walter Thomas Mills is coming through your section soon. He has been in the Socialist movement since its beginning. We are looking for dates for him. Terms, \$10.00 per lecture, expenses, hotel bills, entertainment and part railroad fare."

The circulars from which the above is an extract were sent from the Wisconsin state headquarters by Carl D. Thompson, its state organizer and national committeeman, direct to individuals and locals in Texas, a procedure in violation of the national constitution called the notice of the national committee by the state committee of Texas with a request to enforce the party's law to protect Texas and stop the Thompson-Mills raid on that state.

In this connection The Provoker calls special attention to the fact that the right of a state to exclude all outside interference is carried to the limit by The Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin; not even the national committee can get a list of the locals in that state.

The state secretary replied to my request for a list of secretaries of locals as follows: "Wisconsin has a fixed rule forbidding the giving of a list of locals to anyone."

With this rule barring all outside communications with party members of that state, its state organizer Thompson, its national committeeman Thompson and E. H. Thomas, its state secretary are engaged in thrusting Walter Thomas Mills into other states to rape the party organization.

The efforts of the state organization of Texas to obtain protection from the national executive committee produced

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a correspondence which filled four columns in the national Bulletin of August, 1909.

The reply of the national executive committee included a laugh at Texas and notice to the Thompson-Mills combination that so far as the national organization was concerned they were free to raid every state.

These ripe products of the deceptive and seductive profession of the clericals who wrote them is equaled by the political cunning of "The (Bankers') Laborer"—Geo. Clifton Edwards, Editor—exhibited in the following "Announcement" which appeared in the issue of that capitalist sheet June 26, 1909:

"Announcement, Sixth Annual Socialist Encampment, Famous Annual Entertainment at Grand Saline First Week in August. This stupendous mid-summer gathering will surpass all the splendid successes of the past. * * * This year's program will excel the splendid ones heretofore given. Four speeches will be made daily, and all by different orators. Invitations have been extended to E. V. Debs, last candidate for president; Fred D. Warren, Editor Appeal to Reason; Senator Winfield R. Gaylord, now serving the party in the Wisconsin legislature; Professor Walter Thomas Mills, of Oregon; A. M. Simons, Editor Chicago Daily Socialist; Morris Hilquist, lawyer, New York; Gaylord Wilshire, Editor Wilshire's Magazine; Stanley J. Clark, National Organizer. * * * Several of the foremost American Socialists, who are well known on both sides of the Atlantic, have signified a willingness to give their services. * * * State speakers supplied by Texas and other states. The following is but a partial list: Hon. Lee L. Rhodes, State Lecturer; W. R. Snow, Organizer of Arkansas; Clinton Simonton, of Iowa; F. P. O'Hare, of Oklahoma, State Organizer; Hon. J. C. Rhodes; May Beals, Author and Lecturer; Geo. Clifton Edwards, Editor of "The Laborer;" Rev. M. A. Smith, of Commerce; Sam Hampton, of Fort Worth; William D. Simpson, Dallas; Rev. D. D. Richardson; J. C. Thompson, of Texarkana; W. A. Shives, Grand Saline; J. L. Scoggins, Golden; Richey Alexander, State Organizer Socialist Party of Texas, and others."

The above extract from the "Announcement" of "The (Bankers') Laborer" is published so present and future readers of The Provoker can understand how party members are deceived and their enemies are strengthened by the SILENCE, as well as by active proceedings, of those in control of party management.

SIXTH ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT Of the Socialist Party at Grand Saline, Texas.

Socialist encampments in Texas are party conventions (with picnic trimmings), held for state and district party purposes. This "Announcement" of the "Sixth Annual Encampment" was not made by the Socialist party, but was made by the Board of Directors of "The (Bankers') Laborer," a group of clericals and capitalists who, while members of Local Dallas, organized a "Good Government (Goo-Goo) Party," and were expelled from the Socialist party for that political violation of its constitution.

Their announcement, supported by the names of Debs and other well-known Socialists, lured some 500 persons to Grand Saline. The Board of Directors of "The (Bankers') Laborer" held a "State Convention" in a small schoolhouse. Fifteen "Socialists" who held paid-up membership cards were present. The Rev.

D. D. Richardson was chairman and Richey Alexander of Grand Saline was secretary. George Clifton Edwards, Editor of "The (Bankers') Laborer," who, together with the Rev. Charles L. Breckon, had organized the "Goo-Goo" party and were expelled for that, rose in the "convention" and moved that W. J. Bell, State Secretary of the Socialist party of Texas, in charge of party headquarters at Tyler, Texas, be suspended from office; that Richey Alexander, of Grand Saline, be elected State Secretary; that he be instructed to demand possession of the party property at the headquarters at Tyler and transfer it to Grand Saline.

Some of the fifteen party members protested, but the Rev. Stanley J. Clark, State Secretary for Arkansas, assured those who protested that those present in response to the call of "The (Bankers') Laborer" constituted the Socialist party of Texas, free to act unrestrained by party laws and constitutions.

The Board of Directors of "The (Bankers') Laborer" voted aye on the editor's motion. The noes were not called for.

The chairman, Rev. D. D. Richardson, sent a written demand to headquarters at Tyler for all party property to be sent at once to Richey Alexander, State Secretary, at Grand Saline.

"The Houston Post" is the organ of United States Senator Bailey a Standard Oil political agent. The issue of the Post of August 7, 1909, contained a "special dispatch" from Dallas announcing in staring headlines the suspension of State Secretary Bell, and full particulars of the Great Encampment at Grand Saline; election of Richey Alexander and removal of Socialist headquarters from Tyler to Grand Saline. This special correspondent of the Standard Oil Post was none other than Geo. Clifton Edwards, editor of "The (Bankers') Laborer," whose father and law partner is one of Senator Bailey's political managers in Dallas.

The Rev. Carl D. Thompson, Rev. Walter Thomas Mills, Rev. Stanley J. Clark and through them the National Committee should or did know of the capitalistic connections of "The (Bankers') Laborer" and its group of "Socialists" whose headquarters is at Grand Saline.

With knowledge of its character and destructive use National Secretary Barnes and the National Executive Committee list this capitalist sheet in the National Bulletin as a party paper.

With a column headed, "J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary; Richey Alexander, State Secretary, M. A. Smith, State Organizer; State Headquarters at Grand Saline, and the names of a number of Socialists of national prominence to give it authoritative influence, this "The (Bankers') Laborer" is sent far and wide through Texas to confuse, disgust and disrupt the Socialist Party of that state.

Against this capitalist weekly and its co-operating group The Piano Tuner at headquarters at Tyler worked a typewriter and mimeograph. Alone with these instruments of defense for the party he appealed to Barnes, Simons and other national officials. "The (Bankers') Laborer" was promptly notified of this appeal, and rejoiced editorially

over the fact that these high officials had turned Bell down.

The state secretary worked his typewriter some more to ask the members of the National Executive Committee if they had not received correspondence and personal visits from "The (Bankers') Laborer" group, and asked that an investigating committee be appointed to investigate the conditions under which persons expelled from the party were routing national organizers and lecturers from other states through Texas in conflict with the state organization. The replies of some of the national officials are very interesting in view of Walling's charge of conspiracy based on Simons' letter advising the capture of party machinery to pervert the party organization.

National Committeeman Work writes Bell September 13, 1909, as follows: "From yours of the 9th it seems you have made a new bunch of enemies in the Carl D. Thompson and Walter Thomas Mills affair. I find no value in your request for an investigating committee, though failure as you say may kill the state organization."

National Executive Committeeman Spargo's reply recognizes "The (Bankers') Laborer" group as "Comrades" and tells Bell that his request for information regarding their connections with the national officers "is most impertinent."

The other national professionals in the party knew that the S. P. of Texas was entitled by its dues-paying membership in the national party to all the support, authority and influence of every national and state official and of every party member in its fight against the expelled persons and outsiders seeking to capture it.

Simons writes again September 15, 1909, regarding the receipt of letters from "The (Bankers') Laborer" group, and says, "I do not recall any letters from those you named and if I did I did not keep them for reference. All I have preserved I find is from you. If I had preserved everything on the Texas matter I should have to hire a room to store it, this is proof that you spend more time running a mimeograph and looking for trouble than in working for Socialism. Sell your typewriter, pawn your mimeograph, the stuff you send shows your utter incompetency or worse as state secretary."

Carl D. Thompson assures the Texas Party that he is not afraid of his connections with "The (Bankers') Laborer," and W. R. Gaylord, state senator in Wisconsin and associate of Thompson, advises the Texas state secretary to "get out of the way of the revolution."

Berger, Simons and the rest of the N. E. C. ignored this right and laughed at the protests of the state secretary of the S. P. of Texas against the invasion of Texas by the Rev. Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin, the Rever Walter Thomas Mills, also of Wisconsin; the Rev. W. R. Gaylord, also of Wisconsin, and the Rev. Stanley J. Clark, state secretary of

Arkansas, and other intellectual Socialists from other states, under the direction of a bogus state secretary, with bogus headquarters at Grand Saline (two of these reverend raiders, Thompson and Clark, are now candidates for the N. E. C.). National Secretary Barnes refused to officially repudiate the authority of this bogus secretary, to route national officers and organizers through Texas, but quickly informed the expelled group in Texas that Mother Jones (who was speaking in Texas under directions of the Texas S. P.) had no authority or assignment from the national office. In reply to protests of the state officers of Texas, the N. E. C. declared it had no authority over national officers or national organizers engaged by outsiders in Texas.

National Executive Committeeman (professional) Work sneered at the state secretary for his lack of sense in opposing the presence of the Wisconsin triangle, the Rev. Thompson, Rev. Mills, Rev. Gaylord, with the Dallas laborites attacking the S. P. in Texas. National Executive Committeeman Spargo told the Texas state secretary his inquiries of the N. E. C. members as to their friendly correspondence with these raiders were impertinent. Simons told the Texas state secretary to sell his typewriter and pawn his mimeograph, his only means of communication; and Gaylord of Wisconsin told him to get out of the "way of the revolution"—the coming "Labor party," officered by intellectuals who, "like Gompers and Mitchell, were the natural leaders" of the "lumpen proletariat" and "callous fisted" members of the S. P. in Texas and elsewhere. Berger and Simons knew that Comrade Bell, state secretary fighting for the Texas S. P., was not an "intellectual," but was only a piano repairer, just one of the Socialists with the "callous fist." Berger and Simons knew that the expelled "intellectual labor leader" editor of "The Laborer" of Dallas was a lawyer linked with the A. F. of L. and bankers of Dallas and with the Standard Oil democracy of Texas. Simons and Berger knew that the Rev. Charles L. Breckon, the disgraced ex-secretary of Local Cook County and ex-manager of the Daily Socialist, was the assistant editor of "The Laborer" and had been expelled with the rest of the labor partyites of Local Dallas by the S. P. of Texas. And because Berger knew all about this attempt to organize a "Labor party" in Dallas and to capture the S. P. of that state; because he knew Mills had been expelled by the S. P. of Washington and was aware of his many "enterprises," and knowing these facts had linked him with Thompson and Gaylord and clothed all three with the authority of the state committee of Wisconsin, and having thus prepared them, had complacently watched their combination with the Rev. Clark and Rev. Breckon and the Dallas laborites, while he (Berger) occupied the highest official place in the party and in the confidence and esteem of the men with the "callous fists"; and because he now backs Simons as worthy to share

with him the highest honors in the S. P., The Provoker selects Berger as meriting the most severe condemnation as a delinquent national officer.

The Provoker is pleased to compliment the "callous fist" piano repairer and other members of the "lumpen proletariat" of Texas on their election of state officers for 1910, among whom is National Committeeman Meitzen, elected state secretary-treasurer, and ex-State Secretary Bell, the fighting piano repairer, who is elected a member of the state N. E. C.

On Jan. 7, 1910, the new State Secretary of the S. P. of Texas issued a circular headed "Let Us Have Peace," of which the following is the substance:

Alexander of Grand Saline claims to be State Secretary of the S. P. of Texas; J. C. Rhodes and Rev. M. A. Smith, National Committeemen; Edwards of "The (Bankers') Laborer," Cochran, McDaniel, Richardson, Blackburn, Herd, Shivers, Tramlade and Kerrigan, State Committeemen, and L. L. Rhodes, Simpson and Scroggins, State Organizers. Alexander has sent out a petition for signatures, asking the N. E. C. to call and take charge of a new state election, and on failure of the N. E. C. to do so, Alec, for "The (Bankers') Laborer," Mills-Thompson-Clark crowd, threatens to maintain their state organization and establish a rival national headquarters. For the sake of "peace," the new secretary, Meitzen, advises all members of the S. P. of Texas to sign Alex's petition, although it is so unfair as to claim 200 votes for his local, number who joined to vote for Alex in December, 1908, and paid no dues after December, 1908, except a group of 22 that lasted awhile longer.

State Secretary Meitzen says: "I took no sides in the 'controversy.' I want peace, and promised to get it if I could, even at the risk of ridicule and loss of my official position by the new election demanded by Alex and his associates. I want this 'controversy' out of the way before the campaign of 1910," and he signs his circular "yours for peace and unity."

"Comrade" George Clifton Edwards, political aid of U. S. Senator Standard Oil Bailey, and editor of "The (Bankers') Laborer," saw a danger signal in this "Let Us Have Peace" circular, and ordered Alex and his "state secretary" to lie down and stop barking till Bailey was informed and a new move decided upon for the capture of the S. P. of Texas.

In the meantime The Provoker is pleased to inform Carl D. Thompson, Senator Gaylord, Editor-in-Chief Simons and others who advised Comrade Bell to sell his typewriter, pawn his mimeograph and get out of the way of the "revolution," that Comrade Bell, declining re-election for state secretary, is now a state committeeman, busy repairing pianos; that as a "callous fist" Socialist he will earn per month over three times the amount he received as state secretary, and will use part of

this increased means to procure and use more effective instruments than a typewriter and mimeograph in his fight against professionalism in the Socialist party.

INCONSISTENCY.

The old N. E. C. openly supported the labor politicians of Dallas, and the Thompson-Mills-Clark professionals to capture the S. P. of Texas. The new N. E. C. does the same. Barnes' official report in the National Bulletin, February, 1910, shows the official indorsement of a demand made by those expelled politicians for a full list of all party locals in Texas.

Such a demand for a list of Wisconsin locals, made by the National Committee, would be promptly refused by Berger, and yet, so far as the report shows, he joined in this demand on Texas, made by outsiders seeking control of the party in that state.

The Wisconsin organization is separated from the National organization by a Chinese Wall, yet Spargo wants the National Committee to get \$10,000 from comrades in other states to pay the expense of the Milwaukee city campaign. And the Rev. W. R. Gaylord, Socialist State Senator from Milwaukee, tells the "Callous-Fisted Socialists of that City," that for his help in that campaign he wants five dollars a day. Interesting, is it not!!!

A Wiltshire Sucker.

A comrade writes The Provoker as follows:

"I am a Wiltshire sucker to the extent of \$250; \$150 in Bishop Creek, \$100 in British Guiana. He guaranteed 30 per cent dividend to commence over a year ago or money returned. I have not seen either. I should have thought nothing of such business if presented by any one but a comrade like Wiltshire. I am an old man and my ambition is not as frisky as it used to be, but I shall do something for The Provoker, for we need some one who can speak up."

There are thousands of Wiltshire "suckers" who for the future welfare of the Socialist movement should, like this old comrade, give The Provoker the facts connected with Wiltshire's gold mine stock schemes, worked by his magazine and assisted by Ernest Unterman, National Committeeman, and manager of the Bishop Creek mine, the stock of which, sold to Socialists at \$3, is now at 20 cents.

The facts, when published, will hurt some, but the silence under which "comrades" have been catching "suckers" in the party for years has caused untold injury to Socialism in this country.

"What Do You Think of That?"

"Ain't it awful, Mabel?" Wiltshire sues The Provoker for \$50,000!!!
"COMRADE" WILTSHIRE SUES COMRADE MORGAN OF THE PROVOKER FOR \$50,000.

"COMRADE" GAYLORD WILSHIRE IS
 President Wilshire Magazine—\$150,-
 000.
 President Bishop Creek Gold Co.—
 \$200,000.
 President Bishop Creek Milling Co.
 President Bishop Creek Extension Co.
 President British Guiana Gold Co.—
 \$1,000,000.
 President South American Gold Co.—
 \$1,300,000.
 President Aremu Mining Co.
 President Tassawini Mining Co.
 President Beaver National Bank.
 Bond and stock holder and seller of
 the British Guiana Estates Company—
 \$1,000,000—raising sisal, peanuts, corn,
 bananas, yams, tannias, sweet potatoes
 and ginger.

**STOCK GAMBLING IN THE SOCIAL-
 IST PARTY.**

Dec. 26, 1909, a capitalist paper had
 an editorial from which the following
 is subtracted:

"The lust for unearned wealth once
 acquired is incurable." "All who hope
 to strike it rich are gamblers." "A
 prospector searching the hills for gold
 is honest." "The business man looking
 for a rise in stocks is dishonest." "The
 professional gambler rigging a stock
 market is a vulgar thief, meaner than
 a burglar who takes at the risk of ar-
 rest." "Wildcat schemers, promoters of
 get-rich games, gold brick operators,
 the seller of green goods are scoundrels
 who prosper because people stupidly be-
 lieve in getting 'something for noth-
 ing.'" "Easy money," "fortunes without
 work." "Drunkards are cured, thieves
 reformed, but a gambler, once the vice
 is fastened upon him, continues a gam-
 bler to the end." "He follows the god
 of chance, sacrificing at its altar every-
 thing he may possess—money, health,
 peace of mind and happiness of those
 who have the right to look to him for
 support." "The fortune he hopes to
 obtain he knows, if he thinks at all,
 must be gained by some one's loss."
 "Watch these men, see what happens to
 them and to the innocents that they
 drag down with them." "A life of fever-
 ish unrest and unhappiness and an al-
 most absolute certainty of ruin at last."

"COMRADE" WILSHIRE, president
 of nine stock companies, sues The Pro-
 voker for \$50,000 for commenting on
 stock gambling in the Socialist party.

The capitalist editor who referred to a
 stock gambler rigging a stock market
 as a thief did not include priest, preach-
 ers, officers of sick benefit societies or
 "leaders" in the Socialist party who
 worked the stock game on the members
 of the church or lodge, or do their "dear
 comrades" in the party. The capitalist
 editor's "vulgar thief" only sold stock
 to smaller gamblers familiar with stocks
 and bonds. Those who sell stocks and
 bonds in the Socialist party sell their
 paper to wage workers who know noth-
 ing of the stock market. They are
 reached through the confidence they
 have in their "leaders," editors, writers,

lecturers, organizers and other promi-
 nent representatives of the Socialist
 party, whose well-known names are used
 to lure these innocent and most confid-
 ing of all victims of stock gamblers.
 The money these victims give for
 worthless stocks is the savings of years,
 scrimped from hard-earned wages to
 meet the need of hard times, sickness
 and other disasters, dreadful recur-
 rences in every worker's family life.
 The gamblers in the Socialist party who
 get these savings from their "dear com-
 rades" are cold blooded ? ! ! ? ! !—
 and all who actively or silently aid this
 game in the party are quite as inde-
 scribable.

Summons.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
 COOK COUNTY, } ss:

The People of the State of Illinois,
 To the Sheriff of said County,
 GREETING:

WE COMMAND YOU THAT YOU
 SUMMON THOMAS J. MORGAN, if he
 shall be found in your County, person-
 ally to be and appear before the Su-
 preme Court of Cook County, on the
 first day of the term thereof, to be
 holden at the Court House, in the City
 of Chicago, in said Cook County, on the
 first Monday of February next, to an-
 swer unto GAYLORD WILSHIRE in a
 plea of Trespass on the case, to the
 damage of said plaintiff, as it is said,
 in the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars
 (\$50,000).

And have you then and there this
 writ, with an indorsement thereon, in
 what manner you shall have executed
 the same.

WITNESS, Charles W. Vail, Clerk of
 our said Court, and the Seal thereof, at
 Chicago, aforesaid, this fourth day of
 January, A. D. 1910.

CHARLES W. VAIL, Clerk.
 MARVIN E. BARNHART, Attorney,
 Atwood Bldg., Chicago.

To enable wage workers to under-
 stand the stock gambling game prac-
 ticed in the Socialist party, the follow-
 ing explanations are made: Capitalism
 requires that trust funds of widows, or-
 phans and others incapable of manag-
 ing their property shall be invested in
 national, state and municipal bonds.
 The annual interest on these securities
 ranges from 2 to 4 per cent. These
 bonds can be converted into cash at any
 time. These investments are absolute-
 ly safe. Capitalists seeking higher rates
 of interest invest in bonds of private
 corporations, such as railways, gas, tele-
 phone and other companies owning vis-
 ible property of great value. Interest on
 these securities ranges from 4 to 7 per
 cent and they are reasonably safe in-
 vestments. First-class stocks are those
 issued by the great corporations before
 mentioned, and are listed on the stock
 exchanges, where this class of securi-
 ties are bought and sold. Their value
 is indicated by the periodical reports
 which these corporations are required
 to make by the exchanges for the infor-
 mation of members and the public.
 These reports show the property owned,

extent of business, earnings on losses, from which the value of the stocks is estimated. The fluctuations in value of these stocks produced by war, weather, financial panics and manipulation cause the ruin of small investors who, lured by large dividends sometimes paid, gamble in these stocks. These securities in normal conditions of the stock market can be converted into cash.

The stocks sold to "dear comrades" are of an entirely different class. They are not recognized by the stock exchanges. They are not supported by any authoritative reports of property owned, business done or dividends paid, and their conversion into cash, if possible, must be done by a ruinous sacrifice.

The corporate property, if any, on which stock is issued is known and controlled exclusively by the organizer and his immediate associates. The charters representing the existence of these corporations are obtained in states where the cost and legal responsibilities of the board of directors is nominal, and the crime of perjury is not attached to false statements they issue. Hence those in control are free to publish "reports" best calculated to induce "dear comrades" to give up their savings for picture paper. The capital stock of these corporations is proportioned to the actual property—the smaller the property the greater the capital stock, as illustrated by the Air Ship Company in Girard, Kan., capital stock \$20,000,000. Whenever, by some accident, some scheme proves valuable and if honestly managed would pay dividends on the stock, those in control "reorganize" the corporation, call in the stock to be exchanged for worthless bonds or stocks. To induce "dear comrades" to exchange their stock the new stock or bonds are ostentatiously guaranteed by the persons in control, whose promises of future payment, like promises of eternal bliss, will never be cashed in during life.

Wilshire was the first to play the stock gambling game in the Socialist party. The first to reach the confidence and pockets of "dear comrades" by the stock route and to demonstrate the usefulness of Socialist papers as a means of financial extraction. His imitators have been numerous, but none have equaled him in ability and success in this line. As the pages of The Provoker illuminate the stock gambling game the names of the prominent operators will be seen, together with party officials and other prominent who actively or silently assisted in the game.

A noticeable fact connected with this game is the silence and forbearance of the victims. It is a wonder that some one has not been seriously injured physically. It may be that the combination of hope, fear and shame has so far been stronger than retaliation or revenge. The hope is that some day the stocks may be sold at some price; fear that if they complain they may lose the chance to sell or incur some legal punishment; shame that it should become known that they, intelligent comrades, were duped.

This mental condition is well known

by the stock gamblers, who are thereby enabled to continue their operations in physical and legal safety. Some of these victims have told The Provoker how they have been deceived; the amount of their savings they have lost, and then pledged The Provoker to silence, because, maybe, they would get their money back some time; they did not want to get into trouble, and did not want to be known as "suckers."

The Provoker asks these comrades to send in printed matter and letters received from stock gamblers in the party, amount of money paid in and cash received. Comrades who will do this are assured that all such matter will be returned if required and their names will not be disclosed. Comrades can rest assured that The Provoker will go on in its effort to project light into the dark places in the Socialist party and thereby reveal the schemers who are now safely hidden from observation.

WILSHIRE "SUCKERS," ATTENTION!

The Provoker advises the "dear comrades" who gave "Comrade" Wilshire good money for pretty picture paper to send to Fred J. Mowry, stock broker, 78-80 Broad street, New York, N. Y., for a copy of "The Trader," Jan. 26, 1910, in which, under the head of "Unlisted Stocks," the following shares are offered for sale:

- 1,000 shares Bishop Creek Extension at 7 cents.
- 500 shares Bishop Creek Gold, 25 cents.
- 500 shares British Guiana, 26 cents.
- 1,000 shares South American, 27 cents.

"COMRADE" WILSHIRE.

Educated in Harvard University, entered the Socialist field in 1887. He sought prominence at once by means of the Weekly Nationalist. As Socialist candidate in several states and candidate in Salford, England, for the English Parliament, candidate for the Canadian Parliament, millionaire, lecturer, editor, publisher and gold mine owner, he attracted international attention.

Wilshire is an excellent judge of human nature. He understands that most converts to Socialism retain the mental frailties produced by capitalist environment and education, which include ambition, hero worship, deference to assumed superiority in wealth or intellect, credulity and greed; mental faults on which confidence men and women play their game and reap their harvests.

Wilshire knew that to play his game he must control means of personal communication with those he desired to manipulate. He secured this in the "Challenge," a weekly he published in 1900, and Wilshire's Magazine, a monthly which has been his effective instrument up to the present. He carefully avoided all interference with the ambitions of Socialists and material interests of the "leaders." By public flattery he secured their tacit indorsement, and with cash obtained their active co-operation and value of their prominence in the Socialist movement.

With the "Challenge" he invited a con-

test with the postoffice department, and as the "champion" of a "free press" forced into temporary exile in Canada, he manufactured the halo of a victim of governmental oppression. Having made this grandstand play, he returned to the "land of his birth," complied with the rules of the postoffice and substituting his Monthly Magazine for the Weekly Challenge, he posed as a victor over the government in a fight for a free Socialist press. This fake position as the first Socialist to successfully defy and defeat the government of the United States won him great credit. His next "stunt" was to pose as the intellectual giant of the Socialists of America by his \$10,000 challenge to Bryan, the Demos-thenes of American Democracy. With all the art of a theatrical mountebank he compelled public attention in a number of spectacular roles designed to impress Socialists with his matchless courage, intellect and financial resources, in all of which his success was great. The name Wilshire and Socialism was thus linked together in the idealistic thought of the overwhelming mass of Socialists in the United States.

While in this work of winning the attention and confidence of Socialists he was quietly but just as effectively reaching the "dear comrades" through their material interests, and ostensibly for the propaganda of Socialism turned their individual activities to his private use, and the party organizations into personal agencies. He offered individuals prizes from \$5 to \$50 for the sale of a certain number of subscription cards for his paper; to Socialist locals he offered as high as \$250. His confidence in his "dear comrades" was shown by his offer to trust one and all with five or ten dollars' worth of cards which they could sell to other "dear comrades" for 50 cents each and keep 25 cents as commission. By these means he attracted the attention of A. M. Simons, who, as editor of the International Socialist Review, asserted editorially that the subscriptions to Wilshire's paper were 30,000 in nine months—glorious work for Socialism—and Wilshire laughed a laugh in his sleeve. The "dear comrades" and locals that won his prizes got instead of cash subscription cards which, when sold, produced cash for the prize winners and more subscriptions for Wilshire's mailing list. He varied this scheme by offers of \$350, pianos, gold watches and other seductive rewards which appealed to the old and to new agents for Wilshire.

In 1903 he developed his scheme further by incorporating the Wilshire Publishing Company, capital stock \$150,000, shares \$10 each. The Provoker has some of these shares issued by Wilshire to his "dear comrades" in 1904, and some of his correspondence relating thereto extending over several years.

From these the following is extracted to illustrate the seductive and deceptive means used to work the "Dear Comrades."

"Dear Comrade, the longer I devote my attention to Socialist propaganda the more I am convinced that to extend

the influence of Socialist thought we must rely to a great extent upon the circulation of Socialist literature." He avoids all reference to Socialist Party literature and says, "Wilshire's is the strongest organ in the country and MY PARTNERS are going to see to it that its influence is extended until every propertyless worker in the land feels it." "We will rest AFTER the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

With this extravagant introduction of his private emancipator he says, "The success of Wilshire's Magazine is in the hands of My Partners, in yours." "I rely upon each in his own particular territory to bring the magazine into the hands of the people." With this picture of shifting the responsibility of success from himself to his "Partners" he says, "The magazine is doing splendidly, the prospects for a million are very bright. It is going to take the untiring efforts of ten thousand hustlers, however, to get it as soon as we would like. The sooner we get a million subscribers the sooner the Socialists will poll a million votes. That's what that would mean, and keep right on working for the magazine."

Having thus made party success dependent upon the success of his private magazine and thereby caught a "sucker," he says, "I am glad to note you intend to take up the work and become 'My Partner.'" He then pushes out another bit of "fly paper." "I am confident that through my method of organizing MY workers into a vast co-operative publishing company, I have hit upon the greatest propaganda plan ever adopted, this body will be able to accomplish more than has ever been done before. I am planning many other things in connection with this, which a co-operative organization alone will make possible." He then makes part of his present plan plain to his "Dear Comrades" as follows: "I will try to anticipate your questions; subscription cards are good for one year's subscription till sold, I charge 25 cents. You sell them at 50 cents and keep the 25 cents; a guessing card goes with each subscription card to give subscribers or keep yourself; a share of stock goes with each \$5 worth of cards sold or subscriptions paid for. The stock is fully paid up, non-assessable, and par value \$10. The share of stock entitles you to voting privileges. Renewals count the same as new subscriptions, and you can settle whenever you have sold eight or ten cards."

Again he works the "Dear Comrades" with the co-operative pull thus:

"I wish you could see the hundreds of letters I am getting from Comrades everywhere regarding my co-operative plan." It is simply great, he says, "If all the comrades that have ordered \$5 worth of cards are successful in selling them before November 8, I will have an organization that will be a wonder." And it was. For at this period in the development of his game in every Socialist meeting, picnic or party gathering of any kind, one or more of these Wilshire Co-operative Partners was busy pestering the comrades for subscriptions for

Wilshire's private magazine. Spurring them on to the neglect of party work was the materialistic motive of financial gain thus: Wilshire writes: "I am sending you the certificate of stock to which you are entitled, and which makes you 'My Partner.' This gives you a voting interest in Wilshire's Magazine."

What a humbug this reward and interest will be shown later. "I am sending you another share of stock in Wilshire's Publishing Company, you are certainly the sort of partner I am looking for. You have proven by your ability to get within so short a time, so many subscriptions to my magazine that you are the best kind of a man to have an interest in this co-operative company. Keep up the good work."

He again links material interests with idealism in this way: "Regarding the Socialist vote, I would advise you to guess over one million. To get three million votes in the U. S. this election would mean a great many congressmen and possibly governors in some states. This is a little too much to expect; however, if we had about 14,000 or 15,000 hustlers like yourself, I am quite sure that three million voters would be nearer than they are now." What do you think of that for "bunk"? Then he opens the loud pedal while he plays on the material interest refrain:

"I have sent you another \$5 worth of cards. I hope you will keep up the good work steadily until the campaign closes, and then begin all over again. Remember, a share of stock goes with every \$5 worth of cards sold." "It seems to me that anyone who has such remarkable success as you have in disposing of cards ought to take three or four more shares of stock to his credit." Wilshire testifies to the success of his "co-operative plan" as follows: "I have tried to keep up with my mail, but 'My Partners' have rushed me to death. I am sending you a certificate of stock. This makes five shares of stock we have sent you." This success put Wilshire in a position to make "His Partners" sell \$10 instead of \$5 worth of cards for a share of stock as follows: "Subsequent shares of stock will be given for \$10 worth of subscriptions." He then makes another turn by substituting certificates of "Honor" for certificates of stock thus: "I am sending you a certificate of Honor to which your remittance entitles you." Then he trades his picture and autograph for subscriptions thus: "I take pleasure in sending you a photograph with my signature as you request. If you will send me those hundred subscriptions I shall feel more than compensated." Having about completed this part of his game extending over several years, he replied to his "Dear Comrade's" and "Partner's" demands for some cash on their shares of stock in his co-operative publishing company as follows:

"The common stock will not pay a dividend for quite a while yet; we want to establish a strong reserve fund." Wilshire got the "Reserve Fund."

"The Provoker" has some of this stock

of Wilshire's publishing company earned by His Partners in his "Co-operative" enterprise. These shares bear date as far back as 1904, 1905 and 1906 on which the holders have not received a cent, the pretty picture paper representing the only thing exchanged by Wilshire for the cash on which Wilshire has pranced around as a millionaire and works his gold mine stock game.

Every successful schemer reaches his victims by obtaining their confidence in his honesty and ability. Wilshire accomplished this by two effective but simple means: First, he was a "Socialist" filled with the fire of the propagandist. His magazine was the greatest of all instruments for making Socialists. Its writers were at the head of the Socialist movement here and in Europe, and hence the character of Wilshire's Socialism could not be questioned. Second, he was a millionaire who had repudiated his class and devoted his great wealth and ability to the cause of Socialism; hence there could be no mercenary motive back of his work for Socialism. This was further evidenced by his plans, which were "co-operative;" this business was a partnership in which he bore all the burden and responsibility, and every Socialist who cared could share in the "profits." This part of his plan was beautifully simple and attractive, and in which he could make his inducements public and the disappointment of his co-operative partners could be concealed. To become a partner, all a Socialist need do was to work for Socialism by selling Wilshire's subscriptions, and for every \$5 worth sold each partner got \$2.50 and a \$10 share of stock in Wilshire's Magazine, and in addition to this the dear comrades would get guessing coupons, Wilshire's picture, autograph and certificate of honor.

This was such an easy way of making Socialists and making money that not only were the uneducated wage workers in the party fooled, but it caught business men, among whom was a personal acquaintance of the Provoker, a sharp real estate dealer, who for quite a while devoted himself to Wilshire's service to the exclusion of all other party work, and when he found he had been confided, that his "partnership profits" in the co-operative organization were pieces of pretty picture paper, he, like thousands of other victims, shut up like a clam, as silent as a sphinx. This was just what Wilshire figured on; not one in a thousand would publicly disclose their Socialistic stupidity and cupidity, and Wilshire got other suckers to help complete the first part of his scheme, the establishment of a great paper for communication, and an army of credulous "co-operators" active in every Socialist local in the land.

WILSHIRE'S CHARGE AGAINST MORGAN.

In a "Declaration" filed February 21, 1910, Wilshire's lawyer, in 2,500 words, presents his charge against "The Pro-

voker," stripped of its legal verbiage and repetitions it is as follows:
"State of Illinois, }
County of Cook. } ss.

In the Superior Court of Cook County.
Gaylord Wilshire

vs.
Thomas J. Morgan
8265
276,865

Gaylord Wilshire, Plaintiff,

by
Marvin G. Barnhart, his Attorney.
Complains of Thomas J. Morgan, Defendant of a plea, trespass on the case."

"For Gaylord Wilshire was a person of good name, credit, reputation, and deservedly enjoyed the esteem and good opinion of his neighbors in New York, and acquaintances in Chicago, Illinois, and various other states; that he published 'Wilshire's Magazine' and was engaged in the business of buying and selling bonds and stocks and in conducting corporate enterprises in New York and other states; that in his business he was punctual in all his dealings, kept all his engagements, paid all his debts and met all his obligations, and hence, was deservedly held in great credit and esteem by his neighbors and those with whom he had dealings; that by his exemplary conduct in his business he had acquired great gains, profits and advantages, and had established a large and prosperous business in selling bonds and stocks and in the conduct of his corporate enterprises; that all his business was on a sound foundation and constantly on the increase and continually growing in its volume and importance; that Thomas J. Morgan knew these facts and wickedly and maliciously attempted to destroy Wilshire's good name, credit and reputation, by causing him to be regarded as a person unworthy of trust and confidence; a person who had been, and was now, wilfully deceiving his subscribers, customers, and persons with whom he had business; that he printed in a paper called 'The Provoker,' a false, scandalous, malicious and defamatory libel, containing among other things the scandalous, malicious, defamatory and libelous matter following:

"A WILSHIRE (MEANING THE PLAINTIFF) SUCKER."

A comrade writes "The Provoker" as follows:

"I am a Wilshire (meaning the plaintiff) sucker to the extent of \$250; \$150 in Bishop Creek, \$100 in British Guiana. He (meaning the plaintiff), guaranteed 30 per cent dividend to commence over a year ago or money returned. I have not seen either. I should have thought nothing of such business if presented by any one but a comrade like Wilshire (meaning the plaintiff). I am an old man and my ambition is not as frisky as it used to be, but I shall do something for 'The Provoker,' for we need some one who can speak up."

There are thousands of Wilshire (meaning the plaintiff), "suckers," who,

for the future welfare of the Socialist movement should, like this old comrade, give "The Provoker" the facts connected with Wilshire's (meaning the plaintiff) gold mine stock schemes, worked by his magazine and assisted by Ernest Unterman, National Committeeman, and manager of the Bishop Creek mine, the stock of which, sold to Socialists at \$3 is now at 20 cents. The facts, when published, will hurt some, but the silence under which "comrades" have been catching "suckers" in the party for years has caused untold injury to Socialism in this country.

By means of which Wilshire has been greatly injured in his good name, reputation, credit and business, and has fallen into great discredit among his subscribers, customers, creditors and other worthy persons with whom he had dealings in his business, and has thereby lost and been deprived of divers gains and profits, which otherwise would have accrued to him in said business and has been brought into public scandal and disgrace thereby, and is shunned and avoided by divers persons and has been otherwise injured to the damage of \$50,000, and therefore, he brings this suit."

On March 10, 1910, the Daily Socialist published a misleading article headed "Wilshire Mine," shown to be good property. The mine referred to is the South American Gold Mining Company, in which the Daily says Wilshire has really struck a big thing, and its only reason for saying so is that some one else wants to have a share in the management.

The minority of the stockholders want a chance to examine Wilshire's books. Some of the "Dear Comrades" who trusted Simons and the Managers and Directors of the Daily Socialist and were induced by Wilshire's cute advertisements to give their hard earned savings for Wilshire's Bishop Creek Gold Mine stock, will remember that this stock was changed for stock of the Bishop Creek Milling Company, and next for the stock of the British Guiana Gold Company; next for stock of the South American Gold Company, and now it appears that "to meet the difficulties in operating in British Guiana the Tassawinni Mining Company was organized and took over the stock of the South American Company." A judgment for \$15,052 was entered in New York against Wilshire's British Guiana-South American Company, and when the Sheriff proceeded to levy an execution and collect the \$15,052 last August he found the sole assets of those companies in the stock of the Tassawinni Company. This stock was seized and sold at public auction August 17, for \$500, and this is what Simons declares in big headlines in the Daily Socialist to be proof that Wilshire Mine is "good property." Simons is a "Great Socialist." Comrades credit him as one who tells the truth, even when he declares Wilshire Mine into which comrades put

tens of thousands of dollars is "Good Property" in face of the facts that it was sold by the Sheriff at public auction for \$500. "Wilshire Mines Good Property" says Simons the "Socialist." Compare his declaration with the following truthful statement of a Capitalist:

"John Hayes Hammon is the most famous mining engineer in the world. His services are valued by English employers at \$500,000 a year. December 22, 1909, he addressed the New York Financial Forum on the subject of mining investments. From that address the following is extracted for the information of Comrades interested in Stock Gambling in the Socialist party."

Referring to undeveloped mines he says: "There are two general classes of prospects and mines." "The first are prospects or bodies of ore partly explored or partly developed. These are mining gambles. Few engineers are capable of estimating the character or value of these prospects. Not more than one in six of these prospects deserve exploration." "The rest is a six to one shot." "Hence this kind of mining should be confined to those who can afford the risk."

"Unscrupulous promoters and other financial sharks take advantage of the ignorance of the credulous to invest in the stock of companies whose properties are the undemonstrated potentialities of a prospect."

"Engineers reports are of three classes—one, ore blocked out; two, propable ore; three, possible ore." A competent expert can estimate the first by careful sampling; he can guess at the second, and toss up a coin to find the report for the third as this is called mining clairvoyance."

"The lowest returns should be 8 per cent on the investment. Ten and 15 per cent would be attractive if made after the sinking fund had been provided to replace the capital invested, for mines have a short life. The amount applied to the sinking fund after dividends are paid is the real touchstone by which the attractiveness of the investment is determined, for when a mine is worked out the milling property is scrap."

Don't allow insinuating, slick, dishonest, not to apply the uglier word—Promoter—or so-called stock broker to deceive you. Many men of business have made trips of self-deception to see for themselves that which exists only in their own imagination.

"The prospectus of mine promoters should be marked with the skull and cross bones, to mark the danger, as in cases of poisonous medicines, to deter investors from investing unless on the advice of a financial doctor—the mining engineer."

"Mark Twain called a mine a hole in the ground owned by a liar." "A fairer description is a hole in the ground sold by a lying promoter to a stupid investor."

Wilshire's stock gambling "Enterprises" are engaging the attention of three New York courts. The right of stockholders to examine his books to

find out where their money goes being denied, the courts were appealed to. Wilshire dodged the court's order by declaring the office and books of his "Enterprise" were in New Jersey, and not at 200 Williams Street, New York, as advertised and hence, they were outside the jurisdiction of New York courts.

The moral and legal right of the "Dear Comrades" to know what he has done with their money cannot be denied, but their attempts to find out from his books seems like doubting his honesty and questioning the truth of his circulars, letters, and advertisements, and Wilshire resents this as an insult.

A legal inquiry is in progress, which reveals the following: Several years ago Wilshire found a man who had control of mining property, but no money to work it. Wilshire got a two-third interest and organized the British Guiana Gold Company, bonded it and kept the bonds. Later he organized the Tassawini Gold Company, which absorbed all the property of the British Guiana Company. It is charged in Court that he made eight notes for \$15,957.33; had his lawyers get judgment on them; had the Sheriff seize and sell all the British Guiana Gold Company property for \$500—he being the purchaser from the Sheriff. In this way the British Guiana stock was wiped out and Wilshire got the property. Three days after the Sheriff sale, he circularized his "Dear Comrades" of the organization of the "South American Gold Company," which had become the owner of the property of the British Guiana Gold Co. He declared this mine (sold by the Sheriff to him for \$500), was yielding \$100,000 in gold annually, and he would pay a monthly dividend of one per cent per month on South American Gold Company's stock; the first dividend to be paid in November. This circular waked up one of the British Guiana Gold Company stockholders, whose 169,600 shares had been turned into waste paper by the Sheriff's sale. In the complaint to the court this stockholder charges Wilshire with fraud and conspiracy. Wilshire immediately compromised with this fighting stockholder, and silence reigned again until November had passed and the promised dividends were not paid, then the fight started anew and the light slowly but surely illuminates the inside of Wilshire's method of stock gambling.

Bishop Creek Gold Company, like the British Guiana Company, has "changed hands." In a circular of 1,500 words, Wilshire in substance says: The "Dear Comrades," who thought I owned the Bishop Creek Mine were mistaken. I got into it long after its stock was put on the market. I knew from the beginning the enterprise would fail; those in control could not be trusted; they broke all agreements and I could not prevent that, nor could I prevent the fall of the price of stock. Notwithstanding all my boasting and promises made in my

magazine and advertisements I knew the property would have to be protected and reorganized on a sound, financial basis. To do this I have organized the Wilshire Bishop Creek Company, which now owns the Bishop Creek Company. How this change was made I cannot tell you. You must trust me as you have before in Bishop Creek and British Guiana (and pay no attention to the Provoker or others like him). By this "change of hands" all Bishop Creek stock is waste paper, but I love my "Comrades" who paid me from \$1 to \$4 a share for Bishop Creek stock and therefore, if you will transfer all of your Bishop Creek stock to me and promise to sit still in this stock gambling game for eighteen months and let me do as I will in that time, I will give you Wilshire Bishop Creek stock par value \$5 at 50 cents a share. This is a "Golden Opportunity"; it is like giving a gold mine to each comrade for a worthless piece of picture paper called Bishop Creek stock, which I sold you some time ago. He says: Having reorganized and fixed things the way I want them, the Mill I have told you about for several years will now be built and the gold and dividends obtained from it will be a wonder. Send in your stock and more of your saving and keep your **Trust** in Wilshire.

On December 16, 1909, The Provoker printed part of a letter from a \$250.00 Wilshire "Sucker." January 4, 1910, Wilshire sued him for \$50,000 damages. January 27, Summons served on The Provoker. March 3, 1910, The Provoker appeared and demanded Wilshire file a bond to cover costs. March 23, 1910, Wilshire dismissed the suit at his costs. The Wilshire exposure will continue till the facts are understood by wage-working Socialists and their "Intellectual Leaders" are forced to repudiate Wilshire or the party repudiates them and Wilshire.

The facts already at hand cast the cloud of responsibility for the success of Wilshire's schemes over Simons, Editor-in-Chief of the Daily Socialist, National Executive Committeeman Goebel, Unterman and Wanhope, Wilshire's hired decoys. The Provoker believes that when all the facts are known the wage-worker will sweep every private enterprise and professional Socialist out of the party.

GOEBEL, NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMAN, IS BOOMING WILSHIRE.

A Comrade writes The Provoker April 1st, that Professional Socialist Goebel spoke in Silvertown, Ohio, March 27th, and recommended Wilshire's paper as a good Socialist paper; The Provoker has been sent regularly to this HIGH OFFICIAL AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. The Provoker knows that he knows Wilshire's game, and supported him by moving a vote of confidence in a "Stockholders' Meeting," in New Jersey, where he, with a very few other Wilshire

HELPERS, fixed up a report to fool his victims.

WILSHIRE'S STOCK GAMBLING DECOYS.

G. H. Goebel, a Professional Socialist for years, was recently nominated and elected as a "Carpenter" to the National Executive of the Socialist party. In this way Berger's desire to give a class conscious color to the Professional N. E. C. was satisfied.

The Provoker's discovery and publication of Goebel's business connections with Wilshire's Stock Gambling Game was an impersonal fact involving a principle of the utmost importance to the Socialist movement at large and the Socialist party in particular. For instance, the National Executive Committee in March, 1907, in response to the protest of Local St. Louis against Wilshire's Stock Gambling Game, declared: "The National Committee considers it **reprehensible** and **detrimental** to the interests of the Socialist movement to use Socialist publications for the **Promotion of Private Enterprises of their Editors or Publishers.**"

In his April, 1907, and subsequent issues of his Magazine Wilshire and his decoy letter writers fling contempt and ridicule at the National Committee and follow it up with the cunning use of names of prominent Socialists, among which were A. M. Simons, Upton Sinclair, Rives La Monte, A. H. Floaten, arranged to create the impression upon his readers that Wilshire was backed by the intellect of the most distinguished Socialists of the United States. And again note the following:

December 8, 1908, Wilshire held an alleged annual meeting of stockholders of the Bishop Creek Gold Co. in his office, at 200 Williams St., New York, at which perhaps a dozen or less of his agents were present. Wilshire presided and had various reports calculated to aid his game adopted for publication. One of those present was G. H. Goebel then a professional organizer in the pay of the National Committee of the party and as such he distinguished himself and aided Wilshire by this motion:

G. H. Goebel offered the following motion which was adopted without a dissenting voice: "I move as the sense of this meeting that the management of the (Bishop Creek) company have our entire confidence; that we urge every stockholder to refrain from selling his stock for at least two years, as we believe it would then be worth far more than its par value."

Goebel's motive, innocent or wicked, could not change the result of this misuse of his high position in the party. He gave Wilshire the particular coat of "whitewash" he required to personify "Purity" before Comrades he desired to victimize.

Goebel has continued to act as Wilshire's agent for love or money, while acting as the paid official of the party, traveling all over the country at the party's expense, and while he was a

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"I v the N. aware meeting Goebel's tin. It likely in the spected and st. to me He mig won a trip ar the lar to Wils for the less we I shall ing the I there: date to dilemm her th comrad sonal m ing."

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"Carpenter" candidate for election to the National Executive Committee. Since he was elected to that high office he has used its natural influence as the agent of Wilshire, and has been Wilshire's most successful "Socialist" decoy as evidenced by the following extracts from a letter written by National Executive Committeeman Spargo and published in the Official Bulletin of the party issued March, 1910.

"I vote **No** on Goebel's motion that the N. E. C. meet March 19. I am not aware of any business to necessitate a meeting. I disapprove of the tone of Goebel's letter of Feb. 24, in the Bulletin. It evinces a quarrelsome spirit not likely to promote harmonious working in the committee. I should have respected him more if he had come out and stated his real reason, as he did to me recently in private conversation. He might have said: 'Comrades, I have won a prize contest which gives me a trip around the world, having gained the largest number of new subscribers to Wilshire's Magazine. I shall be away for the greater part of the year, and unless we can meet soon it is likely that I shall not attend a single meeting during the year. That will look bad, and I therefore ask you to meet at an early date to save me from a very awkward dilemma.' That would have been manlier than his pharisaical criticism of comrades who did not have that personal motive for holding an early meeting."

Again Goebel's motive in working for Wilshire is not of the slightest importance. Good or bad, the thousands of dollars furnished by the wage-working members of the party to pay for his professional services to carry him from place to place, to provide him with public notice, halls and audiences for him to address, and the high honor of selection as one of the seven highest officials of the Socialist party of the United States—all this has been prostituted to the advancement of Wilshire's Stock Gambling Game; the financial loss of his Socialist victims; the disgrace and injury of the party, and Socialist movement.

The fact that Wilshire's magazine is the main instrument by which Wilshire established and maintained his stock gambling game in the party is so glaringly apparent that any attempt of Goebel or other decoys to justify his advocacy of Wilshire's magazine, on the plea that it is a "Socialist paper" is to insult the intelligence of every member of the party who understands the principles of Socialism and the rightful purpose of Socialist literature.

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS?

Wilshire, the Gold Mine Stock Gambler, lacked but 66 votes of being elected this month one of the eight International Delegates to represent the Socialist Party.

The way in which this man is supported by Berger and Simons suggests some subterranean financial connection,

and The Provoker asks Berger and Simons to state how much money Wilshire has paid in any way to the enterprises they are connected with in Milwaukee and Chicago?

Stock Gambling in the Party—Berger and Wilshire.

Berger's political associates include three of Wilshire's most valuable decoys—Unterman, his **"Mining Expert"**; Wanhope, his **"Socialist"** editor, and Goebel, who, as National Executive Committeeman and National Organizer, traveled all over the country, using the funds of the Party in railroad fare, hotel bills and hall rent to solicit subscribers for Wilshire's Magazine and sell worthless gold mine stock to comrades.

The last day of the Congress Berger personally nominated this Wilshire man, and thereby elected him Chairman of the Congress.

BERGER'S FRIEND AND WILSHIRE'S DECOY: GEO. H. GOEBEL, THE "CARPENTER."

The compensation of this **"Carpenter"** is reported by Barnes in the National Bulletin for May, 1910, as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| As National Ex. Committeeman.. | \$ 15.00 |
| Delegate to the Congress, mileage | 57.00 |
| As speaker | 166.18 |
| Total | \$238.18 |

To show just how much money this high official of the Party, professional Socialist and stock gambler's decoy gets by his fine "carpenter" work in the party, it cannot be ascertained, as he will not disclose the number of subscribers he secured at party expense for Wilshire and the amount of his commission on sale of Wilshire's Gold Mine Stocks and Bonds.

Perhaps some information may be obtained from him when he is tried by the New Jersey State Committee on charges of using the Party and its funds in the service of Wilshire.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE PARTY?

Payment of Dues vs. Get-Rich-Quick Schemes.

From a circular issued by National Secretary Barnes, which filled three-quarters of a column in the Daily Socialist Oct. 27, an expert accountant, after some difficulty, extracted the following facts:

The party dues for the first nine months of this year increased just \$186.29 over the dues paid during the same months last year. Twenty-three states paid less dues this year than last year. Twenty of these states are west of Chicago, where the fever of speculation is highest.

A MILLION DOLLARS IN FORTY WEEKS.

Under this head in the Daily Socialist, Crook, "the fiscal agent" of one of the many get-rich-quick schemes extensively advertised in the Daily Socialist, says: "There is a great demand

for stocks, and 90 per cent of the applicants are Socialists."

Are not many Socialists in this way inspired with the get-rich-quick fever? Do they pay for stocks instead of dues, lose their savings, leave the party after being deceived by its papers, and forever afterward damn the Socialist party and its movement? We think so.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS IN FORTY WEEKS.

The Daily Socialist a few days ago published a quarter-page appeal to Socialists to buy the stock of the International Floor Surfacing Machine Company.

John M. Crook, the fiscal agent of the company, 950 N. 53d avenue, Chicago, in this appeal reports a great demand for stock; that 90 per cent of applicants are Socialists; that one Chicago comrade bought 200 shares, sold 200 more to his brother, and 600 to a friend, and that a California 'Red' has asked his mother in Germany to send him \$1,600 to invest in this stock."

Crook says: "Each machine is earning \$50 a week net, and five hundred of these machines will earn one million dollars in forty weeks."

Those who have controlled the Daily have always declared they published nothing but the truth. I ask my comrades, however, to hold their money till I have an opportunity in The Provoker to write the history of the use of the Socialist press by stock promoters. That history will include this "Crook" and the names of prominent not supposed to be "Socialists" of that type. As a local delegate and committeeman I tried to stop this "business," but the friends of the promoters were too numerous and influential. With The Provoker as a means I may be able to accomplish some good for the party in this particular as well as others.

A CROOK.

A Comrade in Ohio sends The Provoker a circular letter received in March. On the envelope corner is: "THE COMRADE," Stock and Real Estate Agency, 841 North 53d Avenue, Chicago. The letter is signed John M. Crook, the Chicago Crook; the Crook who was book-keeper of the Daily Socialist; the friend of Simons the EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, who allowed this Crook to use the name of the Daily Socialist as "REFERENCE" on his letter heads and to use the Daily to advertise his "MILLION DOLLARS IN FORTY WEEKS" scheme, in which comrades lost upwards of \$7,000 in about 12 weeks. Crook's profits on this loss enabled him to grease another way to the "Dear Comrades" savings, whose addresses he got through the Daily, and lie in print as follows: "The Commonwealth Oil Company is my special pet." "I know a man who invested \$15 and made \$360 from it." "I know a lady stenographer who, since she bought stock does not have to work so hard." "Oil did it." "Glory be to him who lightens the burdens of the toiler." "Oil is paying over SEVEN MIL-

LIONS IN DIVIDENDS EACH YEAR. Are you going to be one of the stockholders this blessed year?" "You are as sure of winning as we are of taxes and death." "Twenty-five dollars buys 100 shares and you get 100 shares free. Get busy, be one of the first." "MAIL THE GOLDEN CARD TO SOME DEAR FRIEND AND IF HE ANSWERS AND BUYS STOCK YOU GET A COMMISSION."

Such men as this Crook who are "Comrades" of the "Intellectuals," who now control the party, are among the most contemptible of all professional parasites.

"A MILLION DOLLARS IN FORTY WEEKS."

John M. Crook, Fiscal Agent.

In The Provoker No.'s 4, 6, 7, 18 and 20, attention was called to Crook's enterprise, "A Million Dollars in Forty Weeks," and to his use of the Daily Socialist in separating comrades from their hard earned savings.

The Provoker is sent to Simons every week for his information as Editor-in-Chief of the Daily, but he remained silent and allowed Crook's "cute" advertisements to appear in the Daily. The financial results of the joint efforts of Crook's and Simons' control and use of the Daily Socialist in this "Million Dollars in Forty Weeks" stock gambling game is as follows:

Shares sold to "Dear Comrades," 9,250; par value, \$9,250.00; premium on same \$937.50; total, \$10,187.50. Cash paid to Crook, \$6,501.70. Crook's commission, 25 per cent on this sum was \$1,625.42, but he appropriated \$2,170.57 or \$545.15 more than he was entitled to. As Manager he lost absolutely \$4,618.77, and incurred liabilities (including this loss) to the amount of \$8,000.

The million dollars was to be made in forty weeks by surfacing floors with Schutler's Patent Machines. He spent \$4,637.77 on Schutler and two jobs, one in Milwaukee and the other at the new Naval Station at Lake Bluff, and earned just \$19—**NINETEEN DOLLARS.**

Crook in his advertisements in Simons' Daily declared that 90 per cent of those who bought his stock were Socialists, caught by his use of the Daily. Simons raves over the loss of \$51.80 by two comrades to outside crooks using capitalist papers, and by use of the Daily helps his friend Crook to relieve his comrades of \$6,501.70 cash and make them liable for a total of \$8,000. The duped stockholders have "Fired" Crook and find themselves with some scrap iron and a legal right to go after Crook for the over-charge on commission, amounting to \$545.15.

Those who got money out of Crook's "Enterprise" were Crook, cash, \$2,170.57. Part of this was paid to Simons' Daily and The Provoker asks Simons to look at his books and publish the amount for the information of the "Dear Comrades."

Comrade Carl Strover, one of the Board of Directors of the Daily Social-

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ist, as attorney for Schutler in this "Enterprise," phoned The Provoker after he had called attention to Crook in No. 4, to find out just what The Provoker knew about his scheme. The Provoker replied, the facts would be published in The Provoker, and here they are, and Carl Strover is found connected with it as legal adviser of Schutler and probably of Crook, and maker of the contracts by which the interests of these parties were to be secured. The Provoker now asks Strover to publish the contract he prepared, and by which his "Dear Comrades" were to be tied up financially.

"A Million Dollars in Forty Weeks!!!" This announcement, on its face, stamped the "Enterprise" as a fraud, and no one knew that better than Simons' Editor-in-Chief and Carl Strover, of the Board of Directors, and yet they helped it along till Crook was "fired" and \$6,501.70 of the hard earnings of comrades had gone forever.

A Million-Dollars-in-Forty-Weeks A. M. Simons—John M. Crook. John M. Crook, permitted by Simons to use the Daily Socialist to place his Million-dollars-in-forty-weeks stock selling game, was ARRESTED by two comrades who thought Simons allowed nothing but the TRUTH to appear in the Daily. The charge was, obtaining their money by a CONFIDENCE GAME. The financial report published in The Provoker was presented to prove the charge. It proved every statement published in the Daily was a lie; contrary to these statements about the earning of a million dollars in forty weeks but \$19 was earned in twenty weeks; that Crook's family of six, who knew the game, invested only \$184 and took out for wages, expenses and commissions over Three Thousand Dollars which comrades paid in; that machines Crook purchased for some three thousand dollars more cannot be sold for \$200; that to keep his victims away from his office Crook put up scarlet fever signs.

Crook's lawyer said the way in which Crook fooled comrades with the help of the Daily Socialist was not a "confidence game." Judge Wells of the criminal branch of the municipal court, agreed with Crook's lawyer. It was worse; a fraud, a swindle, embezzlement, and advised Crook's victims to bring a charge of embezzlement against him. This they declare they will do and The Provoker will report the results.

The Provoker again asks Simons and Carl Strover to publish their connection with Crook's Million-Dollar-In-40-Weeks scheme in the Daily Socialist.

STOCK GAMBLING.

Simons' Friend.

John M. Crook has been arrested again by some of his victims, whose money he got through the stock gambling scheme advertised in Simons' Daily Socialist and named "The International Floor Surfacing Machine Company," exposed by The Provoker. Evidence of the crime charged will be heard in the criminal branch of the Municipal Court this week. He has hired able non-socialist lawyers, who may put up a successful defense for him.

IT SURPRISED HIM.

Brooklyn, N. Y., April 26, 1910.

Comrade: Your Provoker of March 24th surprised me. I had confidence in

Crook because of his connection with the Daily Socialist. Too sick to be insured for the benefit of my family, I sent Crook all my savings for Floor Surfacing and other stocks boomed in the Daily. I did not even receive a certificate of stock and blame the comrades who knew him for not exposing him. Fraternaly, P. I. N.

STOCK GAMBLING IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

"The National Co-operative Mercantile Company."

"Comrade" Kaplan,
Member of the National Committee
Socialist Party,
Promoter.

The Chicago Daily Socialist has donated several columns of space recently to the use of "Comrade" Kaplan who "represents" the Socialist Party of Minnesota in the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

With the Daily as a means this "Comrade" presents his \$100,000 stock gambling scheme to the party members. He offers shares at \$10, promises six per cent interest, talks of 75 per cent profit, promises to redeem all shares at par in two years.

"Comrade" John M. Crook who graduated from the position of bookkeeper for the Daily Socialist into the stock gambling game and who now presents himself in the columns of the Daily Socialist as the "Fiscal Agent" of "A Million Dollars In Forty Weeks" scheme, declares in the Daily that 90 per cent of those who apply for stock in his scheme are Socialists and hence out of Socialists' money is able to buy the use of the Daily to get more from the comrades.

So Kaplan, ex-member of Local Cook County, present National Committeeman for Minnesota encouraged by the success of the Crooks, shown by the great space they have bought in the Daily, has also been transformed into a "Promoter" and off-hand declares in the Daily that his scheme has caught the Socialists of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin whose many letters of inquiry encourage him and promise his

This most recent of the many Get-Rich Schemes worked by means of the Daily, is aided by other columns of space donated to advocates of "co-operation" like Gustave Schultz.

As a member in 1868 of a co-operative society on the Rochdale plan in Europe; of the Sovereigns of Industry in the United States in 1873, and of the Chicago Co-operative Trading Society in Chicago; a student of the whole co-operative movement in the English speaking world, and reader of its official literature, I have had both Kaplan and Schultz as listeners at more than one of the lectures I have delivered on this subject in Chicago, in which with enthusiastic recognition of the success achieved by the co-operators in Europe, I had to present the fact that every attempt in the United States by wage-workers had failed. And since these lectures were delivered every co-opera-

tive scheme written up and advertised in the Daily Socialist has failed.

I shall list some of these when I write up the subject of stock gambling in the Socialist Party and present the facts in my Provoker.

This number of "The Provoker" with this article marked will be sent to the editors, managers and each member of the Board of Directors of the Daily Socialist, every member of the Central Committee, every secretary of every local in Cook County and to every state and national officer in the party and every Socialist publication in the country for the purpose of protecting the savings of party members and the reputation of the Socialist Party and incidentally compelling Kaplan to either quit his Gold Brick Game or quit the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

THE CAPITALIST SPIRIT IN NATIONAL AND STATE OFFICIALS.

Barnes—Bentall.

The following is extracted from a circular letter to "Honest Socialists." The writer says:—"I was interested in the moving picture business for socialist propaganda. National Secretary Barnes took my ideas, formed the ADREM COMPANY and organized a scheme he could control for selling "profit sharing certificates" to trusting comrades at a dollar each. I refused to be a party to such a capitalist game. I told State Secretary J. O. Bentall of Barnes' capitalist scheme and explained my ideas of party use and management of moving picture propaganda for which I put up one hundred dollars. To avoid conflict with National Secretary Barnes' Adrem Company and escape public notice Secretary Bentall got the assistance of his two brothers, Lawyer D. J. Bentall and Elmer Bentall. These three of Delaware; fixed by-laws and a board of directors to give them absolute control. I protested and demanded back my \$100, but fearing injury by physical violence and legal persecution the Bentalls threatened, I got out."

With A. M. Simons' consent and indorsement of the Board of Directors of the Daily Socialist the Bentalls presented their scheme in an article of some 3,000 words written in the exalted style which gives the state secretary's monthly—THE NEXT STEP—a peculiar place in socialist literature. This article by the denunciation of "CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION," "CAPITALIST SLAVERY," and in behalf of "OUR GRAND SOCIALIST CAUSE," and in the name of "TRUTH, SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM," and with the song of "THE ANGELS' PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN," State Secretary Bentall and his brothers introduced the "GRAND CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH" and their "CO-INDUSTRIAL COMPANY" to the trusting comrades who think nothing but the "Truth" appears in the Daily Socialist. Stripped of all its "religious" trimmings this article reveals the Bentall scheme to be a capitalist stock company with a Delaware charter and

with Five Hundred Thousand Shares (pretty pieces of picture paper) to sell to comrades for Five Hundred Thousand Dollars—a dollar a share. Each Local and Branch of the Socialist Party in the United States to buy 500 shares for \$500, two hundred and fifty dollars cash and \$250 on time. Fifty thousand of these shares were "preferred shares" on which the Bentalls promised to pay SIX PER CENT INTEREST. Bentall presented the bait of enormous "Profit" with all the skill of a professional "barker," inviting the ignorant to take his particular conveyance to heaven.

The following is extracted from the records of Bentall's board of directors.

By resolution of the board of directors one follows:

One thousand shares to each member.
Twenty thousand shares to the president.
Twenty thousand shares to the manager.
Fifteen thousand shares to the vice-president.
Ten thousand shares to each of the other directors.

Five thousand shares extra to the lawyer.
These shares were given for services rendered in planing this scheme and were to be sold to comrades for a dollar each.

The success or failure of these capitalist schemes in the party is of far less importance than the evil capitalist spirit controlling the places of power in the party and the responsibility of the professional "Leaders" and heroes in the party who have remained silent while the Wilshires and Mills have been planting the seeds and reaping the harvests of capitalism within its ranks.

The results achieved by Wilshire, Crook and others is not the point aimed at by The Provoker, it is the capitalist spirit that is brought into the party by Professionals who look upon the wage-working members of the party as their legitimate prey.

The attention of National Executive Committeeman Goebel, National Secretary Mahlon Barnes and State Secretary Bentall is called to this extract from official circulars sent out by the state secretary of Michigan: "Locals are warned against all schemes to Bentalls obtained a charter from the state sell stock or enter into co-operative business enterprises."

This state secretary understand his duty. He is a "right" Socialist.

* * *

The Provoker has been warned that his exposure of such distinguished leaders of the party as Berger, Simons and others must be stopped; that consideration for his gray hair has so far saved him from physical violence. One crazy admirer of these leaders selected a fellow comrade with superior muscular endowment as the one fit to reduce The Provoker to silence. While The Provoker smiles at these facts and continues the work he has undertaken, he does not forget. Such leaders as August Spies and Albert Parsons caused the explosion of the Haymarket bomb, and the leaders of the trade union organizations in Chicago caused their admirers to commit forgery, burglary and murder of fellow union men to remove obstructions, prevent exposure and command silence. And by experience The Provoker knows that the same kind of human nature is present in the socialist party as in the trade unions and can be moved to the same kind of action by the suggestive silence or action of the Bergers, Simonses and other leaders who desire a free hand and **silence**.

Who's Who and What's What in the Socialist Party

BY THOMAS J. MORGAN



THIS publication is
for the information
of party members.

It should be kept for ready
reference with the records
of every Local and Branch.
Every active member
should use it at every busi-
ness and committee meet-
ing, before any personal
or party matter of import-
ance is acted upon. By
this means the manage-
ment and control of the
party can be kept in the
hands of its members, and
disruption by professionals
be prevented. ®

Y O U C A N G E T

THE PROVOKER

FIFTY-TWO WEEKS FOR 25 CENTS



IT will give you more information regarding the real characters and acts of "leaders" and inside party affairs than you could learn as a delegate to State and National Conventions; as State or National Committeeman, or as State or National Secretary. It states the facts the members of the party should know, regardless of the objections of individuals whose personal interests are best served by *silence*.

THOMAS J. MORGAN

EDITOR, PUBLISHER AND OWNER

79 DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

*Brief history of the Public Ownership
League and what it has done to protect
and promote Municipal and Public
Utilities and National
Resources*

PUBLISHED BY

The Public Ownership League of America
127 N. Dearborn St., Room 1519
CHICAGO, ILL.



One of the 2,000 Municipal Plants the Power Trust Cannot Buy
—Coffeyville, Kansas

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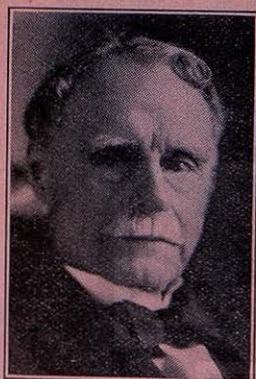
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What the Public Ownership League Has done—is doing—plans to do.

by Carl D. Thompson

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HON. A. M. TODD
The first and now Honorary President of the League. He has devoted a life time to the public service

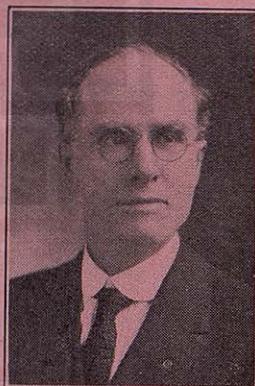
The Public Ownership League of America was started back in 1914—fifteen years ago—by a few public spirited citizens in Chicago. Jane Addams, of the world-famous Hull House, was the first person to send in her check for a “regular” five dollar membership; Otto Cullman, of Chicago, was the first to make a “substantial” contribution; and Honorable A. M. Todd, of Kalamazoo,

Michigan, was the first President.

Since then the League has grown steadily until today (September, 1929) it is a national and international organization, with an active membership in every state in the Union, most of the provinces of Canada, with representatives in England, France, Switzerland, Belgium and several other foreign countries.

The general purpose of the League is to protect and promote the publicly owned utilities and projects, and the natural resources of the city, state and nation. Its methods of work are indicated by the following departments and activities:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) A monthly magazine | (5) Publicity and Campaigns |
| (2) Bulletins (54 so far published) | (6) Public Ownership Conferences |
| (3) Engineering & Legal Departments | (7) Press Service |
| (4) Speakers and organizers | (8) Investment Department. |



WILLIS J. SPAULDING
PRESIDENT
OF THE LEAGUE
He has made the Springfield, Ill. municipal plant one of the most successful in the middle west



SECRETARY THOMPSON AT HIS DESK
This corner of the national office of the Public Ownership League in Chicago is the center of an intense activity and prodigious toil, the results of which reach every part of the country

A SERVICE THAT COVERS THE CONTINENT

For twelve years the Public Ownership League of America has been publishing a monthly magazine. In this way it is reaching between 4,000 and 5,000 individuals, organizations and municipalities with the most essential facts and information relative to public utilities and public projects every month.

* * * *

Over 2,000 municipalities, owning their light and power plants in the United States, are on the League's mailing list receiving its magazine and service. The remaining 5,000 cities that own one or the other of their utilities, some of them two or three, are being put on as fast as funds will permit.

* * * *

Every member of the United States Senate and many of the members of the House receive our monthly magazine regularly. The remaining members of Congress will be put on the list as fast as funds can be secured.

* * * *

There is not a city, town or village in the United States now that the Public Ownership League cannot reach with an active, aggressive representative within 24 hours.

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For ten years the League has been answering an average of 4,000 inquiries on public utility problems annually. Last year it was over 8,000.

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Published 54 Bulletins

The League is now publishing its 54th bulletin. These bulletins are all in substantial, printed and permanent form, with the exception of two that are mimeographed.

* * * *

These 54 bulletins have been widely circulated throughout the country, and are on file in all important public libraries including the Congressional Library at Washington, D. C.

Some of the League bulletins have run into two and one into four editions. Number 36, which was published about the middle of 1927, has already had a circulation of 25,000 and is going out faster every month.

* * * *

Bulletin No. 40 has had a very wide use and distribution, while Bulletin No. 46, which is a reprint of United States Senator Norris' speech in the Senate on "Public vs. Private Ownership of Electric Light and Power," and is enclosed in franked envelopes, has been ordered in 10,000 lots for general distribution. A similar arrangement is being made for several other important bulletins.

Reaches Everybody in Town

The bulletin service is so organized that an individual, organization or a municipality may send us a telephone directory or other list of citizens, properly checked, and a bulletin will be mailed by us direct to the entire list. In this way every voter in a community can be reached at a very nominal cost. The League is in this way prepared to reach one, or a thousand, or tens of thousands.



MISS ELEANOR SPEATH
Assistant Secretary, who has given long and faithful service to the League

Some Recent Bulletins

The following are some of the more recent bulletins which the League has published or has in preparation.

No. 43, "**The Power Trust Exposed**," a resumé of the findings of the Federal Trade Commission, by Carl D. Thompson—Will not be published until hearings are finished.

No. 44, "**The Muscatine Municipal Water and Light Plants**," by the Water and Light Boards of the City of Muscatine, shows how this Iowa city, with the help of the Public Ownership League, built and has made a wonderful success of its plant.

No. 45, "**The Power Trust Versus Municipal Ownership**," by J. F. Christy, Manager, City Water, Light and Power Plants, of Jonesboro, Ark., 210 pages, illustrated.

No. 46, "**Public vs. Private Ownership of Electric Light and Power**," by United States Senator George W. Norris, in franked envelopes ready for mailing.

No. 47, "**Electricity in the Home—A Study of Comparative Rates & Service in New York State**," by New York City Club.

No. 48, "**Ponca City, Oklahoma, Municipal Water and Light Plants—The Story of a Taxless Town**," by R. E. McDonnell, Consulting Engineer, Kansas City, Missouri.

No. 49, "**Ontario Points the Way to Cheap Electricity**," by Alvin C. Reis, of the Wisconsin Legislature. Perhaps the best brief story of the great Ontario system ever published.

No. 50, "**A Study of Comparative Rates Under Private and Public Ownership in the United States and Canada**," by Kenneth Harlan, Electrical Engineer, Public Utility Consultant and Rate Expert, Tacoma, Washington—In preparation.

No. 51, "**The Growing Field of the Diesel Engine**," by Edgar J. Kates, Consulting Engineer, New York City. A splendid presentation of the possibilities of the Diesel engine, by a noted authority.

No. 52, "**Public Power for Wisconsin**," a brief supporting the legislative measures of the Wisconsin League of Municipalities, by Carl D. Thompson. Over 200 pages. Probably the best and most comprehensive argument for public power that Mr. Thompson has written.

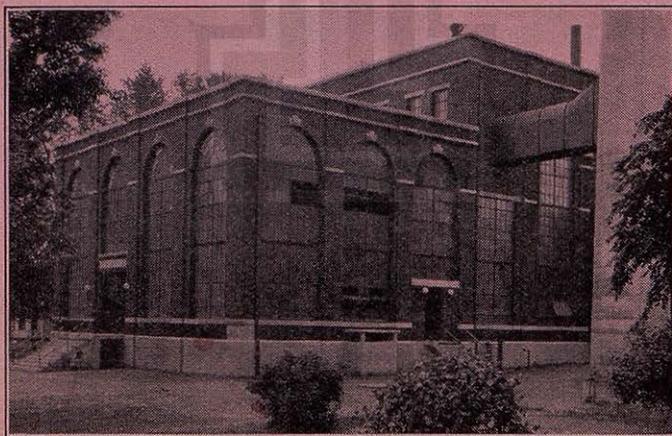
No. 53, "A Comparison of Electric Light Rates," speech by United States Senator George W. Norris, January 26, 1929—In franked envelopes ready for mailing.

No. 54, "What Diesel Power Means to Municipalities," by C. F. Lambert, of Burns & McDonnell, consulting engineers, Kansas City, Missouri.—In preparation.

Saving 2581 Municipal Light and Power Plants

The Public Ownership League has stood on guard almost literally night and day for the last fifteen years over the municipally owned light and power plants and power resources of the country. And in spite of all their boasts **the private power companies are not getting the publicly owned plants away from us so much as they were.** On the contrary in a steadily increasing number our municipalities are acquiring their own plants.

One city alone—Muscatine, Iowa—that now owns its electric light and power plants as a result of the help given by the Public Ownership League—reports that it is saving its people \$66,000 a year—\$435,000 in all since the plant was established four and one-half years ago, in lower light and power bills. And the League has rendered similar services in Hart, Mich., Clifton Forge, Va., Maquoketa, Ia., Salem, Mo., Emmetsburg, Iowa, and scores of other cities throughout the country.



MUSCATINE, IOWA, MUNICIPAL PLANT
One of the many made possible by the work of the Public Ownership League. This one is now saving the city \$66,000 a year

From Palm Beach, Florida, to Kamloops, British Columbia; from Harlingen, Texas, down on the Rio Grande, to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan; from El Centro, California, to Boston, Mass., the Public Ownership League, its literature and service are at work saving municipal plants and helping to start new ones.

* * * *

The Power Trust has for years been undermining municipal, state and federal projects in this country—the Public Ownership League has been actively engaged in every state in the Union in arousing the people and organizing the forces that are stopping the sale of municipal plants, and the gobbling up of power resources—and all together we have turned the tide the other way.

Public Power for Wisconsin

At a number of the annual conventions of the Wisconsin League of Municipalities, the Secretary of the Public Ownership League has delivered addresses on Public Power. At the convention held in Milwaukee in May, 1928, the writer presented a series of resolutions providing for a number of legislative measures and a constitutional amendment that would make possible a public power movement in that state. The resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote, a strong public power committee appointed, and from that time forward the Wisconsin League of Municipalities, representing 151 cities, towns and villages in that state, have been promoting a public power program. The Public Ownership League has been retained from the beginning and has appeared repeatedly, first before the Interim Committee of the State Legislature which had been appointed for the purpose of investigating and reporting on the power question and more recently before the committees of the legislature and in support of the measures sponsored by the League of Municipalities.

In the course of this development the Public Ownership League has prepared a very exhaustive brief setting forth the advantages of municipal and public ownership, the necessity for enabling legislation in Wisconsin, the achievements of other cities throughout the country in this field and particularly

the really astonishing achievements of public power in Ontario. This brief has become the textbook and the basis of the struggle for public ownership on the part of the municipalities of Wisconsin. It will be printed as Bulletin No. 52 of the League.

Public Power Districts for Washington

During the Public Ownership Conference held in the cities of Seattle and Tacoma, in Washington, in July, 1928, representatives of the municipalities of that state, together with the leaders of the Washington State Grange, held a number of conferences with reference to the preparation of a state-wide public power measure. Later on these forces, working together, secured the signatures of more than 85,000 citizens in the state to a petition which sent to referendum vote the question of a public power district measure in Washington. The measure was rejected by the legislature, as was expected, but goes automatically to referendum vote of the people of the state in 1930.

Mr. A. S. Goss, President of the Washington State Grange, has retained the services of the Public Ownership League for the preparation of data and a brief in support of this initiative measure in that state.

Fighting the Indeterminate Permit or Perpetual Franchise

In many different states throughout the country efforts are being made on the part of the private power companies and other private interests to secure the passage of laws providing for the so-called indeterminate permit. A strenuous effort was made to secure the passage of this law in Illinois in 1927 and at that time the Public Ownership League employed the late Delos F. Wilcox, who prepared with painstaking care and great thoroughness a bulletin on the subject of "The Indeterminate Permit and Its Relation to Home Rule and Municipal Ownership" (League Bulletin No. 35). This bulletin was used very effectively during the session of the State Legislature of Illinois that year and the measure was defeated. In one or two other states where the bulletin has been used and the facts gotten to the people, this law has been defeated, notably in Iowa, Arkansas and Florida. In Oklahoma and Minnesota,

however, the power interests succeeded in getting the law through, to the very great disadvantage of the municipalities.

During the early part of 1929 the Public Ownership League took part in many battles against the Indeterminate Permit law. The long legislative struggle in Wisconsin previously referred to, in which the municipalities in that state, with the help of the League, were endeavoring to secure enabling legislation for the promotion of public power systems, involved as one of the principal issues this same Indeterminate Permit law. Wisconsin has had the law now for 22 years. Practically every city in the state has joined in the struggle to have it repealed. This movement in Wisconsin will undoubtedly go on until the amendment or repeal of the law brings relief to the cities of that state.

Meanwhile another effort was made by the private power and traction interests of Chicago to put through a series of measures in the 1929 session of the state legislature, which included provision for an indeterminate or perpetual franchise. The League was ably represented before the Chicago city council and the Illinois state legislature in opposition to these measures.

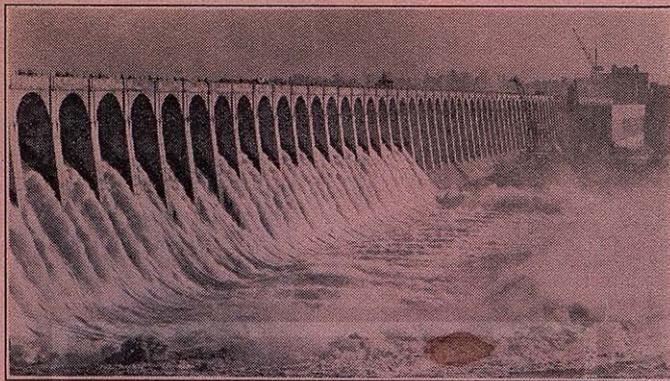
At the same time an effort was made to secure the passage of an Indeterminate Permit law in the state legislature of Florida. The legislative committee of the League of Municipalities of Florida unanimously opposed the measure and appeared before the legislative committee against it. Meanwhile municipal members of the Public Ownership League and representatives of the Florida League of Municipalities appealed to us for our assistance, literature, etc., which was immediately given. The measure failed to pass.

The League bulletin on the subject, No. 35, has been widely distributed and is still available to those who wish the facts as to the effect of this measure and the results of its operation in the different states that have had it in operation.

Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam

When, years ago, Henry Ford tried to get the government to turn over the power resources of Muscle Shoals to him for private exploitation, United States Senator George W. Norris

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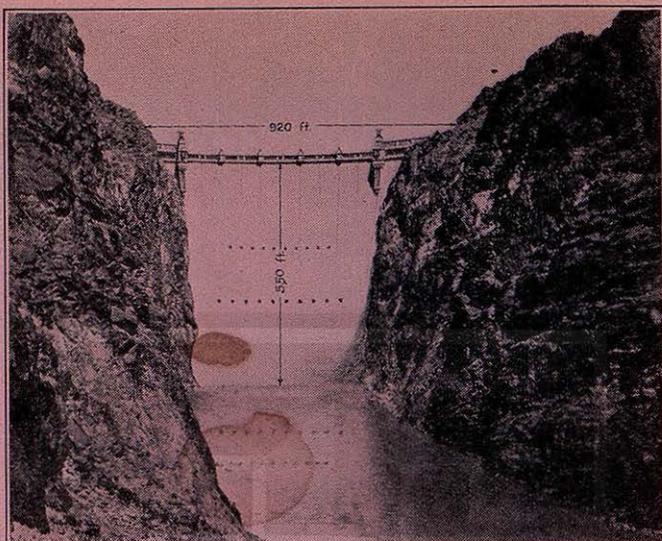
MUSCLE SHOALS

Persistent efforts led by United States Senator George W. Norris, the Public Ownership League and other individuals and organizations have so far saved this great government project from falling into the grip of the Power Trust. We must keep it for the service of the people

put up a magnificent fight to have the government retain the project. The Public Ownership League supported him in this matter, published a bulletin at the time and has followed up ever since with an active and energetic campaign in support of Senator Norris' position for the retention of this great hydro-electric power project and for its development under public ownership for the service of the people. Thus far the efforts to save Muscle Shoals have been successful.

During 1927 and 1928 considerable success was had in arousing the municipalities of Alabama, and especially those in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, to the importance of having this project retained and its service made available to the public in that section of the country. Arrangements are now being made for the holding of the next Public Ownership Conference at Muscle Shoals in November, 1929.

The League has also been active from the beginning in behalf of that other great hydro-electric power project at Boulder Canyon, on the Colorado River. Some six years ago, responding to an urgent call from representatives of the Southwest, the Secretary of the Public Ownership League went to Los Angeles and later to Santa Barbara to attend and address a conference of the representatives of the seven Southwestern states on this subject. On the way over he stopped at Las



BOULDER CANYON

The great Boulder Canyon hydro-electric project for which the Public Ownership League has battled along with other progressive forces throughout the country now seems assured by the passage of the Swing-Johnson bill and its signing by the President, at the last session of Congress

Vegas, went over the rough mountain trails to the Boulder Canyon and visited the site which has since been settled upon as the point where the dam is to be built.

From that time on the League has vigorously supported the Swing-Johnson bill. It has now passed both houses of Congress, been signed by the President, and become a law. Much yet remains to be done, however, before this great project is really built and made to properly serve the people.

Press Service

For many years the League has prepared and distributed to an ever-increasing number of daily, weekly and monthly publications a press service containing feature articles, news and notes regarding various public ownership and public power matters.

The Sacramento Daily Bee and the McClatchy chain of Dailies in California, the Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin, and the Leader of Milwaukee, are making constant use of our

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material, and the Hearst papers have frequently used special articles on the editorial pages of their entire system. Labor publications have used our material freely, in some cases running a series of illustrated articles.

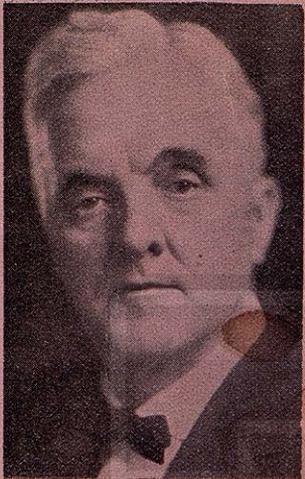
Public Ownership Conferences

A general meeting and Public Ownership Conference of the League is held every year or every other year, at which the most noted public utility experts and specialists, experienced managers of publicly owned utilities, in the United States and Canada, and special students of utility problems, are invited to appear and speak, and to which all members of the League and the general public are invited. Five such Conferences have already been held—one in November of 1917, another in November, 1919, and a third in November, 1921, all in Chicago. The fourth Conference was held in October, 1923, in Toronto, as guests of the city of Toronto, and the great Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the fifth at Seattle and Tacoma, Wash., July 23-26, 1928, as guests of those two cities.

These Conferences have been eminently successful and have proven to be one of the most valuable features of the League's work. **The next Conference will be held at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, in November, 1929.**

Public Ownership League the Pioneer

In all of these matters the Public Ownership League has been the pioneer. We have gone out, blazed the trail and cleared the way. Fifteen years ago there was no national organization such as the Public Ownership League fighting for the protection and promotion of municipal water works, electric light and power plants, street car lines, gas works and for the conservation and utilization of our water resources and the like. Since then several have come,—many of them have gone. Others are now taking up the fight. But the Public Ownership League has always been and continues to be the Pioneer. Fifteen years ago no one had heard about the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power System. There was a conspiracy of silence on the part of the press. The Public Ownership League broke that conspiracy. We held a great international conference as



U. S. Senator Geo. W. Norris

Johnson Boulder Canyon measure.

guests of the Ontario project and from the beginning broadcast its achievement. Today everybody is talking about Ontario.

The League organized and conducted the first Public Power Conference held in Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with members of Congress, especially Senator George W. Norris, and the late Congressman Oscar Kellar drafted and presented the first general public power measure introduced in Congress. It has followed, supported and published data on every important public power bill since, including of course the Norris Muscle Shoals bill, the Swing-

Johnson Boulder Canyon Project and the Walsh investigation

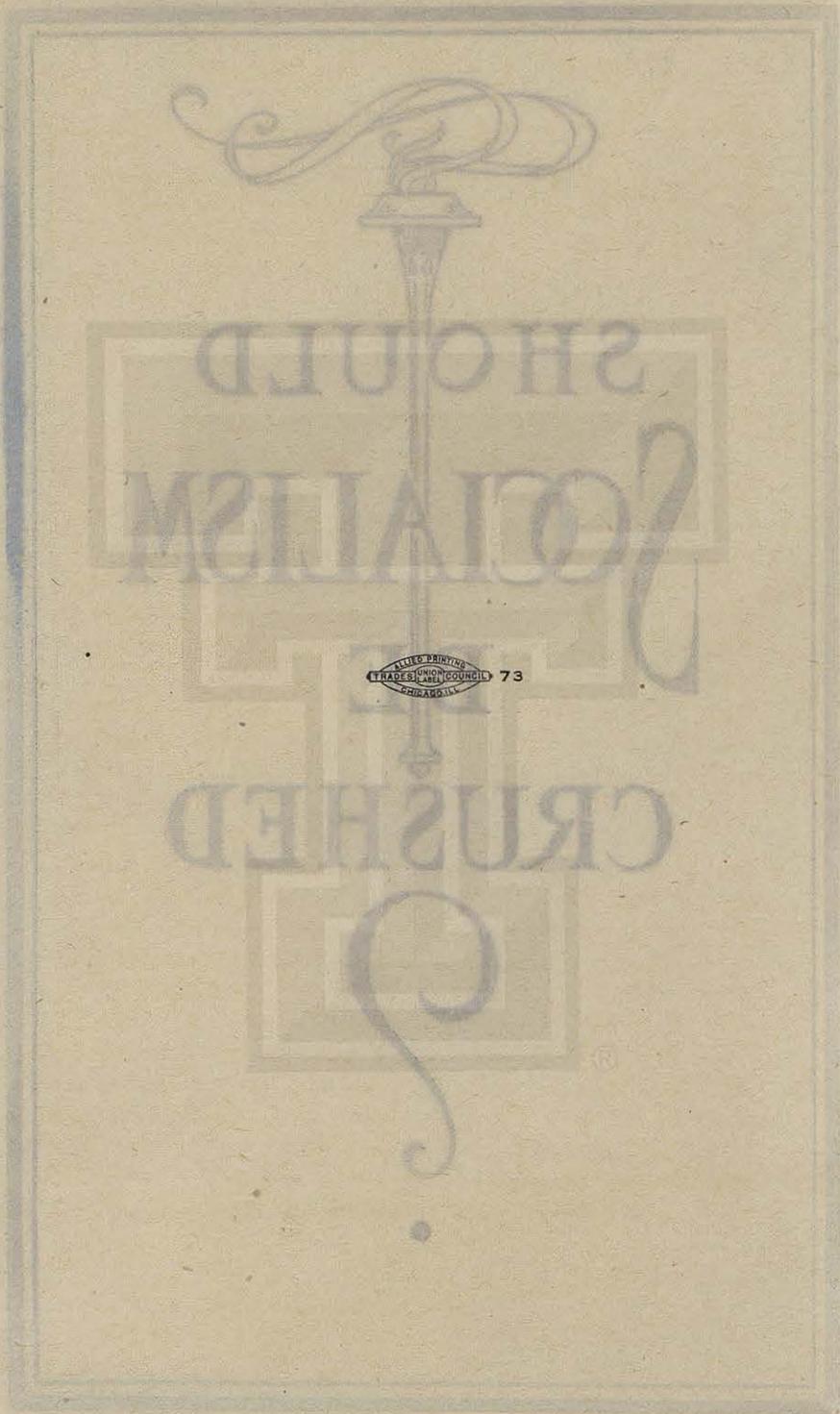
A Public Investment Company

After years of planning and effort we have finally made a start in establishing a Public Investment company. We hope to gradually enlist sufficient capital, financial backing and experience to guarantee security and success. This will enable us to do two things: (1) Help municipalities that for any reason cannot issue ^{bill} for public plants to finance them through this investment company; (2) Afford a medium through which public spirited people throughout the country can invest their surplus and savings in public enterprises that serve and do not exploit the public. Louis Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, may soon rewrite his famous book on "Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It" and change the title to read "The People's Money and How the People Use It For Public Service."

No more Wall Street boycotts of municipal and state bonds. The Public Ownership League broke the boycott on the bonds of one state some years ago by selling a million dollars of its public project bonds. We have helped to break the boy-



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'Should Socialism Be Crushed?'



"Hullo Bill."

"Howdy Jack."

"The meeting of the Union's rather small to-night."

"Yes, the boys don't turn up as they should."

"What's the business before the Union?"

"I don't know. Same old thing I guess."

"Say, Jack, did you see in the paper about the fight that's going to be made on Socialism? August Belmont, Seth Low and the other fellows in the Civic Federation are raisin' money to down Socialism."

"Well, that's a good idea, don't you think Bill?"

"Guess you're right. They say Socialism is going to harm the workin' man."

"Well, it couldn't be much worse than now."

"That's right enough, Jack, we ain't gettin' all the best of it now. But Belmont and Low and some of the rest of that Wall Street crowd think Socialism is growing too fast and they intend to smash it. The papers say that Belmont is coughin' up thousands and that all the bankers and Wall Street magnates are raisin' money to fight Socialism."

"Say, Bill, what is this Socialism anyway?"

"Don't know. They run a political party and 'Gene Debs was their candidate for President. The Socialists say that it's all done for the workin' man, but Belmont and Low and that crowd say it's goin' to hurt the workin' man. What do you think?"

"Well, I never heard of Belmont or any of those Wall

Street fellows spendin' money to help the workin' man."

"No, I guess that's right."

This conversation took place in a Union Hall not long ago. There is going to be more of that kind of talk during the next few years. Seth Low, President of the Civic Federation, said recently before the bosses of the metal trades: "WE ARE FIGHTING THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THIS COUNTRY. DO YOU KNOW, THERE ARE SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN THIS CITY WHERE SOCIALISM IS TAUGHT TO LITTLE CHILDREN. WE ARE GOING TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO COUNTERACT THAT PROPAGANDA." At this good news the bosses applauded Seth vigorously.

President Taft said in a speech recently that "IN FRANCE TRADE UNIONS ARE INTENSELY SOCIALISTIC. . . . IT IS ALSO PLAIN THAT THE TENDENCY TOWARD SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND AND ENGLAND'S TRADE UNIONS IS GROWING STRONGER AND STRONGER. I NEED NOT POINT OUT THE DEPLORABLE RESULTS IN THIS COUNTRY IF TRADE UNIONISM BECOMES SYNONYMOUS FOR SOCIALISM." Mr. Taft is also a prominent member of the Civic Federation.

Charles W. Eliot, former President of Harvard College, never loses an opportunity to attack both Trade Unionism and Socialism. His chief title to glory as a Social student is his vigorous defense of non-Union Labor. He calls the scab "the American hero," and in Mr. Eliot's mind those working men who fight their fellows, assist in the breaking of strikes and accept lower wages in order to obtain the jobs of their fellows, are fighting the battles of our Revolutionary fathers. Mr. Eliot is also a member of the Civic Federation.

Andrew Carnegie, known to all men, has also undertaken the fight against Socialism. He has written a book warning the people of the dangers of Socialism. As a retired capitalist he no longer needs to fight Trade Unionism. He now gives dinners and receptions to Labor leaders.

August Belmont, the rich banker, is a bitter opponent of Socialism. Two years ago he retired from the Presidency of the Civic Federation. He has since been made its Treasurer and is now engaged in raising a fund to carry on a campaign against Socialism. The letter which he is writing to his Wall Street friends is as follows:

23 Nassau St., New York.

June 21, 1909.

I do not know whether or not you have observed the headway Socialism has been making in the United States during the past five years, but their vote at elections has jumped from 38,000 to 450,000 which practically means that there are over two million men, women and children preaching class hatred and revolution. I mention the women and children because it is a known fact that the families of Socialists are all becoming trained propagandists.

I am enclosing you a pamphlet which the National Civic Federation is getting out with a view to showing in concrete form the menace of Socialism in this country, and I want you to take the time to read it. At the present time there is absolutely no opposition to this Socialist movement in the United States. England, Germany and France made the same mistake, with the results with which you are doubtless familiar.

In England no organized movement against their doctrine was undertaken until over fifty Socialists were members of Parliament.

In this country a committee of the National Civic Federation, under the chairmanship of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, has been at work for almost a year investigating the situation and preparing plans for a campaign, the purpose of which is to educate speakers and writers rather than to teach the individuals. In other words we are getting out a hand book for them. **THE EDITORS OF LABOR**, religious, educational and weekly journals are clamoring for material, and we have lists of many preachers, school teachers, college professors, and **LABOR EDITORS WHO ARE GOOD TALKERS AND WRITERS**, and who need the information necessary for such work.

Such an effort as we are making requires the expenditure of considerable money, and a special fund of \$50,000 is being raised for the purpose. Will you contribute toward it? I am deeply interested in it myself and have contributed several thousand dollars and felt that YOU MIGHT BE GRATEFUL to me for calling this matter to your attention and might desire to be interested in the work of the National Civic Federation.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

August Belmont.

Read that letter carefully. It's worth thinking about. The big fellows intend to spend barrels of money to educate the poor working man. They are alarmed at seeing working men becoming interested in this "dangerous" doctrine.

We say dangerous doctrine because it really and truly is a very dangerous doctrine. Whether or not it is dangerous to YOU, you must be the judge. That it is dangerous to the Multi-Millionaires of Wall Street there is no question.

Now when a thing is so strongly condemned by these men and alarms them so much that they are willing to spend vast sums of money to destroy it, then that thing is worthy of thought.

A horse thief does not love the man that exposes him. A murderer is never grateful to the detective that captures him. The liar will never forgive the man who exposes his lies.

When certain rich men, therefore, denounce a doctrine and spend money among working people to fight that doctrine, the workers may well ask: "Who are these men? What have they ever done for labor and what interest have they now in spending a lot of money to teach US their views?" Well, here is the labor history of at least a few of the leaders of the Civic Federation.

Seth Low is the President. He is a man of great wealth,

has been President of a University and Mayor of New York City. He claims now that he is a friend of Trade Unionism. He pretends to be friendly to labor. He even advocates Trade Unionism and when he speaks he never fails to convey the impression that he is fighting Socialism because Trade Union Leaders have asked him to do so.

But when organized Labor of Greater New York begged and pleaded with him as Mayor to do them a little service, he refused and turned them, the representatives of a quarter of a million men, out of his office.

All the Labor Unions asked was that when Mayor Low granted a franchise to the Pennsylvania Railroad to build a tunnel into New York, he should force the Railroad to put in the contract a provision for an eight hour day, an arbitration clause and a minimum wage scale.

Mr. Low could have done this service to Labor by a turn of the hand. It would have cost him nothing and it would have benefited a multitude of hard working men engaged in a very dangerous trade.

The Central Federated Union of New York was then forced on March 8th, 1903, to publish a circular to the Trade Unionists of Greater New York declaring that **SETH LOW AND HIS CROWD "HAD REJECTED THE DEMANDS OF UNION LABOR" AND "HAD KILLED THE LABOR CLAUSES IN THE PENNSYLVANIA TUNNEL FRANCHISE."**

MR. LOW LOVES ORGANIZED LABOR ONLY WHEN IT HELPS HIM TO FIGHT HIS POLITICAL BATTLES AND SOCIALISM AND NOT WHEN IT ASKS HIM TO AID THEM IN THEIR FIGHT FOR BETTERING THE CONDITION OF LIFE FOR THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie is now one of the wealthiest men in the world. But it can never be forgotten by the working men of this country that the name of Andrew Carnegie is infamous, tied forever to the brutal massacre of the iron and steel workers at Homestead. Then it was that Pinkertons were first employed to shoot working men. You remember that tragic struggle and the Pinkertons and troop

that stood guard about the stockades of Carnegie & Co. during the terrible lockout of 1892.

It was a strike crushed in blood, a Union annihilated by the overwhelming brute force of the corrupt political machine of Pennsylvania, and the hired thugs and Pinkertons which Mr. Carnegie's money enabled him to employ.

MR. CARNEGIE HAS NEVER LOVED ORGANIZED LABOR WHEN IT ASKED A FAVOR OF HIM. HE LOVES ORGANIZED LABOR ONLY WHEN IT HELPS HIM TO FIGHT SOCIALISM.

August Belmont is the financial representative of the Rothschilds, the richest banking house in the world. He is immensely wealthy, owns race horses, street railways and Tammany Hall. He would like to own the American Labor movement. He is a fine gentleman to whom his employees must always touch their caps. No employee is ever allowed to sit down in his presence. He is prouder of his rank as a Jewish banker than a lord of his title and blood. Once he employed a new stenographer. When she came into his office and sat down at his desk he roared: "What do you mean by sitting down in my presence?" Hereupon the poor frightened girl begged her lord's pardon and thereafter took notes standing up.

Mr. Belmont also has a Trade Union record. A few years ago the men employed on his Street Railway, struck. Their demands were trifling. But he knew that the strike was to occur and Farley with thousands of strike breakers, thugs, pickpockets and crooks were waiting on the boats in the harbor ready to rush in and crush the Union. The strike occurred, Farley did his work and in a few days Union men started on the long tramp.

MR. BELMONT, THE TREASURER OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION DOES NOT LOVE LABOR WHEN IT ASKS A FAVOR OF HIM. HE LOVES LABOR ONLY WHEN IT HELPS HIM TO DESTROY SOCIALISM.

William H. Taft is also prominent in the Civic Federation. He is now familiarly known as "The Father of the Injunction." As judge he used his power to crush the railway strike of 1894 and his decisions against the boycott are

now the authority upon that subject. The officials of the Federation of Labor tried to persuade the Republican Party at its last National Convention to pledge legislation giving working men trial by jury in contempt cases. Mr. Taft instructed that Convention to ignore this demand of organized Labor. **MR. TAFT DOES NOT LOVE LABOR WHEN IT ASKS A FAVOR OF HIM. HE LOVES LABOR ONLY WHEN IT HELPS HIM TO DESTROY SOCIALISM.**

Now these and "other friends" of Labor are the leaders of the Civic Federation. And each one of them curiously enough has played a role in the fight **AGAINST** organized Labor. Each one has made his mark in the effort to annihilate the trade unions of America. They are now seeking to make themselves equally distinguished in fighting the political organization of the workers. They have cut the fangs and removed the claws from the Trade Unions and they want to perform the same operation on the Socialist party.

These men now profess their friendship for the Trade Union movement. They are moving heaven and earth in their efforts to obtain the friendship of leaders of labor in order to use them as agents in their fight on Socialism.

No doubt some of the leaders may be deceived by this apparent friendship, but in the end they will see how false it is, and, we believe, will renounce all friendship and association with Mr. Belmont, Mr. Low and Mr. Carnegie.

And we ask you, the Trade Unionists of America if you cannot already see why these friends of Labor are now seeking the support of Trade Unionism.

The answer is simple and clear. No one could long be deceived. Mr. Belmont states the matter clearly in his letter to the bankers of Wall Street when he says that Socialism is becoming a **GREAT POWER**, not only among the workers of England, France and Germany, but **HERE** also. It is this fear and this fear alone that makes the enemies of organized labor seek the aid of Trade Unionists in the approaching fight that must be made on the political organization of the workers in the Socialist movement.

If little "Augy" with his natty clothes, his tiny patent leather shoes, his fancy necktie, his cane and silk hat, were to come to one of your labor meetings you would think you were at the circus. He would be met with a laugh and would leave with your assistance. But Augy is not coming and none of the other Wall Street gentlemen will come. They know you wouldn't believe them. Consequently they are going to raise money and, if possible, employ labor leaders to tell you that Socialism would mean your ruin.

In the next few years, then, Socialism is to be on trial. We ask you to hear both sides. We ask you to hear those who preach against Socialism, whether they are honest or merely the paid agents of little August Belmont. We ask you to hear them. But when the opponents of Socialism speak, see also that the friends of Socialism speak.

We know the Union men of this country are too intelligent and fair-minded to hear only one side of this great question. There are too many Socialists in the Unions for us to believe that the Trade Unionists would refuse to hear their co-workers and fellow Unionists with the same open-mindedness as that with which they hear the friends of Wall Street and the Civic Federation.

THE REAL ENEMIES OF UNIONISM.

There are to-day two big movements organized by men of wealth "to educate" the workers. One is the Manufacturer's Association. You all know of Post, Parry, Van Cleave and Kirby. They are to-day raising hundreds of thousands of dollars to crush Trade Unionism. They are organizing the bosses into one big Manufacturer's Union. Wherever a strike occurs that Bosses Union aids the employer to break the strike. The Manufacturers' Union is not fighting Socialism. It is fighting Trade Unionism.

These men are active employers of labor. Directly under them are millions of wage earners. Their immediate battle is to crush an organized movement which is forcing them to pay higher wages, to grant shorter hours and to better conditions of work. Politics is a secondary matter with them. Their chief concern is their immediate profits.

They are in business, and for the moment they care more to fight the Trade Unions which hurt them NOW, than Socialism which may hurt them in the future.

The other organization is the Civic Federation. It is controlled and financed by a few of the richest men in America. They are big bankers, big financiers. They own railways, trusts, monopolies. They control nearly all the public franchises of America. They are **IN POLITICS**. Their profits come to them largely through their ownership of the old parties, their control of the legislatures and the courts. Nearly all the big trusts have crushed **TRADE UNIONISM**. When a strike occurred Belmont, Carnegie and others broke its back instantly. They are not seriously menaced by Trade Unionism. When they are they will fight Trade Unionism again as they have in the past, but they believe, rightly or wrongly, that it is better now to destroy the rising faith in Socialism.

These Wall Street magnates hold their power, extort their wealth by dominating the politics of America. They fear the growth of a Political party which they can neither buy or corrupt. They know that if the Socialist party makes headway, trusts, monopolies and all the other financial undertakings, which now dominate our government must surely render an account to the people. Hanna, the old boss of the Republican Party saw that. Belmont, a boss of the Democratic Party sees that. And for this reason the Civic Federation is determined to crush political unionism and to fight every attempt of the wage earners of America to form a powerful Socialist party.

Now think a moment, fellow unionists. Here are two organizations both controlled by men of great wealth. One fights Trade Unionism openly without bothering apparently about Socialism. The other fights Socialism openly without bothering apparently about Unionism. **THEY HAVE DIVIDED THEIR LABORS**. One set of men is trying to crush united Trade action. The other set of men is trying to crush united Political action.

Suppose both these organizations of millionaires should succeed?

Suppose Kirby and his crowd should break the back of the Trade Union movement?

Suppose Belmont and his crowd should break the back of the political movement? Have you ever thought of this? Has it ever occurred to you what it would mean to the wage earners of America to have both these great movements utterly destroyed?

You must think of this because, as much as we regret it, there may be prominent labor leaders who would help the Civic Federation destroy Socialism. We cannot believe that these leaders understand Socialism, otherwise no money could buy their opposition, and for the sake of them and yourselves we are going to tell you what Socialism is and what it is accomplishing in the world to-day and why we believe every working man should be a Socialist. We want you to think and to be honest and fair with us. We haven't any Wall Street money. We haven't any set of rich men behind us who will be helped by what we say and if our words and arguments don't appeal to you we have no power to force you to change your views. Socialism is on trial and you, friends, are the jury.

If you're interested in the welfare of your wife and children listen to our argument and think.

What is Socialism? What are the aims of the Socialists? Are they for or are they against the men of toil? Ought Socialism to be crushed? Ought Socialists to be denied a hearing? These are questions you ought to consider.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

We are not surprised when Belmont, Low and other Wall Street financiers fight Socialism. We expect that. But not long ago a Trade Union leader said that he could not accept the doctrine of Socialism.

He said that he had read Marx and other great Socialist writers, but he differed with them. Now we mention this because we are speaking to trade unionists. Every Socialist, of course, differs with some of the views of Marx.

Karl Marx might have believed in witches, but you

need not believe in witches. Karl Marx might have been an atheist; but you need not be an atheist.

When, therefore, any Trade Unionist says he disagrees with the doctrines of the Socialists, let us ask what doctrines?

Socialist principles are very simple. A child can understand them, and if any Trade Unionist in America disagrees with those principles, or would lift a hand against them, he does not understand those principles.

That's a strong statement. Now let's see if it is true. We will leave it to you.

The Socialist believes that the workers should have **THE FULL PRODUCT OF THEIR TOIL.**

Abe Lincoln believed that. Does any working man deny it?

And this is what Lincoln said. "INASMUCH AS MOST GOOD THINGS ARE PRODUCED BY LABOR, IT FOLLOWS THAT ALL SUCH THINGS OF RIGHT BELONG TO THOSE WHOSE LABOR HAS PRODUCED THEM. BUT IT HAS SO HAPPENED, IN ALL AGES OF THE WORLD, THAT SOME HAVE LABORED AND OTHERS HAVE WITHOUT LABOR ENJOYED A LARGE PROPORTION OF THE FRUITS. THIS IS WRONG AND SHOULD NOT CONTINUE. TO SECURE TO EACH LABORER THE WHOLE PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR, OR AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE, IS A WORTHY OBJECT OF ANY GOOD GOVERNMENT."

Will you or any labor leader anywhere deny that to labor belongs the entire fruit of its labor? Mr. Belmont will deny it. But will you?

That doctrine is fundamental. It is the declaration of every Socialist movement in the world, and at the present moment in Europe and here not less than 50,000,000 working men, women and children make that demand.

Another doctrine of Socialism is the **CLASS STRUGGLE.**

Do you deny the class struggle? Is it or is it not a fact?

It's a fundamental matter. If the interests of the

working class and the capitalist class are not opposed, then Socialists and Trade Unionists are wasting their lives.

Do you or any trade unionist or working man anywhere deny the class struggle?

If there is no clash of interest, why are there trade unions?

Why do workingmen organize, pay dues, strike, starve?

If the workers can depend upon capitalists to raise their wages, protect them from poverty, abolish their unemployed and provide for their old age, why under heaven do 2,000,000 trade unionists pay the salaries of their officials and spend millions of dollars to maintain an organized fight?

Why not leave it all to Morgan and Rockefeller and Belmont?

If the miners can depend upon the good and holy mine owner, George Baer, to fight their battles, what is the need for Tom Lewis, Frank Hayes or John Walker?

No, friends, you will find no trade unionist who can deny this doctrine of the Socialists.

Well, there's a third doctrine, namely: that **THE TOOLS AND INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE OWNED BY THE WORKERS.**

Will any trade unionist deny this proposition?

They cannot deny it if they profess to believe in the first proposition.

If the Astors and Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers and Morgans, the Belmonts and Guggenheims, the Hills and the Harrimans, the Fricks and Carnegies are to take millions of profit out of the mere ownership of the tools of production, the actual users of those tools cannot by any conceivable method receive the whole product of their labor.

The hundreds of thousands of miners can't receive all the wealth they produce if the mine owners are allowed by the mere title of ownership to subtract from the wealth produced, millions upon millions every year. It can't be done.

No man is stupid enough to be deceived into believing it can be done.

Unless the men who mine coal own the natural resources and the tools they use while at work, there is no possibility under heaven of those men receiving the full product of their toil.

Will you or any other trade unionist anywhere deny that proposition?

If you deny that the workers should own their tools and receive the fruits of their labor, then you must believe that idlers, thieves and pirates should own those tools and force labor to divide up with them the wealth produced.

If labor is to have only a portion of its product then someone else must get the other portion.

And that is exactly what NOW happens! According to figures gathered by the United States government the workers in this country produce on an average \$3,500 a year for each worker.

Do you get \$3,500 a year?

A man could live comfortably on that sum, but the workers do not receive that sum, because out of the product of their labor, trusts and monopolies, landlords and financiers, must take their millions of profit..

The average wages in this country, according to the figures of the United States government, amount to \$437—a year. For that average amount in wages the workers produce on an average \$3,500—of wealth.

Do the workers get that product? Not at all. It goes to others. As Lincoln says: "There are others who without labor enjoy a large part of the fruits of labor."

And that large part now goes to Belmont, Carnegie, Low, Rockefeller, Morgan, who have organized the Civic Federation to tell YOU that Socialism is wrong. Can you blame them?

Isn't it reasonable that they should try to keep you ignorant of your rights and collect money in Wall Street to destroy Socialism?

But all we ask you to consider now is this: **IF YOU BELIEVE THAT LABOR SHOULD HAVE THE FULL PRODUCT OF ITS LABOR AND THAT LABOR SHOULD ORGANIZE INDUSTRIALLY AND POLITICALLY TO**

OBTAIN THE FULL PRODUCT OF ITS LABOR YOU AGREE WITH THE DOCTRINES OF KARL MARX; YOU ARE A SOCIALIST AND YOU CAN'T BE ANYTHING ELSE.

Either you believe these doctrines or you do not believe them. If you do not believe these doctrines you are not only opposed to Socialism, but also to the interests of Labor itself and favor the robbery and exploitation of every man of toil.

If you believe that Labor should turn over to Capital a great proportion of the wealth it creates, then you would be right in joining with Belmont, Wall Street, and the Civic Federation. It is your duty to fight Socialism.

WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT NOW.

Some men say they believe in the doctrines of Socialism, but that Socialism is a thing for the future, not for the present.

They say we must organize and fight now to prevent abject slavery. They organize therefore to increase wages, shorten hours, improve conditions.

Well, no Socialist is opposed to that. Every Socialist knows that if Labor is not strongly enough organized to increase wages, shorten hours and better present day conditions, it will not be strongly enough organized to establish Socialism.

A Labor movement which is so weak and infantile as not to be able to get filth cleaned away from its doorstep will not be able to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

Every Socialist believes that labor should organize, that every toiler in all this broad earth should join with all other toilers to fight.

To fight, here and now, for better conditions. To shorten hours, to increase wages, to improve conditions—NOW.

To fight the little employer and the big employer for better working conditions in this present day.

They believe that labor should organize in Unions until every man of toil is included in the ranks of the fellowship.

And they also believe that the workers should organize politically to send representatives into every legislative

chamber, to elect their own public officials and to fight for laws and the enforcement of laws which shall better the conditions of labor **IN THIS WORLD HERE AND NOW.**

Men who will not fight for increased wages now, will not fight for the whole product of their labor to-morrow.

Men who will not fight against oppression now will not fight to free the children of the future.

All we ask is, do you or do you not believe in what has been said above? Do you consider those doctrines wicked and wrong and that **YOU** should fight against them? Or do you consider them just and good?

If you believe them just and good, then stand up and fight for what you believe just and right and good.

HOW TO GET WHAT YOU WANT.

Now that is what Socialists want. You see it is not very hard to understand. Of course when the agents of Belmont come around to talk to you they will tell you that Socialism is something else, something terribly immoral. They will say it is free love, atheism, anarchism, spoliation, bombs and dynamite. But never mind.

Read again the above statement of Socialism. Read it carefully and thoroughly and see if you can't discover why every financial pirate of Wall Street, why every grabber of public franchises, why every monopolist owning vast natural resources, coal mines and gold mines; in a word, why Belmont and the multi-millionaires of the Civic Federation fear the spread of Socialism.

Isn't it reasonable to believe that men who are to-day taking billions of profit out of the ownership of industry should be willing to spend a few hundred thousand dollars to make **YOU** believe that Socialism is wrong? They know that if they came in person to you to denounce Socialism you wouldn't believe them. You would greet them with suspicion. And therefore don't you think it a pretty good plan of theirs to induce every labor leader they can get to become a member of the Civic Federation and to preach against Socialism?

Suppose the people of this country should once come to

believe that it is their labor that produces all wealth? Suppose that they were to decide that hereafter they intend to get the wealth they produce, where would Wall Street come in? Well, it is our purpose to preach that the workers—brain workers and hand workers—produce the wealth of the world. And in addition to preaching this doctrine, we are going to teach the people **HOW THEY CAN GET THE WEALTH** they produce.

We know that's the question in your mind now. We know that you are saying to yourself: "Yes, that's right, labor produces all wealth, but how is labor going to obtain that wealth? Labor to-day does not get that wealth; never in the past has it got that wealth. When will it ever get that wealth?" Well, our answer again is very simple. You can get that wealth by **ORGANIZATION**. That is the only way working men have ever yet been able to get anything.

Now let us explain what we mean. You may not realize that trade unionism is only a few years old and that the leaders who suffered, toiled and sacrificed to form the first Unions were as much misunderstood by working men as the Socialists are to-day.

Let us recall to your mind a picture of the days before trade unionism existed.

The workers were very miserable. When their condition became intolerable they selected a comrade to go to the employer to beg for better conditions.

He told the employer about the misery of the men and that unless their conditions were bettered poverty would drive them to revolt. He threatened the employer that the men might unite, might even strike, but they **DID NOT** unite and they **DID NOT** strike and the employers grew more arrogant and oppressive.

At last in desperation the working men **DID** unite and **DID** strike and it was not until then that employers began to make terms with their workmen.

After a few strikes were won working men began to appreciate the value of Trade Unions and one after another

were formed until millions of men are to-day members of labor organizations.

That's what organization means and it is because the men are united and willing to strike that their conditions have been improved. It was **ONLY** through organization and strikes that men obtained their demands from their employers.

Now when we Socialists preach organization, we mean political organization. The demands which the Socialists make can only be obtained when the workers are organized politically. And so we say **ALL WORKINGMEN MUST ORGANIZE POLITICAL UNIONS TO FIGHT AND TO STRIKE AT THE BALLOT BOX.**

But when we preach this political unity we find not only Belmont, Low and other Wall Street friends opposed to us, but even some labor leaders.

Not long ago in the Chicago "Daily Socialist," a prominent labor leader said that Socialists were unjust in their attacks upon Labor men who exercised the political rights of an independent voter.

His idea was that a Labor Leader, or a trade unionist should vote for any party or candidate whose politics he approved of.

This difference of opinion between Socialists and some trade unionists as to the vote involves a great question which should be discussed calmly and earnestly.

It is desirable to make our position clear, to show justification for such bitterness as unquestionably exists when a Labor Leader becomes a candidate on a Democratic or Republican ticket.

Many Labor Leaders are honest in giving such support, and when we speak of them as traitors to their class they bitterly resent our words.

Perhaps our position can be most easily made clear by asking you this question: Do you believe a Trade Unionist should exercise his **RIGHT TO WORK OR NOT TO WORK** regardless of the interest of his fellows?

Do you believe that when a large body of Trade Unionists have united to fight the battle of labor, individual work-

men should **AID THE EMPLOYERS** to defeat the Union?

Of course you do not. You see perfectly that without unity of the working class on the industrial field your cause is hopeless. You grant that trade unionists are justified in their bitterness against "scabs". You admit that a workman who assists an employer at the time of a strike is a traitor to his class.

But curiously enough, when the fight is carried on to the political field, you will not see that exactly the same principle is involved.

As a trade unionist you disagree with President Eliot. As a voter you agree with President Eliot that that man is a hero who fights his comrades.

You know the individual workman can't deal with the employer.

You know the individual is helpless to make a protest against injustice. You see there is strength in union, that where one man is powerless, the whole is powerful.

But what about the isolated individual voter? Does he not want to protect himself against political oppression and injustice?

The voter has political demands to be made upon organized parties now existing. And the **INDIVIDUAL** voter is helpless. The politician will not listen to his demand, and if the voter doesn't like things as they are he can **TAKE HIS VOTE AND QUIT**, just as an individual workman can take his labor and quit.

They are identical cases. The only difference between you and the Socialists is that you believe in unity on the industrial field only, while they believe in unity on **BOTH** the industrial and the political fields.

But you may say that would be all right if Socialists really represented the working class, but they have only a few hundred thousand workers in their political union.

But doesn't the same criticism apply to the trade unions? In the early days they had only a handful, and to-day out of many millions they have only two million organized workmen.

It is not, therefore, the number in the union, but the

PRINCIPLE of unionism that should be considered.

No man can deny that wherever Labor is united politically it exercises tremendous power. It forces concessions that are simply incredible to American workmen. Political unions of the workers are altering the political policy of every European government. They don't beg nor plead. They present their demands, and by their **POWER** obtain their demands.

We want to ask any trade unionist anywhere if in the face of such positive, definite evidence of the power of political unity he will come out and call that man a hero who votes against his **POLITICAL** union, just as President Eliot calls that man a hero who works against his **TRADE** Union?

Why is it that some trade unionists see a proposition with absolute clearness in one field of life and fail utterly to see the same proposition in another field of life?

There is bitterness among Socialists when labor leaders become candidates on the employers' ticket. There **IS** bitterness on the part of Socialists when Labor leaders go out and fight the **POLITICAL UNITY** of the workers and aid capitalist candidates.

There is no use denying it. It is there. It expresses itself often in unlovely terms. But it is precisely the **SAME BITTERNESS** the trade unionists feel when they see their fellow working men fight against trade unity, and give aid to capitalists at the time of the strife.

To demand the right to be an unfettered and independent voter in this day of the class struggle is precisely the same thing as to demand the right to be an unfettered and independent workingman, emancipated from any obligation to or association with the united brothers of his trade.

Suppose all Socialists should say to-morrow: "We'll all scab; we'll fight unity on the industrial field." Would not every trade unionist call us traitors and Judases?

You know they would. And we ask you in all honesty and fairness: Wherein lies the difference?

POLITICAL POWER OF LABOR IN EUROPE.

But our readers will say: "This means starting a third

party and a third party can never accomplish anything."

Well, let's see if that is true. Lots of people are saying that just now; lots of politicians; lots of capitalist papers. We won't argue the matter as a theory. We will just tell you a little about what such third parties **HAVE** accomplished. We want you to read this carefully because what working men have done elsewhere in the world, we also can do here in America.

Now it may be news to you that the workers of every country of Europe have their own political party.

These parties are formed just as Trade Unions are formed. Every member pays dues. The representatives are selected by the Union itself. Every action of the political union is decided by a vote of the membership. In other words **IN EVERY COUNTRY OF EUROPE THE WORKERS HAVE A POLITICAL PARTY OWNED, FINANCED AND CONTROLLED ENTIRELY BY THE WORKERS.**

Now study the following table. It's worth some thought and consideration. Compare the number of men organized in Unions and the number of men voting the ticket of the working class. In the last column you will find the number of representatives the workingmen of Europe have sent to represent them in the National legislative bodies.

| Country | No. of Votes | No. of Union men | Rep. in Congress |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Germany | 3,258,968 | 2,382,401 | 44 |
| Austria | 1,041,948 | 482,274 | 88 |
| France | 1,120,000 | 957,102 | 55 |
| Belgium | 492,094 | 181,115 | 35 |
| United States | 423,969 | 1,970,700 | None |
| Great Britain..... | 524,181 | 2,406,283 | 40 |
| Finland | 336,000 | 25,197 | 84 |
| Italy | 338,000 | 273,754 | 44 |
| Denmark | 92,000 | 90,432 | 24 |
| Switzerland | 100,000 | 128,300 | 7 |
| Holland | 82,494 | 57,845 | 7 |
| Norway | 45,000 | 39,339 | 11 |
| Sweden | 75,000 | 186,924 | 34 |
| Spain | 29,000 | 32,405 | None |
| Bulgaria | 9,000 | 5,000 | None |
| Argentine | 5,000 | 5,434 | 1 |
| Servia | 30,000 | | |

Study those figures. You see that in almost every country in Europe the workers are MORE strongly organized politically than they are industrially. Great Britain seems an exception. But in this case the table does not convey the real facts. There are actually 1,200,000 men who pay dues as members of the Labor Party. They would all vote for Labor Party candidates if they could.

But in England there is no such thing as a national campaign. Men are put up for Parliament only in those districts where there is a fighting chance to win and as the party is still young it has not yet attempted to run candidates in many districts. However, in these places where it has run candidates it has polled about 35 per cent of the total vote, in other words enough votes, with three candidates in the field, to elect most of its men. The same thing is true of some of the other countries so that the total number of votes here does not by any means show the full extent of the political organization of the working class.

Now let's see the situation in America. Here we have about 2,000,000 Union men and less than 425,000 votes. America then is almost the only country where the political organization of the workers is measurably weaker than the industrial organization.

Now all these European parties are what may be called third parties. In most countries of Europe there exist as here two or more big parties. They used to control the vote of the working class. But during the last 30 years the workers have organized their own party distinct from the hostile and all other parties. In Finland and Austria the workers have more representatives than any other one party and in Germany they poll more votes than any other party. But in every country they are still in the minority and are able to obtain their demands only by driving the other parties to pass labor and reform measures.

Now if we were to tell you that these political Unions of the working class although ONLY A FEW YEARS OLD are already changing the face of Europe, would you believe it? That is why Belmont in his letters to the Wall Street millionaires warned them of the growth of Socialism in

Europe. As a matter of fact they have obtained astonishing reforms and have done away with many of the evils from which the workers of America still suffer.

WHAT THE WORKERS HAVE DONE IN GERMANY.

Twenty years ago the slums of Germany were notorious. Cologne, Frankfort, Munich, Breslau and Berlin had acres of vile and overcrowded tenements.

Two years ago an English workman, visiting Stuttgart at the international Socialist congress, asked a German workman to show him where the poor lived.

He took him to a clean well-built quarter, inhabited by the poorest workmen.

"But I want to see your slums," the Englishman said.

"These are the worst we've got," his German friend answered.

The amazed Englishman exclaimed: "Great heavens! If you'll get me a job here I'll stay forever."

If you will visit German cities and ask the same question you will receive the same answer.

For over twenty years every German city has had Socialist aldermen.

They have fought those responsible for slums, vile habitations, insanitary workshops, neglected children.

They have fought all opposing parties and have forced the municipal ownership of public utilities, land reform, taxation reform, the demolition of insanitary districts and the building of sanitary tenements.

The Socialists have forced the municipal councils to tax unearned increment, and the increase in land values is gradually being taken over by the community.

The cities own extensive tracts of land. Strassburg has over 350 square yards of land for each inhabitant. Ulm owns 80 per cent of the land within its boundaries. It buys and leases land daily and prevents all land speculation.

For over thirty years the national government has been hard pressed by an intelligent and powerful Socialist party. And the German rulers were forced to take action to relieve the distress of the people.

Times were critical. The revolt was growing. And the

German Kaiser was forced to introduce a scheme for insuring practically the entire mass of German workers against accident, sickness, invalidity and death.

To-day over 11,000,000 persons are insured against sickness. Over 18,000,000 persons are insured against accident, and about 14,000,000 persons are insured against old age and invalidity. Over \$100,000,000 a year is paid in benefits from the Insurance funds of Germany as pensions to wage earners.

In the National Legislative body the Socialists have fought for the rights of the Unions. They have forced the passage of all kinds of Labor Legislation. They have demanded the right of Union men to strike and to picket. The employers are forced to recognize Trade Union representatives and in all Germany, in fact, **IN ALL EUROPE, GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION IS UNKNOWN.**

The Socialists of Germany are not satisfied. They have fought. They are still fighting. They mean to gain even greater changes than these, which they consider as only trifling by-products of their immense and powerful political organization.

WHAT LABOR HAS DONE IN BELGIUM.

If Packerstown, the great steel mills of Pittsburg, the mining districts of Pennsylvania and the docks of the great lakes were all crowded together into the State of Delaware you would have Belgium.

Karl Marx once called it the "Paradise of the Capitalists" because nowhere in Europe was the misery of the workers greater or the wealth of the few more plentiful.

It was one of the earliest countries of Europe to develop the modern factory system. As early as 1830 the factory owners controlled Belgium. As in most countries, they divided themselves into two parties for the purpose of giving the workers an opportunity occasionally to put one of the parties out and the other in.

When the workers got sick at heart and wearied and fretted by countless oppressions, they put the party in power out and the other party in.

The workers on such occasions, were often very proud, for they thought they had "rewarded their friends and punished their enemies." But their joy was only momentary, for they found that for some strange reason there always seemed to be more of their enemies in the party that controlled than in the party that was out of control.

But however that may be, for the long period of this two party system not a single law was passed for the benefit of the workers.

In 1872 a member of one of the old parties introduced a bill to prohibit girls under 13 years of age working underground in the mines.

Such legislation was not to be thought of, and the bill was given no consideration until 1878. Finding the members determined the bill was then discussed, and all the frightful evils of little girls at work in the mines were brought to the attention of the public; but when the bill was put to vote only five members of Parliament voted for it while 150 voted against it.

This is only a sample of how arrogant and brutal was the rule of capitalism in Belgium.

At last the people could stand their poverty no longer, and in 1885 a cry, or sob, of revolt broke forth from the working class. A Labor Party was formed, and soon every candidate of the two old parties was confronted by the candidate of Labor.

The old parties realized the danger and they tried to deceive the people once more by hastily passing some labor legislation. Law after law was passed, the educational system was developed, child labor laws were passed, the hours of labor were limited, dangerous trades were regulated and pension schemes were developed to take care of the sick, the aged and the crippled.

Certain industries were nationalized and others municipalized **AND FROM THAT DAY TO THIS THE BELGIUM PARLIAMENT HAS GIVEN ALMOST ITS ENTIRE ATTENTION TO LABOR QUESTIONS.**

The workers found that a few of their own men in Parliament accomplished something. Instead, therefore, of

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giving up the new party they went on fighting. And to-day if they had universal and equal manhood suffrage, as we have here in America, the workers would control Belgium.

So long as they put one capitalist party out only to put another in they were humiliated, oppressed and robbed. Anything for the benefit of the working class was too costly. So that everything done was to benefit the rich.

To-day some of the cities of Belgium are controlled by the workers. They are remodeling them on new lines. They are cleaning streets, building clean and wholesome tenements, municipalizing public services, establishing parks and playgrounds in the poorer districts, feeding school children and reducing the death rate.

Nearly every unemployed union man in Belgium is pensioned by the joint action of the municipality and his trade union. In the old days the people were looked upon as something to make profit out of; but to-day the people are coming into their own.

WHAT LABOR HAS DONE IN ENGLAND.

We have shown that Socialism is changing the face of Europe. It is abolishing slums, protecting the interests of the workers, doing away with political corruption, breaking down political machines.

It is accomplishing stupendous changes.

It is demonstrating that a third party can become a power and teaching a lesson in practical politics to the workers of America.

But let's visit England. England is a nation of slums.

Hundreds of thousands of children go hungry to school.

Millions of exhausted, broken-down working men and women are thrown on the scrap heap when their labor power is exhausted.

There, as in America, two parties have ruled.

When the misery became intolerable the working class arose to throw out the Tories and to put in the Liberals.

Their misery became more unbearable, and in a few years they threw out the Liberals and put back the Tories.

Before elections old age pensions were promised. Plans for housing reform were proposed, royal commissions were appointed to inquire into the condition of labor, the housing conditions, the factory conditions, the physical deterioration of children.

But for twenty years, from 1880 to 1900, nothing was done.

Late in the nineties the two old parties made a grave

error. So long as they ignored the misery of the people there was no revolt. But at last they made an effort to destroy the unions.

Unions were the one thing the workers had left. They were their only protective agency and a court decision threatened their existence.

Directly the working class of Great Britain saw they had been turning the Liberal enemies out only to put Tory enemies in and it occurred to them to fight both Liberals and Tories.

A combination between Socialists and Trade Unionists brought into existence a great Labor Party. At the first election about thirty Socialists and trade unionists were sent to Parliament.

Since then labor has taken part in two sessions of Parliament. A law was passed reversing the court decision against the Unions. **THE RIGHT OF UNIONS TO PICKET, STRIKE AND BOYCOTT WAS GUARANTEED.**

AN ACT WAS PASSED FOR COMPENSATING EVERY WORKMAN INJURED WHILE AT WORK. AN ACT FOR FEEDING HUNGRY SCHOOL CHILDREN FOLLOWED.

OLD AGE PENSIONS WERE GRANTED TO EVERY WORKER. A MINIMUM WAGE WAS ESTABLISHED BY LAW IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES. A new budget provided for taxing the unearned increment going to land-lords and bills are promised at next session to insure the unemployed and to allow cities to buy land and as municipal landlords to plant gardens and tenements for the workers.

Look through the legislative records of the twenty years previous and see the blank pages. Compare them with the last few years, and you will realize that England is at the beginning of vast improvement in the condition of the workers.

That has been accomplished by a third party of **THIRTY-TWO REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR** in face of 640 Liberals and Tories and the House of Lords.

SOCIALISTS FEED HUNGRY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN EUROPE.

We have in America considerably over three million underfed children. At a period when bone, sinew and brain power should be built up and nourished these little ones are starving.

These children constitute our most stupendous problem.

Morally we are committing a gigantic crime in depriving them of adequate food.

Economically we are committing a gigantic crime in forcing these millions to become wastrels, incompetents and weaklings, without physical force or brain power.

They are the children of the unemployed, of the poverty-stricken, and of the weak and incompetent produced by the crimes of previous generations.

These wretched little beings will be sent into the mines, mills and factories as early as the law will permit, to be the victims of our fiendish social system.

After a few years' toil they will be physically broken, mentally stupefied, and morally perverted.

Hundreds of thousands will die of tuberculosis, and all of **THIS LIFE, WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN SO PRECIOUS**, will be scattered throughout our slums to rot and ruin and die.

3,000,000 hungry children!

Labor alone is moved by these tragic figures, each unit of which is the little child of some poor toiler.

Workingmen and Socialists alone wish to solve this problem, and have the power to solve this problem.

OUR BROTHERS IN EUROPE HAVE DONE IT. If you will but look into the schools of France, or Italy, or Belgium, or Norway you will find in connection with the schools, restaurants with thousands, aye, hundreds of thousands of little children sitting down to clean tables before steaming and nutritious soups, plentiful plates of meat and vegetables. You will find doctors taking out the weak ones to give them a spoonful of iron or of cod liver oil.

The workingmen of Europe have not created a new world, but by unity and solidarity, by pounding at the walls of class selfishness, by threatening the foundations of capitalism itself, they have forced the powers that rule to feed hungry children.

SOCIALISTS SEE LAWS ENFORCED AND FIGHT CORRUPTION.

Now, friends, you know that the workers sometimes force through good legislation. It is then forgotten.

Nowhere in this country are the laws protecting labor, the laws ensuring public health and safety, the laws prohibiting child labor, and the laws against criminal wealth enforced.

In Europe they are enforced; enforced because the Socialists see that they are enforced.

In every municipal council, in every legislature, the workers have their representatives.

They taunt the parties in power with the squalor, the vile tenements, the high death rates. When workmen are murdered in the mines and on the railroads, the party in power is held responsible.

We pass laws and they are forgotten. Railroad and mining disasters are the stories of a day and then forgotten.

Children still labor, women are still oppressed; and people live and work in foul dens and factories with none to represent their interests in public bodies.

You know how hard it is to get laws enforced by corrupt politicians who would sell you and their country for a few dollars.

But this is no longer possible in Europe. Socialists and Unionists are fighting hand in hand for the rights of ALL workers.

A few years ago conditions in Europe were almost equally bad with ours. Corruption in France was notorious. Italy was eaten through with it. Even in Germany all the rich plums were divided among the few.

To-day the Socialist party stands as a menace to corruption. It is sincerely devoted to the public weal.

Stealing, political corruption, the fattening of special interests, would mean the political ruin of any individual or party involved.

Why? Because of the vigilance and power of third parties controlled, owned and financed by the workers of Europe.

Now we mention these various reforms accomplished by the workers of Europe not because we believe them wonderful in themselves. **WE ONLY WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT SOCIALISTS MEAN TO FIGHT EVERY PRESENT-DAY BATTLE OF THE WORKERS.** They will not sit down when elected to office to wait the coming of the millenium. They will fight against poverty, low wages, long hours, unemployment, child labor, vile tenements, injunctions, **NOW.**

Don't let old party bosses tell you that you are throwing your vote away or wasting your present political power by voting for Socialists and by building up your own "third" party. If you have read the above you will see that **POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IS AS NECESSARY TO YOUR WELFARE AS TRADE ORGANIZATION.**

The workers of Europe accomplished nothing so long as they voted for their bosses. They accomplished nothing so long as they begged the bosses on their knees for higher

wages. When they organized trade unions and fought they got at least something. And remember this, when the workers of America organize a political union and vote and fight for themselves they will be victorious.

Now, brothers, do you think these accomplishments of the Socialists of Europe should be condemned as anarchy, and free love? Do you think any labor men are working in your interest when they fight with Belmont, Low and Carnegie to stamp out Socialism and to disrupt a political movement of the workers, by the workers and for the workers?

In fact, can you see anything wrong with Socialism?

Can you honestly oppose political unity and the political organization of the workers?

Do you wish to fight a workingmen's party, financed by ourselves, controlled by ourselves, and administered by ourselves?

Republicans will fight these views because they need our votes to keep them in power. Democrats will fight these views for the same reason. Both those parties are owned, controlled and financed by the very men who own, control and finance the Manufacturers' Association and the Civic Federation. They are the men who come pretty near owning this country and they intend to prevent the growth of organizations hostile to them. They believe this country was made and developed by capitalists to be forever owned and controlled by capitalists.

To preserve their trusts and monopolies organized to rob and exploit the people, they have been forced to buy legislatures and courts. To preserve their political machines they will, if necessary, spend millions to fight a workingmen's party. To convince the people that Socialism is a monstrous doctrine advocated by vicious, immoral agitators, they will even try to buy labor leaders and labor editors. They used to fight Trade Unionism that way. They will fight every new doctrine for the welfare of the people in the same way. Belmont and his crowd are simply fighting to maintain **THEIR POWER**, just as the slave owners of the South fought to maintain their power or the Czar of Russia fights to maintain his power.

Issued by authority of the National Executive Committee,
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NO. 4 OF SERIES.

PRICE 10 CENTS

HEADS AND HANDS



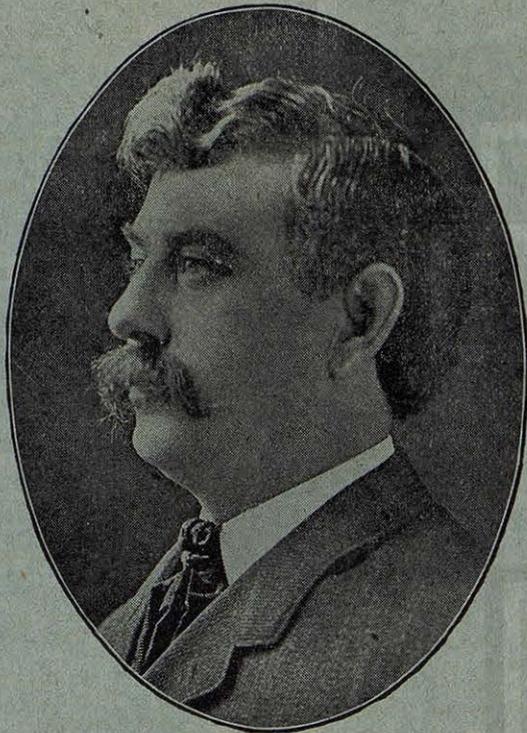
Workers—Produce everything and get only..... 17%
Shirkers—Produce nothing yet get..... 83%

According to Census Bulletin No. 150, the average skilled mechanic produces \$2471 worth of goods and receives in wages but \$437.

W. F. RIES - Toledo, O.

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If the capitalists did not work with their heads enough to induce
you to work for them with your hands, the capitalists
would starve. WAKE UP,



W. F. RIES

Author of "Heroes and Heroines," "The Money Problem," "Men
and Mules," "Monkeys and Monkeyettes," "Co-operative Farm-
ing," "Lions and Lambs," "Heads and Hands," Etc., Etc.

TOLEDO, OHIO



PREFACE.

That the American people have reached a crisis in their economic development, none will deny. Never before were unrest and dissatisfaction so openly expressed. Millions are in poverty. The nightmare of our civilization is the FEAR of poverty and want. For the great mass of humanity the bread and butter question is the ever present problem. The people of every civilized nation are being driven to crime, prostitution and insanity because of the difficulty of obtaining food, shelter and clothing.

That these conditions do actually prevail, I quote from Pope Leo XIII, who on May 15th, 1891, said: "But all agree, and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the poor. * * * * *. By degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the carelessness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. * * * * *. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

Note that Pope Leo says that "some remedy must be found and quickly found," thus admitting that none of the many remedies that have been tried were effective. Will those of our church people of any denomination who believe that christianity is the "cure all" please tell us why it is that in every Christian country poverty and ignorance is the lot of the majority of its citizens

In this booklet I prove (prove, mind you) what is the cause of the deplorable condition of the working class throughout the world, and present the cure—the only cure—for this condition.

"Heads and Hands," is the fourth of a SERIES of twenty booklets which I am preparing. They are to be written in series, yet each is to be complete in itself. They are especially designed for a "HOUSE TO HOUSE" DISTRIBUTION ON THE MILWAUKEE PLAN.

There are but two methods by which the people can change the system—bullets or ballots. I recommend the ballot.

That the many economic wrongs may be speedily corrected by the ballot is my fondest wish.

A FORECAST.

There is looming up a new and dark power. The accumulation of individual wealth seems to be greater than it has ever been since the downfall of the Roman empire. And the enterprises of the country are aggregating vast corporate combinations of unexampled capital boldly marching not for economical conquests only, but for political power. . . . For the first time really in our politics money is taking the field as an organized power. Wealth has its rights. Industries wealth has its honors. . . . But money, as a political influence, is essentially corrupt; is most dangerous to free institutions. . . . It is entitled to fear, if not to respect. The question will arise in your day, though perhaps not fully in mine. Which shall rule—wealth or men; which shall lead—money or intelligence; who shall fill public stations—educated and patriotic freemen, or the feudal serfs of corporate capital? . . . Look to it in that day that the bar do not suffer the disgrace of permitting mere money, the successful gambler's stake in Wall street, to assume the functions of intellect, so long and largely shared by our profession.

The above is an excerpt from an address delivered by Chief Justice Edward G. Ryan, before the law class of the University of Wisconsin, June 16th, 1873.

With keen political perception, Justice Ryan predicted our present oligarchy of wealth. His worst fears have materialized. In less than a third of a century the wealth of this nation is in the hands of a few trust magnates. With downcast look and sadness in our hearts we must in truth answer Justice Ryan's questions in these words: "Wealth, not men, rule; money, not intellect, leads; feudal serfs of corporate capital, not educated and patriotic freeman, fill public stations."

Chief Justice Ryan cautioned his law class to beware of permitting the money power to corrupt our courts. Have they been heeded?

Fred B. Coudert, a New York lawyer, in a recent speech, reported in the New York Herald, Nov. 6, 1910, states conditions as they are today in the following words:

The debasement of the supreme court bench through the system of selecting men not for their eminence in the legal profession, but because they are organization men (tools of the trusts) and presumably can be of service to that organization, is one of the worst features of our civic life. It is thoroughly well understood in our profession that the only way to a seat on the bench is through the good will of the political boss.

It is also thoroughly well understood that seats on the bench are bought, not always outright, perhaps, mainly through the guise of campaign contributions made by the candidate himself or by some friend (trust) of the candidate.

I know of cases, and it is common talk among lawyers—in which \$60,000, \$100,000, and, I believe as high as \$180,000 has been paid for the ermine.

With this condition existing it is easy, to understand the disgraceful state in which nearly all of our courts are today.

(The same is true in practically all courts, from chief justice to justice of the peace).

A PLAIN STATEMENT AND A FEW QUESTIONS.

The recent elections afford ample proof of the growing discontent of the great mass of our people. All shades and degrees of dissatisfaction are expressed with present economic conditions. These various protesting throngs find expression in "Stand Pat" and "Insurgent" republicans; "Stand Pat" and "Insurgent" democrats; Independents; Hearstites; Single Taxers, Socialists, etc. These one and all are beginning to see things in their true light. Indeed it is enough to stir any man with red blood in his veins to patriotic action when he sees that those who do the most have the least, while those who do the least have the most; when he sees that in every so called, civilized nation the great mass of working people are in poverty. These conditions prevail alike in Russia under a Czar, in Germany under an emperor, in England under a liberal kingdom, in France, Mexico and the United States under republican governments.

In this country we see the fabulous natural resources of a nation drifting into the hands of a few.

We see all the giant factories owned by a few men.

We see the mines, the forests, the railroads, in short all the means of production and distribution owned by a mere handful of idle millionaires.

We see that 82% of our people do not own a home.

We see political parties, the press and the government of ninety million people pass into the hands of a few trust magnates.

We see our fair land cursed every few years with a panic which penetrates to the remotest corners of the country.

During these panics, factories are closed and millions of strong, able and willing men are denied the right to work. Nevertheless, during these panics, while men can't get work, children are compelled to work every day. Think of it! There are today millions of children in their early tender years, when nature is making her greatest demands, when they ought to be in the school and play grounds and sunshine, now under the hunger whip, working for a pittance which barely suffices to keep their protesting souls in their little bodies. When their cheeks ought to be blooming with the red roses of health, we see in them the pale lilies of death.

We see a still larger group of seven million women snatched from their homes and household duties and pushed into factories for long hours at starvation wages. Think of

it— men denied work—women and children compelled to work.

We see factories close down because the workers have produced too much. Think of suffering and starving in the midst of plenty.

We see crime, prostitution and insanity increasing several times faster than our population.

We see one million prostitutes—women forced to sell their virtue for a crust of bread, while forty thousand virtuous girls are annually added to the list.

We see one-third of the children die before they reach their teens.

We see sixty thousand children in the wealthiest city in the world (New York) unable to acquire an education because no school buildings are provided.

We see that this same city contains three thousand millionaires, hundreds of multi-millionaires, and one billionaire.

We see a nation with prosperity for the few—poverty, ignorance and starvation for the many.

We see a nation in which they send a man to prison for stealing a sandwich and send another to congress for stealing a railroad.

We see a nation where preachers talk to a man about a robe in heaven when he hasn't the price of a shirt in his pocket.

We see a nation of eight thousand millionaires and sixty million others not two weeks from starvation.

We see the national government spending annually eleven million dollars for education, and five hundred and forty million dollars for war—that means \$11,000,000 to shoot brains into them, and \$540,000,000 to shoot brains out of them.

We see this nation calling itself Christian and sending missionaries to convert the heathen to Christianity. (Will someone please put the heathen next?)

We see a nation honoring and eulogizing labor in theory and snubbing, imprisoning and shooting it in practice.

We see a nation where there is a law for the poor and none for the rich.

We see a nation with a system of factories so marvelous that a single workman of today with the latest improved machinery can produce ten, twenty, fifty and even a thousand times as much as his grandfather could a century ago with the simple hand tools of that day. Why then doesn't the workingman of today get ten, twenty, fifty or

one hundred times as much as his grandfather did a century ago?

Can it be possible that the ills enumerated above prevail because we lack the natural resources? Behold we have iron, coal, timber, precious metals, and fertile soil in abundance. We have a country blessed with a diversified climate and natural resources sufficient to last for ages if properly conserved.

How does it happen that during a panic the people don't take the raw material (which all admit we have in abundance) and feed it into these factories (and at such times we have plenty of idle factories) and thus produce what they want, instead of suffering and starving?

Can you imagine any living thing on this earth starving in the midst of plenty, except man, be it mammal, fish or fowl?

What seen or unseen thing, force or system is keeping us in this worse than Hades?

Are the laws of nature responsible for the deplorable conditions of the working class of all nations? Is such the fate of humanity? Is human industry so pernicious that in all countries there must or is permitted to operate some power which at one pole of human society gathers wealth and culture and at the other poverty and ignorance—sin and sadness—which showers the blessings of education on one class of society, while it deprives the great multitude of mental training and spiritual life?

Is there some force in nature which rewards idleness and debauchery with robes and rubies while it doles out to prolonged toil rags and rubbish?

Is it necessary for civilization in order to advance to trample under foot defenseless women and children?

Is it fate that at the feet of civilized society there must yawn that menace and awful abyss of poverty; that with each day the struggle for existence must assume a more and more savage form—to say nothing of the energy wasted in it, to say nothing of the silenced conscience and the hardened heart?

Is it a part of the fixed fate of toiling humanity to curse machinery invented to lessen the hours of drudging labor?

Is it fate that here are millions of families whose daily bread, even under normal conditions, depends on the many vicissitudes of a planless and ruthless commercial war?

And, finally, how does it come that in every nation there are two distinct classes, one a small group controlling

in doubt and fear; the other a vast multitude, tumultuous, defiant ever increasing in numbers, expressing its dissatisfaction in strikes lockouts, and riots so severe that vast armed forces are necessary to keep it in check.

How does it happen that the few voices singing the praises of our present system are constantly drowned by the frantic, ever-rising, unappeasable cry of countless multitudes?

Shall we accuse some natural unseen law for this nightmare of society or to man-made laws and regulations which if removed would give to the toiling millions peace and plenty?

The one great overshadowing question of the ages is, "Does there exist, somewhere, a remedy for these economic ills?"

The great majority, through ignorance, parrot-like, answer, "No! there is no remedy, it always was so and always will be so." Another ever increasing throng, fifty millions strong, scattered throughout the civilized world, shouting as with one mighty voice, their answer, **Yes, Socialism.**

Socialism is the oasis in the desert of Capitalism. It is the glare of the noon-day sun breaking through the threatening clouds of private ownership which have for ages darkened the earth—Exit Capitalism—Enter Socialism.

The remedies proposed for our political ills are many, most of which have been tried and found wanting. A partial list follows: More Religions, High Tariff, More Taxes, Low Tariff, Free Trade, Gold Standard, Silver Standard, Income Tax, Single Tax, Christianity, etc.

Ask the average person of any civilized society why it is that in all countries, no matter how great the product, the great bulk are nevertheless in poverty and you get the same stereotyped reply that fathers, mothers, preachers, teachers, and others have been giving you for centuries, viz: "Several factors enter into the problems as causes the chief of which are: shiftlessness, lack of foresight, wasting one's income for trifles stimulants, or other things worse, living beyond one's means, imitating one's betters in dress and display, lack of God in their heart; in short with now and then an exception from accident and sickness, they reply that poverty is caused by the individual himself in not following moral precepts standardized by society through experience or inspirations."

In other words, nine out of every ten people assert that

poverty can be averted by the individual himself—is this truth? No, it is an absolute falsehood. It is the **system** that is responsible—the system of conducting business known as **Capitalism** that is the father of all the minor or immediate causes.

Many contend that low wages, long hours, premature labor, unsanitary tenements and work shops, unemployment, ill health, etc., etc., are solely responsible. That these are the immediate causes is not denied. Why not find out the **cause of the immediate causes** of, long hours, low wages, etc. Every thorough student realizes that these are the normal fruit of our all pervading capitalist system of private ownership. If you deny this it becomes necessary for you to believe that landlords give their tenants unsanitary homes through malice, that employers of child labor harbor a malignant hatred for the little ones whose lives they ruin, that all employers are vindictive against their workmen and rejoice to see wages forced down below the starvation level. Certainly you cannot believe such nonsense. What is it then that forces the capitalists to grind the faces of the poor and to muzzle their every ambition? To answer just that question and to give the remedy is my purpose in writing this booklet. To patch up any of the thousand and one **immediate causes** and leave their **source** untouched is folly. Suppress one and another will break forth; increase wages and the cost of living is raised; improve tenements and rents rise; force light into the house and overcrowding increases; increase industrial efficiency and competition intensifies; live cheaper and wages are reduced.

For every evil suppressed, a new and greater evil breaks forth. This is inevitable so long as you keep patching the old garment and retain the old **system**. A new garment is needed. The old one is outworn and so rotten that it won't hold the patch.

"One might think that it would be palpable to every educated man of our time that the exclusive control of land by people who do not work upon it, and who prevent hundreds of thousands of distressed families making use of it, is an action every whit as wicked and base as the possession of slaves; and yet we see aristocrats, supposed to be educated and refined, who profit by this base and cruel right, and who are not only not ashamed but proud of it."—Tolstoy.

It is the agitators who make the world move forward.

THE NECESSITY FOR A CHANGE.

As aforesaid, a century ago a workman could not produce on an average one-twentieth as much as he can today with modern machinery. Yet they lived comfortably. To be sure they wore homespun clothing but it was warm. They wore hand-made shoes, but they were substantial. They grew and prepared their own food, but it was wholesome and pure. No formaldehyde in the milk—no trichena pork and pickled glanders palmed off as "Armour's veribest." No tom cats and podle dogs in the sausage. A century ago an increase in the family was welcome. Today a Rooseveltian family in the home of a workingman is a nightmare, especially with present high prices, and I congratulate the women who refuse to rear large families that the capitalists may have a larger army of unemployed from which to select another crop of wage slaves when their present hirelings are worn out. After Socialism has been established and the workers get all they produce, it will be time enough to talk about large families, but not until then.

A century ago people worked with simple hand tools. A shoemaker of that period could tan a hide and in a day, with simple hand tools which he owned, convert it into a pair of shoes. At night he could take the shoes to his neighbor, Smith, a cabinet maker and swap it for a chair which took Smith a day to produce.

They exchanged the products of their labor on something of an equitable basis. A century ago nearly all manufacturing was done in much the same way. A great change has taken place in manufacturing since that time, especially during the last quarter century. The shoemaker's bench with its hammer, awl and waxed-end has grown into a huge factory employing thousands of men, operating hundreds of complicated machines and requiring millions of capital for its successful operation.

In the same way the cabinet maker's kit of hand tools has grown until it has become one of the many large furniture factories covering acres of ground.

Because of this great change in the method of producing the commodities necessary to modern civilization—because of this change from hand tools to the factory system, the owner of hand tools cannot compete with the factory.

Formerly he owned the tools with which he worked. Today he works with tools he does not own. These giant tools are today owned by a man who cannot use them, and operated by men who do not own them. Today the modern

workman is compelled with bared head and bended knee to beg permission to use the tools he himself helped to make.

Today these modern wage slaves are living by permission of an idle owning class—a useless, parasitic class—a class who by virtue of **private ownership** of the stocks and bonds reap all the benefits without themselves turning a hand. They employ foremen, superintendents and managers to do the hustling for them, while they spend their ill gotten gains in riotous living at our swell resorts or hobnobbing with royalty abroad.

I repeat, that a century ago the people did not starve so long as they had free access to the raw material and owned the simple hand tools with which they worked. In that day it could be truthfully said of a pauper that if he continued to remain in poverty it was largely his own fault, (barring sickness and accidents.)

Today conditions have changed, never to return again to the simple hand tools. The present deplorable conditions are growing rapidly worse in trust made soil irrigated by watered stock. Formerly the individual had a chance by hard work he could win the topmost rung of success. Today every person who belongs to the wage earning class is absolutely dependent upon his employer for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. At best he can know but little of life, less of liberty and the pursuit of happiness is a huge joke.

The average wage worker looks into a future black as Egyptian darkness. In the skies of present conditions there shines for him no star of hope. He looks forward to the time when he becomes too old to work, then he will be cast aside for a younger man, thrown upon his family or carted away to the poorhouse and a pauper's grave. His children, God pity them. They will follow in the same footsteps and end up in the same sad way.

Today we have ten million people living on the horderland of starvation. We also have fifty million more who are not starving, they are not actually suffering, but God knows they are never so far ahead but what they can hear at their heels the baying bloodhounds of want. Candidly, isn't there something wrong with a system that breeds such conditions.

Socialists contend that since production has changed from simple hand tools to the huge factory system, a correspondingly great change must be made in the **ownership** of these factories. The change must be from **private ownership** to public ownership—collective ownership—which is Socialism.

Since to the owners always flow the profits, how other than by becoming themselves the owners can the workers get all they produce? When the workers finally succeed in owning these modern means of production and distribution, the centuries old struggle between master and slave—lord and serf—capitalist and wage workers, will have been ended because all will have become owners and all will then be workers together, each according to his "deeds."

OLD AND NEW SYSTEMS.

Under our present system of conducting business, known as **Capitalism**, the raw material, coal, iron, timber, etc., as well as the shops, mills and factories are **privately** owned by a few wealthy firms, corporations and trusts.

Because of this **private ownership** of the raw materials and the factories, **society** is divided into **owners, hirelings and paupers**. A **hireling** is anyone who works for wages. A pauper is a **hireling unhired**. The capitalists permit the workers to take the raw material and pass it through the factories, thus converting it into useful commodities on the following conditions only: **All commodities** after being made by the laborers shall be left in the shops and warerooms of the capitalists—the workers accepting a wage in lieu of the goods themselves. The manufacturer then sells these commodities to a jobber, who again sells them to a wholesaler, who in turn sells them to the retailer, who then employs agents, solicitors and canvassers and sells them back again to the dear people—to these same wage slaves who produced them in the first place. Naturally the **jobber, the wholesaler and the retailer** each have heavy rent, interest, office help and advertising to pay. Therefore by the time the wage earners, and they constitute 90 per cent of our people, get the goods back again, they receive only a fraction of what they produce. According to census bulletin 150 they get for their share only one-sixth of all they produce because they received in wages only one-sixth or 17 per cent of all they produce. Bulletin 150 shows that the average skilled mechanic produces goods valued at \$2,471 and is paid in wages but \$437, therefore if the wage earner spent every cent of his wages he could buy back only about one-sixth of all he produced. The rest goes for raw material, wear and tear of machinery and to the wholesaler, jobber, and retailer, banks, trusts, railroad magnates, stock gamblers, idlers and other parasites. This **system—capitalism**—has made the few millionaires and billionaires—the

many cringing hirelings and paupers. It has reduced 82 per cent of our people to renters. It has filled our asylums and crowded our poorhouses to suffocation. It forces poor girls into red light districts there to exchange their virtue for a crust of bread. It forces women and children to enter the mills and mines, here to compete with men for a mere existence. **Yes Capitalism is the cause of it all.** The saddest reflection is that it is growing rapidly worse.

These conditions have become so terrible that the victims of this capitalistic system—the wage workers—are thoroughly aroused. These wage workers find that it is useless to continue the present capitalist system which is the cause of our economic ills. They believe that since an unseen Hand has provided raw material in abundance and that labor not only **built**, but also **operates** the mills, factories as well as all the means of production and distribution that labor should receive **all** it produces. Labor has decided to no longer permit plutocrats and trust magnates to ride on their backs. Labor has discovered that it is foolish to blame individuals for all this misery. They have discovered the **cause** and they have decided to remove the **cause—the system itself**. Labor has decided to abolish **Private Ownership** and to establish **Public Ownership**—which is **co-operation** which is **Socialism**.

Labor has thus demonstrated that it is developing common sense. To the extent that labor is developing common sense, the plutocrats are developing stage fright and show signs of hysteria. Labor has grown tired of electing members of the **Capitalist Class** to represent the Laboring Class in halls of legislation and then on bended knees begging for favorable legislation. It has decided to hereafter send only members of the **working class** to the halls of legislation and then it can speak for itself from the halls and not from the lobby. Labor recognizes that the Capitalists are "Class Conscious" and have accordingly sent only members of their own class to represent them. Labor has, at last, discovered why the capitalists got all the laws they wanted while labor got laws it did not want.

Labor has finally decided to enter the **political** field. It has organized a political party of, by and for the working class. Its slogan is, "We want the Earth for all the people and not a part of the people. Labor, through the Socialist Party declares that, "What the people use in common they should own in common, and the people use privately they should own privately. Everything else to remain private

property. In addition to entering the political field, labor has decided to adopt **Industrial Unionism**.

Labor recognizes that all craft unions must be welded into one great all-embracing union. Then labor will be heard, because it can then stop every wheel in the nation, and compel the people to listen to its just demands.

With the **Socialist Party**, the right arm of the labor movement in the halls of legislation, and the **Industrial Unionists**, the left arm of the labor movement in possession of all industries, labor will be supreme. From that day every law enacted by the political representatives of labor, the Socialists, will be promptly enforced by these same industrial workers. From that very day court decisions will be favorable to labor, because as **Dooley** says, "Court decisions follow the election returns."

Labor will then conduct the factories for the benefit of the workers and not the idlers as now. Commodities will be manufactured for use and not for profit. Manufacturing under Socialism would be conducted on the most scientific and up-to-date plans through the co-operation of all the workers much as our best factories are now being conducted with this difference:

As stated before under our present system all goods made by the workers still belong to the factory owner and the workers are paid a wage. This wage being only one-sixth of the value of the laborer's product, he can buy back but one-sixth. Then a so-called overproduction follows and a panic results.

This panic is not caused by over production, but by **under consumption**.

Under Socialism as commodities were manufactured they would still belong to those who manufactured them and each worker would be issued a labor time-check in payment. Thus if the workman produced net, eight yards of carpet in eight hours, the time keeper issues this particular worker an eight-hour labor time check. If another worker produces eight pails, net, in eight hours, an eight hour time-check is issued to him also, likewise all those who labored would receive labor time-checks exactly equivalent to the net value of what they produced, be it one or many hours.

This labor time-check could be issued in the form of a meal ticket, mileage book or it could be stamped on gold, silver, tissue paper or pigs ears. No matter what its form, it would be a receipt in full for services rendered and with it the laborer could buy back all he produced, no more—no less. If he worked long hours, he gets long time

checks. If he worked short hours, he gets short time checks. If he work no hours, he gets nothing and can take it home with him in chunks or on the installment plan. Under the present system if too much is produced factories close and a panic follows. Under Socialism if too much is produced, factories close down and a picnic follows. Which do you prefer? Take your choice.

Since there are and can be but two systems of handling capital—Private Ownership, and Public Ownership, it follows that a vote for the Republican, Democratic or Independent parties is a vote to continue the present system. The Socialist party is the only party that even so much as pretends to **change the system**. The thing for you to do is to first determine to which class YOU belong. If you make your living through rent, interest or profit, you belong to the Capitalist class and should vote the old party ticket, or its equivalent, some one of the many brands of independent or insurgent fakes to be had for the asking. If you work for wages, or in any way support yourself by your own mental or physical efforts, promptly join the party of your class, the Socialist Party. Any other program for you would be Jackassical.

COMING AND GOING.

Ellis O. Jones, in Success Magazine.

There was a man in our town
And he was wondrous rash;
He voted for a Republican
And thus lost half his cash.
And when he found what he had done,
As guileless as a calf,
He voted for a Democrat
And lost the other half.

Take no thought for your bodies saith the capitalist, for I have a lien on them; nor for your souls, because "God knows" what will become of them; but slave for me and verily you shall have a friend who will take all the profits of your labor and give you a good time hustling to keep out of the poor-house.

Higher wages, shorter hours, better shop conditions, superior culture, cheaper commodities, lower rents—these are some of the things that Socialists all over the world are fighting for.

TRUSTS AND TRUST BUSTING.

For years leading politicians of both parties denied that trusts could ever form a monopoly, denied that competition is dying denied that private ownership concentrates wealth. The spellbinders of the old political parties declared it impossible in this country for any man, or set of men, to successfully gain a monopoly in any industry.

Later, when "Teddy, the Terrible," was running for president, both Democrats and Republicans admitted that monopolizing trusts stood tiptoe on the wings of morn.

Now, President Taft in a speech before the Boston Merchants' association says: "If the abuses of monopoly (trusts) and discrimination cannot be restrained; if the concentration of the power made possible by such abuses continues and increases and it is made manifest that under the system of individualism and private ownership of property the tyranny and oppression of an oligarchy of wealth cannot be avoided, then socialism will triumph and the institution of private property will perish."

Yes, President Taft was frank enough to make this admission.

It is indeed gratifying to Socialists to have so prominent a character as President Taft make this confession.

Teddy and the Republicans as well as the Democrats wanted to bust the trusts.

For eight long years, the big hunter, Teddy, the lion slayer, the wielder of the big stick and of the short and ugly word, the man who went to Africa to slay the monkeys, that is, to kill his betters, was in the saddle at the White House. He had the assistance and backing of a Republican congress, a Republican senate, a Republican Supreme Court, the army, the navy, the press, and above all the hearty good will of 90 per cent of all the people. And what did he accomplish during all that time?

Has a single real trust been forced to dissolve? Has competition been re-introduced in a single instance? Have the prices of commodities been brought down? Have the conditions of the workers been improved? **NOT SO YOU COULD NOTICE IT.**

Even where some seeming court victory was won there resulted no more permanent loosening of the grip of the capitalists on the people than the killing of an occasional Russian official in establishing a republic in Russia.

Yes, for nearly EIGHT YEARS this colossal fake trust buster with the aid of the trust owned newspapers has been fooling the people. During all these years almost daily

these same trust papers were cartooning Teddy with a big stick in hand everlastingly smashing some giant trust.

Teddy during all this time was busy acknowledging his appreciation of the hearty handclapping of a grateful people. Just before each election Teddy would drag on the political stage a fresh bunch of trust magnates, fine them another \$29,240,000 only to have one of his own appointed Federal Judges nolly the fine after election.

And you, "dear people," looked on and applauded until your hands were sore and your face red. Oh, you Jaspers.

As his last official act and as if to emphasize his far-sical trust busting administration, Roosevelt suspends the Anti-Trust Law long enough to permit the steel trust to gobble up its remaining big competitor, the Tennessee Iron & Coal Co.

Teddy saw to it, in one case at least, that the Anti-Trust law was put into effect. A band of working men (hat workers) in Danbury, Conn., struck in an attempt to obtain bigger wages, that they might provide better homes for their families, better clothes, food, education, etc. Teddy declared these hat workers to be deep-dyed criminals. He had their union dissolved. They were fined over \$2,000,000. This is more than the entire union possessed. Their little homes, their bank savings for years, the burial money, the few dollars laid aside for the marriage of daughter, the education of a son, all these are being taken from the union hatters by order of Teddy, Taft and Co.'s Courts.

Thus the Sherman Anti-Trust Law passed to STOP THE TRUSTS has been used by the fakirs to SMASH THE UNIONS.

To insure a continuance of "my policies" the trusts had Teddy appoint "fat Bill Taft" he of the "judicial mind" as his successor.

Now Taft comes out flat footed and admits that the trusts are here, that they can't be busted but declares that he can "regulate" them. As a means to this end, he promised to revise the tariff "downward." The tariff was revised, but "upward." Every democratic congressman in the entire United States helped the Republicans to boost the tariff "up." In every instance where any industry wanted protection that industry got democratic support if that industry happened to be in a democratic congressional district. Thus the trusts got all they asked for. And why shouldn't they? They name the candidates of both parties, pay their campaign expenses and are justly entitled to such legislation as will benefit the trusts. When you voting mules get mule

sense you will name and elect mules of your own class, the working class, to the halls of legislation. Then you will get mule justice. Until then you will get jackass justice.

Every attempt to "regulate or bust the trusts during the past twenty years has been a dismal failure.

Beef trust regulation a failure, railroad rate regulation a failure, and President Taft in the midst of this ocean of failure, calling for more regulation. What fools be must think you voters are.

Can't you working men see that the trusts have flourished and grown stronger in spite of trust "busting" regulation and tariff revision?

If you still believe that something has been accomplished, read the following form the News-Bee, Toledo, O.:

"WHEN '23' FOR BEEF TRUST?"

The fight against the beef trust has been in progress eight years. In that time people have secured certain indictments and the beef trust has won one big victory in open court. In these eight years the average price of meat has steadily advanced; the dividends of the packing companies have been declared with surprising regularity, and surpluses have steadily grown. Last year when forced to declare, the Armour company reluctantly confessed that its net profits for the year, dividends and surplus, aggregated about 35 per cent on its capitalization.

Other packing concerns have been equally prosperous. And now prices of meat run from 30 to 50 per cent higher than those of eight years ago. Which goes to show how a well organized trust may thrive like a green bay tree under the stimulus of a little judiciously applied prosecution.

This is a showing that is calculated to give us a pause when we feel inclined to wax enthusiastic over the indictment of this or that beef baron. Nobody has been convicted. Nobody has been fined. Nobody has gone to jail. Nobody seems to have lost even social standing because of public indictment for law-breaking. And the price of food is higher than ever before.

"Clearly the so-called 'victories' the people have won in the beef trust cases have been anything but victories. The beef trust has really won all the battles thus far in the eight years' war. What's the answer?"

SOCIALISM.

It is time for the working people to realize the fact that the day of competition among the capitalists is forever past; that not the most powerful organization of labor can cope with the trusts; that the great corporations are in the saddle and ready to use the spur and lash; half-way measures will do no good; that trustification has reached the point where there remains but one thing for the workers to do—either they must submit to the despotic rule of the trusts on the economic field, or they must themselves act on the political field, on the lines indicated by the Socialist

platform, and declare for public ownership and public ownership for HUMANITY'S good. These great industries which capitalism has centralized must be restored to their rightful owners, the people.

As fully substantiating the Socialist position regarding the trusts, I quote the following extremely important article by Alexander Graham Bell:

(Alexander Graham Bell was born in Edinburg, Scotland, 1847. Graduate of Edinburg and London universities; came to Canada in 1870; became professor of physiology of Boston university; invented telephone, photophone, graphophone and induction balance; later president of National Geography society; regent Smithsonian institute; awarded volta prize by French government; member of National Academy of Science and many foreign and American societies; has written many scientific and educational works. Address, 1331 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.)

Alexander Graham Bell in a recent number of the World's Work says:

We have arrived at the critical point in our history. Competition as an element in business is going out and monopolies, which are opposed to competition, are coming in. Individual producers no longer count. The nineteenth century saw them largely replaced by associations of individuals known as "corporations" or "companies," which did business upon such a scale that individual producers were unable to compete. In process of time, the large fish ate the smaller; until now, in the twentieth century, we find the companies themselves being gobbled up by still larger aggregations of capital and labor in the form of "trusts," or "combines," which threaten to monopolize the sources of our wealth, and to extinguish competition altogether.

It is noteworthy that, so far as the producers are concerned, combination means peace; competition means warfare. Competition means a mob without organization and weak for effective work; combination, an organized force, powerful and efficient. The evil arises when the public is forced to pay higher prices, in spite of the fact that the cost of production and distribution has been reduced. The combination in itself is a good thing, even though it tends to destroy competition and created a monopoly, because it has reduced the cost of production and distribution. It only becomes hurtful when it becomes a monopoly and raises the price to the public. It is potentially hurtful if it has the power to raise prices even though it does not actually do so. The hurtful thing is not the combination itself, but its abuse of power to control the price paid by the public.

Now, "the destruction of competition by powerful organizations" seems to be inevitable. It is probably the most characteristic feature of the age in which we live; and it seems to represent an advanced position in our civilization reached by a gradual process of evolution with which man cannot cope. From the earliest dawn of the nineteenth century up to the present time there has been a continual advance toward this position in spite of tremendous opposition at every stage. We cannot prevent the destruction of competition by powerful organizations.

The following appears to be the only practical method in

dealing with trusts: (1) Control by suitable legislation, the amount of profit they can legally receive from the public; or (2) buy them out and have the government run their business in the interests of the people so that the profits shall be reduced to the minimum consistent with running expenses. This has been the plan adopted with the postoffice business, and it means Socialism to a greater or less extent. But if we long neglect the opportunity we now have of establishing legislative control over the in-ex-actions, the continued advance in power and influence possessed by these great corporations may ultimately compel the people, in self-defense, to adopt the alternative plan. The immediate problem is the problem of control. Destruction is out of the question.

Bell's favorite remedy "regulation" having been riddled earlier in this chapter, it only remains for the workers, thinking and acting together, to catch up with the march of events, to understand the object lessons which the capitalists put before them viz: to use their political and economic power to transform the great industrial plants from agencies of private exploitation and oppression into agencies for reducing the burden of labor and improving the living of the whole people, while giving them back the individual liberty of which capitalism has long since robbed them. In short, let the people own the trusts.

The democracy that Jefferson and Jackson knew is dead, beyond the power of a Bryan, a Harmon, a Wilson, a Hurst, a Johnson, a Whitlock or any other political doctor to resurrect. The Empire of the trusts has come. Shall it be permitted to endure, or shall we go on to the Socialist republic? That is the question workers have to answer. The answer to all other questions depends upon how this question is answered.

It is now over sixty years since the Socialists foretold the coming of the trusts. They pointed out that competition was self destructive and must of necessity end in monopoly. It was Karl Marx who sixty years ago predicted this coming of the trusts.

That prediction was made in the golden age of competition. It was then declared that competition was "the life of trade." The people of that day scoffed at the idea of trusts and monopoly. Yet the Socialists prophesied and even described some of the detailed workings of the trusts sixty years in advance of its full development.

The Socialists were enabled to do this through their knowledge of economic laws, much as the astronomers located the planet Neptune by mathematical calculations before any telescope had sought it out. The trusts came into existence with the same certainty that Neptune swung into place in the heavens that the mathematicians had calculated

that it would appear. What would you think of those astronomers had they enacted laws prohibiting Neptune from swinging into place? What shall we Socialists think of you political numskulls when you try to destroy the trusts which is equally as contrary to the laws of evolution in economics? Didn't your old party fossils first deny the very possibility of there ever being any trust? Then didn't you deny their existence long after they were here? Then didn't you declare them illegal? Then didn't you in turn try to bust them, to regulate them? Didn't you do everything but the right thing—own them?

For good or ill, the trust has come to stay and it surrounds us from the cradle to the grave. The trust attends the bed of child birth, the cradle, the school, the workshop and the tomb.

Like the giant octopus, the trust, reaches out and gathers to itself all the resources of life. Like the fabled monsters of antiquity, its maws are insatiable. It crushes out every vestige of the worker's individuality, dehumanizes him and makes him merely a component of a machine. It reaches out to the government and controls its functions, holding legislatures and judges for puppets. The trust question has become the world's most striking economic issue.

Everywhere men are asking: How shall we be freed from the grip of this monster?" And there is no scientific satisfying answer, save that of the Socialists. The Socialists declare that the "trusts will own the nation 'til the nation owns the trusts." The Socialists are fully aware that the modern trust magnate does absolutely nothing toward conducting the trusts. He is simply an idle holder of stocks and bonds. Socialists recognize that the worker is perfectly capable of hanging onto the stocks and bonds that represent ownership of the great industries. If the laborers should find it inconvenient to do so they can hire a bright twelve-year-old kid, or a half crazy degenerate, such as own many of these securities now, to hold the stocks for them and pay them errand boy wages instead of millions of dollars in dividends and interest.

In that day workers will not worry how to distribute the wealth they produce. Perhaps they will be foolish enough to give 83 per cent to a lot of degenerates as they do now and perhaps they won't.

Socialists recognize that the present owners of the trusts are no more necessary to the production of goods than

THE DICK MILITARY LAW.

This "war measure" was introduced in the house of representatives on June 30th, 1902, by Representative Dick (now United States Senator) of Ohio, a former general in the Union army. This bill is known as house bill No. 11654, and was rushed through, over the heads of a small opposition, by 180 ayes against 28 nays. No personal roll call was taken. It was rushed through in less than one hour. The bill was approved by the President on Jan. 21st, 1903.

Public—No. 33—An act to provide for the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes.

Sec. 1. "Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That the militia shall consist of every able bodied male citizen of the respective states, territories, and the District of Columbia, and every able bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, who is more than 18 and less than 45 years of age," etc., etc.

The exact wording of section 4 follows: "That whenever the United States is invaded, or in danger of invasion, or of rebellion against the authority of the United States or the president is unable, with other forces at his command, to execute the laws of the union in any part thereof, it shall be lawful for the president to call forth, for a period not exceeding nine months, such number of the militia, every man between 18 and 45 years of age in the United States, of the state, or of the states and territories, or of the District of Columbia, as he may deem necessary, to repeal such invasion, suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, and to issue his orders for that purpose to such officers of the militia as he may think proper."

Sec. 8. "That courts-martial for the trial of officers or men of the militia, when in the service of the United States, shall be composed of militia officers only."

By the express terms of this military law THE PRESIDENT MAY AT ANY TIME CALL OUT EVERY ABLE BODIED MAN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 45 YEARS OFFICER THEM WITH HIRELINGS OF HIS OWN CHOOSING, AND SEND THEM ON THEIR DEATH DEALING MISSION OF KILLING PEOPLE. This makes the president of this republic an absolute military dictator. The ruler of no other nation on earth is given such absolute power.

No other nation on earth has such a stringent military

law. No other nation would for a minute TOLERATE such a law. The capitalist hireling lawmakers in Washington knew that the American people would not permit the passage of such a law IF THEY KNEW IT. This law was passed through deceit and treachery. It was absolutely denied for years until that great Socialist paper, The Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kan., called public attention to it. Even now, after ten years, the average person who for the first time hears of this outrageous law is skeptical. Not a single paper (with the exception noted above) in the entire United States printed a single word,—not even a hint. Millions of dollars were doled out to the papers to keep mum.

By the terms of Sec. 8, any man who refuses to join the militia can be SHOT LIKE A DOG, by order of the courts-martial. From their decision there is absolutely no appeal—none whatever.

This entire law is contrary to the constitution of the United States. But what is the constitution of the plutocrats? Let a few of the trust hireling jumping-jacks make reply, "TO HELL WITH THE CONSTITUTION," Mayor McClelland commanding the state militia in Colorado during the strike of 1904. "HABEUS CORPUS AND CONSTITUTION BE DAMNED! WE'LL GIVE THEM POST MORTEM INSTEAD."—Adjutant General Sherman Bell, during the same Colorado strike.

In his message to congress in 1861, Lincoln wrote: "Monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people—I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, when surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement to such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost." No need to worry about Lincoln's warning, for the military law is already a fact. This infamous Dick Military Law is here because you members of the working class elected representatives of the capitalists class to make laws. These law makers being "class conscious" promptly enacted laws for the protection of their boss—the capitalist class and against the working class—your class. And you have been jackasses enough not to see it. Later on you will be made to FEEL what you could not SEE—made to feel the hot lead and cold steel.

And why do the capitalists of all nations desire such strong military forces? Let a distinguished capitalist reply. "When our factories grow bigger than the United States, then there will be war, the bloodiest war in the history of

mandkind. —The time is coming when our manufac-
tories will outgrow the country, and men by the hundreds
of thousands will be turned out of the factories. — The
factories are multiplying faster than our trade, and we will
shortly have a surplus, with no one abroad to buy, and no
one at home to absorb, BECAUSE THE LABORER HAS
NOT BEEN PAID ENOUGH IN WAGES TO BUY BACK
WHAT HE CREATED. — What will happen then? Why,
these men will be turned out of the factories. Thousands of
them,—hundreds of thousands. They will find themselves
without food. Then will come the great danger to the
country. For these men will be hard to deal with. The last
century was the worst in the world's history for wars. I
look to see this country bring out the greatest conflict ever
waged in the world. It will be a war for markets, and all
the nations of the world will be in the fight as they are all
after the same markets for the surplus of their factories."

The above was uttered by Ex-Governor Leslie M. Shaw,
former United States Treasurer under Theodore Roosevelt,
during a speech delivered at Chicago University, March 1st,
1907.

Could the cause of war and the necessity for the Dick
Military Bill be stated any plainer? Note that Sec'y. Shaw
admits you fellows will be "a hard bunch to deal with"
when you are out of work and starving. Then the president
can make use of the Dick Law passed by congressmen you
helped to elect. The president can send you out to fight
for markets to dispose of goods the capitalists robbed you
of. Won't that be fine business—help the thief dispose of
his plunder? Failing to find foreign markets the president
can use you at home to shoot into silence your starving un-
employed brothers. Yes, with this Dick Military Law they
can force you to kill each other and if you refuse their own
courts-martial will pump lead through you until you re-
semble a sieve.

It has become so difficult for Uncle Sam to get volun-
teers for the army that he has resorted to all manner of ad-
vertising. Huge posters are placed on the bill boards pic-
turing all the beauties (?) of war. Every postoffice is plas-
tered with war scenes designed to ensnare the youth into
joining the regular army. Recruiting stations are main-
tained everywhere, even in public parks where the discour-
aged unemployed and starving gather by the thousands.
The inducement is held out to these unfortunate ones that
"regular employment at light work with plenty of food"
will be their lot in the army. So difficult has it become to

get recruits for the army that even the little school kids are
organized into fighting "scouts" and given target practice.
So foreign to human nature is modern war, that our youth
must be encouraged and educated to kill during their primer
school days. School children are specially trained in order
that they may more fully appreciate the BEAUTIES? of war,
human slaughter, wholesale murder.

— Let us turn for a moment to the realities of war as
actually seen and describe by a noted war correspondent,
Mr. Richard Barry, in his book, "A Monster Heroism:"

Toward three o'clock a second advance is ordered . . .
nearly 15,000 men close in . . . now they are through (the wire
fence) . . . half naked, savage, yelling, even Japanese stoicism
gone. Up to the very muzzles of the first entrenchments they
surge, waver and break like the dash of angry waves against a
rock-bound coast . . . Officers are picked off by sharp-shooters,
as flies are felled from a molasses jug . . . So up they go, for
the tenth time . . . Spottsylvania Court House was no more
savage . . . Thus hand to hand they grapple, sweat, bleed,
shout, expire. The veneer of culture sloughed as a snake his
cast-off skin; they spit and chew, claw and grip as their fore-
fathers beyond the memory of man . . . The cost! The fleeing
ones left five hundred corpses in four trenches. The others paid
seven times that price—killed and wounded—to turn across the
page of the world's warfare that word Nanshan . . . A hospi-
tal ship left every day for Japan carrying from 200 to 1,000
. . . I lay in the broiling sun watching the soldiers huddle
against the barbed-wire, under the machine guns . . . only to
melt away like chaff before a wind . . . The "pioneers" met
with the death-sprinkle of the Maxim (guns) . . . a machine
rattled and the shale beyond spattered. I was carried back (in
memory) to a boiler factory and an automatic riveter. Of all
war sounds that of the machine gun is least poetic, is most
dead . . . The regiment under fire of the machine guns re-
treated precipitately, leaving one-half its number on the slope
. . . Overwhelmed on all sides, tricked, defeated, two-thirds of
its men killed or wounded . . . for out of that (another) bri-
gade of 6,000 men there are . . . uninjured but 640 . . . More-
over in throwing up their trenches . . . corpses had to be used
to improvise the walls . . . The dead were being used to more
quickly fill the embankments . . . Soon dawn came and with it
hell. The battle was on again. Within his sight were more
than a hundred dead and twice as many wounded. Groans
welled up like bubbles from a pot. Arms tossed feverishly.
Backs writhed in despair . . . Almost crazed by thirst and
hunger, he (a wounded soldier unattended for days on the bat-
tlefield) at length severed the arteries of one of his comrades
newly dead, and lived on (that is, sucked blood from a com-
rade's corpse?) He found worms crawling in the wounds of his
legs. He tore up the shirt of a corpse and bound them . . .
How like a living thing a shell snarls—as some wild beast, in
ferocious glee thrusting its cruel fangs in earth and rock,
rending livid flesh with its claws, and its fetid breath of poison
powder scorching in the autumn winds . . . All the way up the
base of the hill . . . they were almost unmolested . . . This
made them confident. But the Russian . . . had ordered
his men to reserve their fire till we got within close range, and

then to give it to us with machine guns . . . The aim was so sure and firing so heavy that nearly two-thirds of the command was mowed down at once . . . Then came the thud of bullet. It was a different thud from any we had heard up to that time, and though I had never before heard bullet strike flesh, I could not mistake the sound. It goes into the earth wholesome and angry, into flesh ripping and sick with a splash like hoof-beat of mud in the face . . . The parapets of four forts were alive with bursting shrapnel. A hundred a minute were exploding on each (at fifteen gold dollars apiece). The air above them was black with glycerine gases of the motor shells, and the wind blowing . . . held huge quantities of dust . . . "No, the truth about war cannot be told. It is too horrible. The public will not listen. A white bandage about the forehead with a strawberry mark in the center—is the picture they want of the wounded. They won't let you tell them the truth and show bowels ripped out, brains spilled, eyes gouged away, faces blanched with horror . . . Archibald Forbes predicted twenty years ago that the time would come when armies would no longer be able to take their wounded from the field of battle. That day has come. We are living in it. Wounded have existed—how, God knows—on that field out there without help for twelve days, while shells and bullets rained about them, and if a comrade had dared to come to their assistance, his would have been a useless suicide. The searchlight, enginry of scientific trenches, machine-guns, rifles point blank at 200 yards with a range of over 2,000 . . . these things have helped to make war more terrible than ever before in history. Red Cross societies and scientific text-books—they sell well and look pretty, but as for 'humane warfare'—was there ever put into words a mightier sarcasm!"

Richard Barry's description of what he actually saw, and the government's bill-board pictures form quite a contrast. Nor is this all of the horrors enumerated in war.

From the report of the Department of War, 1908, p. 21, we learn that a whole car-load of insane soldiers were shipped through Pittsburg—home from the Phillipines, Dec. 11, 1909. Also on pp. 17, 18 and 21 of same report for the year 1907, '08, '09 we learn that **twenty-six times** as many enlisted men committed suicide in 1908 as in 1907; and thirty-nine times as many of them committed suicide in 1909 as in 1907. Oh! Glorious War: 275 officers and 1,349 men were treated in a single hospital for insanity says Doctor Autokratow.

ARMY DISEASES.

President Taft, while Sec'y. of War, said: "Venereal diseases were again by far the most important diseases of men in the army—enough men to fill eleven full companys of infantry."

Another Secretary of War, J. M. Dickinson, in his official report said: "Venereal disease cause a greater sick rate than all others added together."

One of the best known writers in the world, Wm. T.

Stead says: "Four out of every five of all English soliders who serve two years or more are tainted with venereal diseases."

If our plutocratic government would put only one-tenth part of the real facts on its bill-boards, how many suckers would they get to join the army and navy?

Think, oh you mothers of this nation, sending your curly headed, dimple cheeked sons to war, as soon as they reach manhood. Offering them as targets to further capitalistic greed or to become tainted with unmentionable and incurable sexual diseases.

Think also that during the civil war (and all wars) preachers in both armies were paid four dollars a day for standing behind trees and stone walls and asking God to help the soldiers kill each other, while the soldiers received fifty cents a day for doing the slaughtering. Such of the soldiers who lived to come home have had a chance to see what a hell of a mess the preachers and God got them into, but as most of them are still voting the old party tickets their war experience has not opened their eyes.

The national government last year paid \$540,000,000 for war purposes. It also paid \$11,000,000 for education. This means that this Christian nation paid \$11,000,000 to shoot brains into the people and \$540,000,000 to shoot brains (and stuffing) out of them.

Did you fighting, warring men ever stop to think that even the wolves of the forest know enough to get together in huge packs and fight their common enemy? Even the bees know enough to get together and build a hive wherein is stored up honey for the winter. In fact all animals have incarnated in them the spirit of solidarity, the love for the preservation of their species. You workers, alone, the boasted kings of organic life are divided into sets and casts, and religious orders, fighting, denouncing each other, especially your brethern who speak a foreign tongue. When, Oh when, will you workers realize your colossal folly—your real identity of interest? Will the time ever come when you will recognize the fact that to be liberated you must be united in one solid industrial and political band? Such a political band is already organized. It is the Socalist Party on the political field and Union Labor on the industrial field. They are 50,000,000 strong, scattered throughout every civilized country. Join both wings of this great labor movement and wars will be a thing of the past.

I wish to call the reader's attention to one of the most remarkable books of recent years, "War—What For?" writ-

READ "MONKEYS AND MONKEYETTES."

ten and published by my good comrade, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, West La Fayette, Ohio. This book hits the war spirit and the capitalists SYSTEM so hard that I fear the plutes will make a John Brown of him at their first opportune moment. Every person to whom I have loaned a copy has promptly bought the volume.

Follows a few excerpts:

"This book is dedicated to the victims of the Civil War in industry; that is, to my brothers and sisters of the working class, the class who furnish the blood and tears and cripples and corpses in all wars—yet win no victories for their own class."

The following from chapter one:

A CONFIDENTIAL WORD WITH THE MAN OF THE WORKING CLASS.

"Brother!

"Whoever you are, wherever you are on all the earth, I greet you.

"You are a member of the working class.

"I am a member of the working class.

"We are brothers.

"Let us repeat that:—Class Brothers.

"Let us write that on our hearts and stamp it on our brains:—Class Brothers.

"I extend to you my right hand.

"I make you a pledge.

"Here is my pledge to you:—

"I refuse to kill your father. I refuse to slay your mother's son. I refuse to plunge a bayonet into the breast of your sister's brother. I refuse to slaughter your sweetheart's lover. I refuse to murder your wife's husband. I refuse to butcher your little child's father. I refuse to wet the earth with blood and blind kind eyes with tears. I refuse to assassinate you and then hide my stained fists in the folds of any flag.

"I refuse to be flattered into hell's nightmare by a class of well-fed snobs, crooks and cowards who despise our class socially, rob our class economically and betray our class politically.

"Will you thus pledge me and pledge all the members of our working class?

"Sit down a moment, and let us talk over this matter of war. We working people have been tricked—tricked into a sort of huge steel-trap called war."

Following a description of a battlefield, Kirkpatrick

says: "But let this fact burn its way into your brain to save you from hell and rouse you for the revolution—this fact:

"NOWHERE ON ALL THAT BATTLEFIELD AMONG THE SHATTERED RIFLES AND WRECKED CANNON, AMONG THE BROKEN AMBULANCES AND SPLINTERED AMMUNITION WAGONS, NOWHERE IN THE MIRE AND MUSH OF BLOOD AND SAND, NOWHERE AMONG THE BULGING AND BEFOULING CARCASSES OF DEAD HORSES AND THE SMELLING CORPSES OF DEAD MEN AND BOYS—NOWHERE COULD BE FOUND THE TORN, BLOATED AND FLYBLOWN CARCASSES OF BANKERS, BISHOPS, POLITICIANS, 'BRAINY CAPITALISTS' AND OTHER ELEGANT AND EMINENT 'VERY BEST PEOPLE.'"

"Well, hardly.

"Naturally—such people were not there, on the firing line—up where bayonets gleam, sabres flash, flesh is ripped, bones snap, brains are dashed and blood splashes.

"Why not?

Again he says:

"Who want war?—What for?

"Who fight the wars?—What for?

"Get these questions straight in your mind.

"Capitalists—'Captains of Industry'—'Leading Citizens:'

"We want war.

"Statesmen—Plutocrats—'Leading Citizens:'

"We declare war.

"Working class Brothers—off for the front—to kill 'the enemy,' their working class Brothers:

"We fight the wars.

INTERESTING:

"The author of WAR—WHAT FOR? in the summer of 1910, attended a National Peace Conference in New York City. The Conference was attended by some of the most distinguished peace-wishers in the United States, including capitalists, orators and college professors. The author was given the floor to address the convention. Everything went well until the author began to urge that all who want peace should make every possible effort to WARN THE VICTIMS of war, the working class, of what war means to the working class. Instantly there was manifest discomfort all through the audience, and very soon the chairman left his seat, came close to the speaker and urged that the speech be concluded at once. No other speaker was thus interrupted."

Again I urge you to read this great book and pass it along.

GIVE US SOMETHING NOW.

The radical "reformers" are constantly accusing the Socialists of being impractical visionaries. They are in for something now, no matter how slight, no matter what the reaction.

You remember how Chicago was all torn up with the thought of getting municipal ownership now? Mayor Dunne was the particular saviour on that occasion. Great things were to be accomplished now.

Tom Johnson was to give Cleveland 3-cent fares, now—in our day. This was to be followed up by public ownership—Tom was the particular hero of that spectacular struggle which lasted for several years.

In Wisconsin LaFollette was accomplishing something now. Hearst in the various cities in which his chain of newspapers are located, promised through the Hearst Independents to show the dreamy Socialists how to get results now.

In 1892 the Populists stood off by themselves on a "near Socialist" platform demanding some fundamental changes. During the '96 Bryan campaign they shifted to the slogan "something now," and cast their lot with the democrats.

In Toledo, O., "Golden Rule Jones" held the spot light for years on the same plea. His successor, Brand Whitlock, has managed until recently to keep himself before the public on the same old gag, "something now."

Well, what has been accomplished? In Chicago, Mayor Dunne is a memory, and a trust owned street railway is a fact. In Cleveland, Tom Johnson is so discredited that he could not carry his own precinct. Everywhere Hearst is regarded as a political joke. The Populists formed one of the many tails of the democratic kite and even the tail has rotted off. In Toledo not a simon pure, acid tested, Independent Whitlockite was returned to office at the recent election. Not one. All that is left of the whole independent movement in Toledo is the sign tacked up at each street corner, "Don't spit on the sidewalk."

While all these fakirs were doing their stunts on the political stage to the great delight of the "give-us-something now" shouters, the so-called impractical Socialists kept right on sawing wood. They have accomplished more educational work than all other parties combined. They have built up a strong organization with branches in almost every precinct in the country. They are learning how to finance

their party and how to manage it democratically. They have learned to employ their leaders and not let their leaders employ them. They have learned to do away absolutely with bosses. They have established their own daily and weekly papers and magazines. They are right now conducting the greatest campaign of education in the world's history.

Suddenly, as a result of this never ceasing campaign, of education and organization, the Socialists captured one of our largest cities, Milwaukee, by nearly eight thousand majority. And, as if to emphasize their spring election victory, Milwaukee, sends one Socialist to congress and all but a few votes short on the second. A recount was necessary to determine the victor. San Francisco, Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Columbus each lacked but a few votes of electing the Socialists to office. Nothing on earth can prevent these and other cities from falling into the hands of Socialists at the next election.

At this time the votes have not yet been tabulated, but it is safe to say that the Socialists vote has more than doubled and will reach nearly a million.

In every civilized country on earth the rapid growth of Socialism is giving the idle plutocrats the scare of their lives.

The Socialists are not opposed to getting something now. In fact they are the only people who know how to get something now. They have a full program of the things they want now as the Socialist platform will attest. The Socialists spend most of their time in educating the people to demand the whole baker shop, not crumbs.

Only when the wage slaves demand the earth with a fence around it, will the crumbs begin to fall fast.

In every country a big Socialist vote has scared the plutes into granting many immediate demands. In every instance the number of concessions granted by plutocracy has been in keeping with the size of the Socialist vote.

Moral: If you really want something now vote the Socialist ticket and the capitalists will fall all over themselves to grant you something now.

The workers shed their blood for the rich in time of war and make wealth for them in times of peace.

Tolstoi truly said that "The rich will do anything for the poor except get down off their backs."

FRED WARREN AND THE COURTS.

Fred D. Warren's charge before the United States Court of Appeals at St. Paul, when in pleading his own case he said the Courts had always served the master class, has been proved.

The Court has just decided that Warren must serve six months' in jail and pay a fine of \$1,500.

RULING JUST MADE.

Late yesterday the ruling was made in St. Paul affirming the decision of Federal Judge John C. Pollock, who had imposed the sentence on Warren.

Warren had proclaimed a reward of \$1,000 for the return of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky to his native state on a charge of complicity in murder.

Taylor was then in the state of Indiana and was wanted by the Kentucky authorities on the charge of complicity in the slaying of Governor Goebel of that State.

HISTORY OF CASE.

Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners; William D. Haywood, secretary of the same organization, and George Pettibone, since dead, were kidnaped from Colorado to the State of Idaho.

This kidnaping was legalized by the Supreme Court of the state of Colorado, which was under the control of the smelter trust and its allies.

The issue was then brought before the United States Supreme Court, which decided that the constitutional right of the three men had not been violated.

SHOWS "CLASS INJUSTICE."

Fred Warren, managing editor of the Appeal to Reason, was struck at once with the idea that he could show the class character of such justice.

To this end he caused to be mailed all over the United States envelopes which bore an offer for \$1,000 reward for the return of ex-Governor Taylor to the Kentucky authorities.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were three working-men. It had been held that it was legal to kidnap them.

Warren wanted to show that no such course would be taken toward Taylor, the powerful politician who was charged with complicity in the fatal shooting of a governor.

CASE IS PERFECT.

The Taylor case gave Warren a perfect case for the demonstration of his point.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnaped on the charge of complicity in the killing of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho.

Taylor was charged with complicity in the killing of Governor Goebel of Kentucky.

Here was a chance to show how justice would act in two cases the charges in which were so distinctly alike.

PASSED THE CENSOR.

Warren submitted his mail matter with the offer of the reward for Taylor to the postmaster of this city.

The postmaster could not see that it was illegal to mail it. It was mailed.

Warren was indicted for sending scurrilous and defamatory matters through the mails by a grand jury in Fort Scott, Kan.

After two years he was tried and convicted before Judge John C. Pollock also at Fort Scott.

The sentence imposed was six months in the federal penitentiary and a fine of \$1,500. An appeal was taken from this sentence.

On May 9, 1910, Warren appeared before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and did something unique in American legal procedure.

His attorneys of whom Clarence Darrow of Chicago was one, had advised him to attack the record of the cases tried before Judge Pollock, relying on the technicalities of the law to save Warren from jail.

PLEADED OWN CASE.

Warren took up the matter with the readers of the Appeal to Reason on their advice and following his own conviction, threw technicalities aside and pleaded his own case.

The speech which he made before the Court has been pronounced a masterpiece by Eugene V. Debs and others.

WARREN NOT IDLE.

Between the time he was convicted at Fort Scott and the time his case was decided at St. Paul, Warren was not idle.

Under his guidance the Appeal to Reason searched out and made public the disgraceful public records of certain men on the federal bench.

One of those to be so treated was John C. Pollock, who was denounced as "whiskey-soaked" and a man concerning whom Roosevelt said: "My God, can it be that there is such a man on the federal bench."

WARREN'S FORT SCOTT SPEECH.

I wish to call the attention of the court to the fact that this case is the outgrowth of the kidnaping of three workmen by the agents of the great mining corporations, with the connivance of the State officials of Idaho and Colorado. The kidnaping of these workmen was acquiesced in by the president and sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In referring to the manner in which these workmen were taken from their homes as kidnaping I wish it understood that no less distinguished a personage than Justice McKenna of the Supreme Court of the United States used this term in dissenting from the opinion of his associates. Justice McKenna, after reviewing the facts laid before the Supreme Court of the United States, said:

"In the case at bar the States, through their officers, are the offenders. They by an illegal exertion of power deprived the accused of a constitutional right. * * * Kidnaping is a crime, pure and simple. All the officers of the law are supposed to be on guard against this. * * * But how is it when the law becomes the kidnaper—when the officers of the law, using the forms and exerting its power, become abductors? This is not a distinction without a difference, another form of the crime of kidnaping, distinguished only from that committed by an individual by circumstances. If a state may say to one within her borders and upon whom her process is served, "I will not inquire how you came here; I must execute my laws and remit you to proceedings against those who have wronged you," may she so plead against her offenses? May she claim that by mere physical presence within her borders an accused person is within her jurisdiction denuded of his constitutional right, though he has been brought there by her violence? And constitutional rights the accused (the three workmen I have alluded to) in this case certainly did have, and valuable ones."

Justice McKenna voiced my views and the views of every law-abiding citizen on this important matter touching the rights of the individual. But the Supreme Court declared otherwise and refused to grant the relief asked by these workmen and guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States and by every consideration of fair play and justice.

It was during the heat of this struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the wealthy Mine Owners' Association of the west that I conceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home

state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, protected from the service of requisition by the Governor of Indiana, whose position was indorsed by Governor Roosevelt of New York and every prominent Republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

Would the Supreme Court hold to its opinion that kidnaping was not a crime if the victim was a member of the Republican party and a representative of the capitalist class? I did not believe that the \$1,000 offered by the Appeal to Reason would induce any man to undertake the abduction of Mr. Taylor, as for seven years the State of Kentucky had a standing reward of \$100,000 for the capture of the murderers of Governor Goebel, for which crime Taylor had been indicted by the Franklin County grand jury in January, 1900.

But I did expect that the offer of this reward in the manner and with the language used would attract public attention to the kidnaping decision of the Supreme Court. I felt that if this decision, sanctioning the kidnaping of poor and defenseless workmen by rich and powerful capitalists was understood by the American people a wave of protest would sweep the country and force the Supreme Court to recede from its position, as had been done before, notably in the famous Dred Scott decision, and will undoubtedly be done again.

My arrest and conviction is the first instance on record where a man was prosecuted for attempting to bring to the bar of justice an indicted fugitive charged with the crime of murder.

Our colonist forefathers, imbued with the high ideas embodied in their immortal Declaration, shouldered their guns and shot to death the divine right of kings, and then the cunning enemies of democracy raised in its stead the Supreme Court, with its many federal arms reaching out into all the states of the Union. * * *

The Supreme Court has become in fact the reigning monarch of the American people. No measure of relief demanded by the voters of this nation enacted into law by their elected representatives and signed by the president may become operative without its judicial sanction. At the command of the lords of privilege any obnoxious law is promptly declared unconstitutional. * * *

The Supreme Court of the United States has today more real power over the people than is vested in any monarch of the old world.

In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords,

in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners, and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters. * * *

Whoever protests for the sake of justice or in the name of the future is an enemy of society and is persecuted or put to death.

Personally, it is a matter of no consequence to me what this court may decide in this case. If this court concludes to sanction the scandalous methods employed to secure my conviction and the outrageous sentence imposed upon me for the commission for what Judge Pollock termed "a mere misdemeanor," I shall consider it the proudest day of my life when I enter the jail at Fort Scott, imprisoned because of my defense of the poor and oppressed. You will by that act increase my power a thousandfold and carry my message to the toiling millions from sea to sea. Gladly will I make this small sacrifice in a cause to which I would willingly give my life.

This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of Mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown, but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenfranchised, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

THE CORPORATION OF HUMANITY.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, having proved that we are better without it than with it. The moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the Corporation of Humanity should control all production.

Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every day life the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it. Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood—Frances Willard.

A lot of men who talk of dying for their rights have not sense enough to vote for them.

The wishbone can never take the place of the backbone.

MILWAUKEE.

For the second time within six months Milwaukee has been carried by the Socialists. Six months before the recent fall elections, Mayor Seidel and a majority, but not all, of his associates on the Socialist ticket were swept into the city hall by a larger majority than had ever been given any candidate in the city's history.

Less than six months later, after a most bitter fight on the part of plutocracy, the Socialists have carried the entire county, besides electing fourteen out of a possible sixteen members to the state legislature, and one (Victor Berger) of the two candidates to congress. Why this overwhelming victory—this splendid endorsement of a Socialist administration less than six months old? The answer is plain. THE SOCIALISTS IN MILWAUKEE HAVE MADE GOOD. They made good in spite of the fact that the hold-over officials did everything to block success. The city finances were in bad shape—in fact a large debt to begin with. Antiquated state laws prevented advancement and practically tied the hands of the Socialist administration.

Socialists realize that in order to inaugurate full-fledged Socialism both state and national laws must be changed. Yet with all these handicaps the Milwaukee city administration is the wonderment and admiration of all progressive people.

After inspecting the progress made in Milwaukee, Mayor Whitlock of Toledo declared that "Milwaukee is fifty years ahead of Toledo." Yet Toledo has been in the hands of "Golden Rule Mayors" for fourteen years.

Carl D. Thompson, City Clerk of Milwaukee, has prepared a list of measures already adopted, or in process of adoption in Milwaukee, which follow:

I. LABOR MEASURES.

The following measures represent improvements and conditions put into actual operation:

1. Union label on all city printing secured, including the bonds.
2. Raised wages of city employes on Sixteenth street viaduct—one of the largest of the city's public works—thus unionizing that work.
3. By refusing to prosecute strikers who were picketing, secured the settlement of garment workers' strike to advantage of strikers.
4. Raised wages of the library and museum employes.
5. Passed ordinances empowering health department to use

its authority in improving sanitary and industrial conditions in factories.

6. Bridge tenders' hours revised—they had formerly seventy-two consecutive hours with twenty-four hours off, and were changed to twelve hours, consecutive, with twelve hours off.

7. Raised wages of all the day laborers of city from \$1.75 to \$2.00.

8. Policy inaugurated looking to the elimination of contractors on public works, substituting therefore direct employment.

9. Arranging for purchasing of land, to be platted for workmen's homes, to be built with easy terms of acquirement, including surrender value, so that no one shall lose by taking advantage of municipal dwellings.

10. One day off for policemen each month secured.

11. Unemployed and homeless allowed to sleep in the parks.

12. Whole administration marched in Labor Day parade.

13. Eight-hour ordinance pending.

INDIRECT RESULTS.

The following improvements in labor conditions came almost immediately upon the beginning of the Socialist administration, and was due to a considerable degree at least to the moral influence of the labor awakening:

1. Street car company raised wages of employes.
2. Brand Stove Works settled strike.
3. Auditorium contractors yielded and Auditorium made fair.
4. Job printers granted \$2 a week increase, and other printers in proportion.
5. Brewery working girls organized.
6. "Krueger-Domann"—for a long time non-union printers—come to terms with various unions belonging to Allied Printing Trades Council. Due to fact that S. D. administration insisted on union label on all city printing.

II. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

The waterworks system has been owned by the city for many years and operated to great advantage in every way. Water rates as low as eight cents per family per month; labor conditions good; a profit to the city—average \$53,000 per year. The Socialists seek to extend this experience.

1. Electric lighting plant—the question of establishing a municipal plant to be submitted to the people this fall. Approved by referendum vote of the people this fall. Certain to carry.

Municipal stone quarry—site secured.

Municipal dredge—plans under way.

4. Municipal coal and wood yard—special committee drawing plans.

5. Municipal printing plant—bill being drawn to present to legislature, securing right for the city to establish same.

6. Street car system—model franchise being drafted so as to provide for municipal ownership.

7. General repair and construction plant—plans under way.

III. TRANSPORTATION.

1. Regulation of present system.

(a) Fender ordinance passed.

(b) Decided improvement secured in the cleaning of cars.

(c) Lifting jacks provided.

(d) Air brakes being installed.

(e) Electrolysis—company required to install better system for conducting currents of electricity.

2. Model franchise—administration introduced custom of having city draft street car franchises instead of allowing corporations to draft them and fix terms. The model franchise provides the following:

(a) Ultimate municipal ownership.

(b) New companies to build tracks and operate on them until municipal ownership comes about automatically.

(c) Universal transfer and exchange of ticket and transfers.

(d) Eight-hour day and fair conditions for labor.

(e) Carrying of freight under certain limitations, including hauling of garbage and ashes at night; transportation of freight at night, thus taking heavy traffic off of pavements and producing revenue for city.

3. Street car system—Council committee has been instructed to secure site.

4. Steam railway tracks being depressed in various parts of the city—grade crossings being abolished.

IV. ELIMINATION OF GRAFT.

1. Ice companies held up for short weight and fraud stopped.

2. Boston Store held up for short weight and fraud stopped.

3. Cudahy Packing Company held up for short weight and fraud stopped.

4. Armour Packing Company held up for short weight and fraud stopped.

5. Shiftless and incompetent work in street construction stopped "instantly" by the summary dismissal of every inspector whose work was not up to grade.

V. HEALTH MEASURES.

1. Extension of free medical service, in addition to hospital treatment for tetanus, diphtheria, rabies, smallpox and cerebro-spinal meningitis provided.

2. Sewage commission at work on modern and scientific system for sewerage disposal instead of present method of dumping into the lake from which drinking water is drawn.

3. Factory inspection with view to improving labor conditions.

4. Food supply carefully supervised and inspected, particularly (a) milk, (b) meat, (c) ice cream.

5. Popular lectures for the education of the general public on sanitary measures.

6. Garbage disposal—plans under way for more economic and effective method of garbage disposal.

7. Removal of slaughter houses—steps taken towards the removal of slaughter houses from city limits—to abate nuisance.

8. Smoke inspector reducing smoke nuisance. Flier & Stowell, one of the largest concerns in the city, convicted.

VI. PUBLIC RECREATION AND AMUSEMENTS.

1. Large extension of parks, including parked ways.
 - (a) New park in Fifth ward.
 - (b) Lapham park secured by the city in very congested district, and put to splendid use as social center, etc.
2. Social centers—a number of school buildings open for social centers, and E. J. Ward, a man of national reputation, secured to take charge of the work.
3. People's public concerts—twenty-eight municipal band and orchestra concerts to be given Sunday afternoons in Auditorium at 10 cents admission.
4. Saloon.
 - (a) Saloon and social evil rigidly separated.
 - (o) 100 disreputable saloons put out of business by refusing licenses.
 - (c) All pledged not to conduct dances.

VII. FINANCIAL MEASURES.

1. Scientific system of accounting and cost keeping introduced.
2. Savings:
 - (a) City chemist and bacteriologist combined—saving a salary.
 - (c) Needless "bodyguard" of the mayor put on policeman's regular beat.
 - (d) Resolution to consolidate fire alarm and police telegraph systems.
 - (e) Total estimated and actual savings for year on basis of what has already been done—\$330,000.
3. Elimination of graft:
 - (a) Thirty thousand dollar graft on bitulithic pavement on North avenue stopped.
 - (b) Three employes in water department found drawing double salaries as election officials. Stopped.
 - (c) False weights and measures stopped. Ice companies, Boston, Store, Cudahy and Armour packing concerns in the city arrested and brought to trial.
4. Purchasing department:
 - (a) All public purchasing systematized and put in charge of a competent purchasing agent saves city \$995 on purchases during first two weeks in office—\$18,000 by October 1, with \$48,000 in sight as above.
5. City attorney's department:
 - (a) Begins suit to recover \$72,000 license fees from T. M. E. R. & L. Co.—heretofore evaded.
 - (b) Several \$10,000 damage suits started against city without basis defeated.
 - (c) Illegal sidewalk bill blocked, saving \$1,190.
 - (d) Claims against city by Auditorium contractors found exorbitant and refused—saves \$600.
 - (e) Halted custom of allowing those who lost cases against city to escape without paying costs, saving at least \$500 on seven cases.
 - (f) Subterfuge of contractors in changing figures on their bids stopped, saving \$1,150.

(g) Defended an attack in the courts on the site of the city's incinerator plant. Site worth \$45,000. Total savings in city attorney's department not less than \$170,000.

6. Taxation:
 - (a) Somers system being introduced. In Cleveland this system, when established, raised assessments from \$200,000,000 to \$600,000,000 and reduced assessment on small home owners by \$2,000,000.
 - (b) Tax ferrets employed to bring to light \$20,000,000 worth of taxable personal property in stocks and bonds, etc.—heretofore escaping taxation.
7. Revenue producing enterprises to be established by the city as rapidly as possible. Municipal lighting plant, gas plant, etc.

VIII. HOUSING PROBLEMS.

1. Workingmen's homes—real estate secured and plans being drawn.
2. Building code under way.
3. Three hundred unsanitary buildings torn down.

IX. PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT REORGANIZED.

Heretofore the public works department consisted of a commission of three men, inefficient and poorly handled. Old board abolished and a one-man commission established. The whole department reorganized.

1. Purchasing department established and added to the organization.
2. Street construction department under hands of an expert secured from New York city.
3. Direct employment settled upon as a general policy.
4. Street cleaning and other departments thoroughly reorganized.

X. EDUCATIONAL MEASURES.

1. Council chamber thrown open for public lectures. University extension, and municipal institute, popular and scientific lectures, all free.
2. Special commission to foreign countries—W. T. Mills, gathering information on municipal government abroad.
3. Municipal research begun under direction of state university.

XI. CLEAN ELECTION MEASURES.

1. Restricting of city wards—committee at work. Under present system some wards have four and five times the representation they are entitled to in proportion to other wards.
2. Seventeen thousand two hundred and eighty-three names fraudulently carried on registration lists stricken off, thus preventing fraudulent voting and expense, saving the city \$900 in printing bills alone.

XII. CO-ORDINATION OF FORCES.

1. Public schools—now co-operating with the city administration. Formerly two departments were hostile.
2. Civic societies, which are chiefly church organizations

working for home rule, direct legislation, better schools, etc., now co-operating with city administration.

3. Park board now working in co-operation with school board.

4. State University established headquarters of its University Extension in the city hall, and is co-operating with the administration in the following matters:

- (a) Model franchise.
- (b) Municipal Reference Library.
- (c) Municipal Bureau and Institute carried forward.

Think of all the above measures either in operation or nearly so. Especially is this remarkable when it is recalled that every one of these officials are strictly of the WORKING CLASS. Mayor Seidel is a pattern maker, Berger an editor, the Treasurer is a florist, the City Attorney worked himself through college as a cook, four of the others are machinists, three solicitors, three painters, three cigarmakers, two carpenters, etc., etc.

The earnest and intelligent efforts of these elected wage workers has attracted the attention of experts.

This Socialist administration has already employed the best talent to be had, such as landscape gardeners, sanitary engineers, streets paving experts, etc. These have already saved the city enough to pay their salary for a score of years.

Thomas A. Edison, the great electrician and inventor, sends his greetings to the Social-Democratic administration of Milwaukee and expresses interest in the movement here for better homes for the masses. Mr. Edison has invented a plan of pouring concrete houses at one operation by means of previously prepared moulds.

EDISON'S MESSAGE.

"My message to Milwaukee is, that here is a great opportunity," says Edison. "The city can buy land, sub-divide improve it, and on it build sanitary, comfortable houses for all her people, which need not cost more than \$1,800 each. At the old methods of construction such houses could not be built for less than \$5,000—and then they could not at all compare with the ones I am planning to construct?" "This can be done anywhere and not cost the people a cent in the end."

"In the first place, I do not want a dollar of profit out of my invention. Your city can have its use free for this purpose, and then it can sell its bonds, say at 5%; can build these houses, rent them at about one-fourth the present rate, and even that rental will pay off the bonds in about ten

years. After that the only cost will be maintenance, which would be nothing at all."

"These cement houses will be beautiful, sanitary, will have great variety of architecture, cannot possibly burn and will last practically forever."

A suitable piece of ground has already been secured by the Socialists in the suburbs of Milwaukee to the end that Edison's generous offer may be speedily realized.

That the Socialists of Milwaukee will be hampered and misrepresented by the capitalists and their hirelings is a foregone conclusion. That the Socialists will win over any and all opposition is also certain. Many of the important cities of Europe are now in the hands of Socialists and yet they overcome tremendous obstacles. **Not one city in Europe has ever been RECAPTURED by the Capitalists.** Milwaukee will remain in the Socialist column because for years a "house to house" distribution of Socialist books and papers was made. The people have been educated to know what they want and then vote for it.

Socialists all know that they must get control of "all the means of production and distribution" before any fundamental or even radical changes can be accomplished. This is the Socialists ultimate goal for which they are all striving. Yet, as Milwaukee has already proven, Socialists everywhere are working to get something now. Something that will lighten the yoke of capitalism on the neck of labor "in our time," here and now."

"Reformers" and "step-at-a-time," goody goodies should profit by the lessons taught both by European cities and Milwaukee. These Socialist cities teach us that Socialists do have a program that will benefit labor while the great change is yet going on. A big Socialist vote will bring capitalists to their knees in a hurry.

In all European countries, especially Germany, labor laws were refused until a big Socialist vote was registered. Bismark himself admitted: "If there were no Socialists, and if many were not afraid of Socialism, even the moderate progress which we have hitherto made in social reform would not have been brought about."

No one throws away his vote who votes for what he wants. At any rate it is better to vote for what you really do want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it in chunks.

Trade unionists and Socialists everywhere should learn

the lesson taught by Milwaukee. Here the Socialists and unionists work hand in hand—Socialists in the political field, unionists in the economic field. These two wings of the labor movement have completed a mammoth temple in Milwaukee to be occupied jointly.

Unionists should brand as fakirs any and all who seek to form separate Labor Parties.

Workingmen of America, make a noise like Milwaukee. It's your only salvation.

SHALL NOT LAST.

"We have private individuals whose rent rolls are equal to the wages of seven or eight thousand other individuals. What do these highly benefited individuals do to society for their wages? Kill partridges. Can this last? No, by the soul that is in man, it cannot, and will not, and shall not."—Carlyle (1830).

The same conditions prevail in England today that prevail in Carlyle's time eighty years ago. Practically every foot of land is owned by an idle and decaying nobility.

In the U. S. we have our lords of finance, our dukes of iron and steel; our do-nothing nobility who, by virtue of paper titles, live in luxury and don't even bother to shoot partridges. Can this last? With Carlyle we answer no, by the ballot that is in our hand, it cannot and will not and shall not last.

INDUSTRIAL CANNIBALISM.

"The present system of human industry is a system of cannibalism. We eat each other. It is simply reptilian to every one who is able to realize its true nature. It is the cause of inestimable ill-fare to the human race. The great mass of men and women are nothing but cobble stones for the lazy and Pecksniffian few to walk on. Nobody doubts the possibility of a better arrangement, except bandits and blockheads."—J Howard Moore.

"PERHAPS A MAJORITY."

President Hadley (Yale), Education of An American Citizen, p. 58.

Even if we regard the Socialistic views as erroneous and demoralizing the fact remains that they are held to a greater or less extent by a large number of people, perhaps a majority of the voters of the United States.



SOCIALIST TICKET.

For Congress—W. F. Ries, Publisher.
State Senators—Timothy Sullivan, Machinists' Union;
Joseph Quill, Flint Glass Workers' Union.
State Representatives—F. Gigandet, etc., etc., etc.

I covered Toledo with a card
containing the Socialist Ticket
and Definitions on one side and
the "Hog" on the other.
It was a decided hit, no one
ever throws it away.
Announcements of meetings,
etc., can be printed in this space
instead of the Socialist Ticket.
I can furnish the cut for \$1.25
prepaid.
It's a winner.
TRY ONE.

Infirmary Director—A. Neuber, Garment worker; C. H. Reed,
physician; Frank Ludwig, farmer.

DEFINITIONS.

The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of
Christianity.—Encyclopedia Britannica.

Socialism is a theory of society that advocates a more
precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social
relations of mankind than that which has hitherto pre-
vailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES.

What the people use in common they should own in
common; and what the people use privately they should
own privately.

To each worker the full product of his toil, each ac-
cording to his "deeds."

A government of by and for all the people, admin-
istered through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. This
would establish Justice which is Socialism.

TWO PARABLES.

Once upon a time there was a chicken yard which af-
forded ample room for all the chickens that lived in it and
afforded a great plenty of worms, so that none went hungry
who cared to scratch for a living. And the yard belonged
to all the chickens and each had a right to scratch where he
pleased and all the worms that he found belonged to him.
So they were all as happy and as fat as all good chickens
ought to be.

But one day a wise man became disgusted with a work
on "Political Economy," for the book contained a lot of
nonsense about the "Rights of Capital," "Rent," "Profit"
and "Interest." So the wise man, tearing the book to pieces,
threw it out of the window.

The wind caught the chapter that had made the wise
man so furious and carried it into the chicken yard. It fell
in front of an able-bodied rooster, who looked it over, think-
ing he might find on an advertising page some new kind of
food. He soon became absorbed and said to himself:

"What a fool I have been to scratch all my life for a
living when this book tells me how I can get a living for
nothing and without work, for why should I work when I
can make the other chickens work for me?"

So he said to the other chickens:

"Here is a large fat and juicy worm, and as I am not
hungry you can have this worm if you will give me one
little square yard of this big chicken yard and let me have
this for my own."

"Why of course you can have it, you idiot," said the
others in a roar of laughter at his folly, "what is one
little square yard of our vast domain? Give us your worm
and take your square yard wherever you choose."

"Well, then, I will take the spring in the corner of the
yard."

"Well you must be crazy. There are no worms in the
spring."

But he held his peace until one of the chickens become
thirsty started for the spring to get a drink. Then he cried:

"Here, you, keep away from the spring. It is mine."

Then they all began to cackle and said they would take
the water away. But the rooster read them out of his
"Political Economy" and showed them they would encroach
on his Vested Rights if they drank water without his per-
mission. They argued until they were all so thirsty that
they could stand it no longer. Then the rooster said:

"Come, now, I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll sell you a drink all round for one more square yard of the chicken yard. Of course, you will not miss it out of your Vast Domain."

They were dying with thirst, so they were compelled to accept his offer. All had a good drink and the rooster "owned" another square yard of their land. It was not so many days before he "owned" the whole chicken yard. Then he said, "Where are you going to live now?"

"Why, in the yard," they said.

"But this is 'my' yard. I bought it as the 'Reward of Abstinence.'"

Stuff, you only abstained from eating one single worm.

"Ah, yes. But then I 'invested the proceeds,' and by exercise of 'business acumen,' I acquired possession of the whole yard and now you cannot live on my land unless you pay me rent."

"What's rent?" asked a cockerel.

"Why, all you have to do is to give me one-half of the worms that you find and then you can still live in my yard. But as the 'Rent must be paid in advance,' you must give me every first worm and then you can have the second worm for yourselves."

"What nonsense. We are still going to eat all the worms that we find just as we have always done."

But the old rooster showed them from his "Political Economy" how the "Interests of Labor and Capital Are Identical," because if they did not pay him rent he would close the works and declare a shutdown and not allow them to scratch in his yard at all, and so they would all starve to death. From this time they found they had to work just twice as hard for a living as they did before as they had to give half their worms to the rooster for rent, but the rooster did not have to scratch or work at all, as he received as rent as many worms as all the rest of the chickens put together. Soon his pile of worms began to grow very fast and no matter how many he ate he could not keep it down. He became very fat and lazy and sneered at the working classes. So he began looking around for a way to dispose of the surplus and one day said to a pert young hen with matrimonial intentions:

"Marry me and you can live off my pile of worms and not have to scratch for a living." And the hen, nothing loath, became his wife.

Then the other chickens objected.

"It is true that you think you have bought our yard

with your abstinence, but from what has the hen abstained that she gets the products of our labor for nothing?"

"Now, see here" said the rooster. "This whole land belongs to me, and I am going to do with my property as I wish. It is entirely a matter of private business, with which you have nothing to do."

"But, excuse us, it seems as if we had something to do with it, when you get half of all the worms that we dig. We are compelled to work one-half of each day for you and have only the other half to work for ourselves."

"Well, if you do not like the way the business interests of this yard are conducted, you can get out of it and get off the earth."

So the other chickens had to submit, and the capital of the country grew larger and larger, until it "smelled to Heaven." Then the chickens said:

"You cannot eat all those worms if you live a hundred years. What is the use of piling them up?"

"Oh, but," he said, "I am going to have a large retinue to help consume the surplus."

So he told one of them to spread out his wings in front of him so as to shade him from the hot sunshine, and another to fan him with his wings, as he was now too lazy to do it for himself. Then he had a nice little hen for a manicure to trim his claws and massage chicken to rub him down in the effort to keep down the fat. And he told all his retinue they could live off of his pile of worms. But it was not long before the rooster and his wife and their one little chick were complaining of the incompetency of domestic help.

The rooster was coaxed by his wife to have a new palace coop with golden roosts. The golden roosts were not as comfortable as the wooden ones but were more swagger.

But all this time the chickens had been raising broods of their own, and the yard now began to be well filled, so that it became harder to get enough worms for all, especially when they had to give one-half to the old rooster. So the rooster said:

"I see that I will have to raise your rent and after this you will have to pay me three-quarters of all the worms you find instead of one-half."

Then the chickens made an outcry and said:

"When you first made your bargain with us there were only one-tenth as many chickens in the yard as there are now, and so you are getting ten times as many worms as we bargained for, as we still have to give you one-half of all the worms we dig."

"Why, of course," said the rooster, "that is natural increase."

"Well, we cannot afford to pay any more rent, because it is much harder to make a living now than when there were fewer chickens."

"That is just the reason why you MUST pay more. Any political economy will tell you that the harder it is to make a living the more the living is worth. You must be fools not to know that density of population makes high rents. And now, I want to tell you that if you do not stop grumbling I will import a lot of other chickens from the outside. We will have foreign immigration to keep down the price of labor and keep up the price of rents. In short, we will open the doors to the poor and oppressed of all nations and they shall come to live in "The land of the free and the home of the brave" to find with us a refuge from the tyranny and injustice of the iron heel of despotism."

But the chickens were now in a very bad way, and many of them actually starved to death. So the rooster said:

"You must not do that. It would be the height of ingratitude if you should all starve to death, for if you should all die what would become of me? Why, I might actually be compelled to scratch for my own living on my vast domain, without its teeming millions it would be worthless."

"Well, then, we do not see," said they, "if the teeming millions give all the value to the vast domain, why the vast domain does not belong to the teeming millions."

"Well, I certainly despair of ever teaching you anything about political economy," said the rooster.

"Now," continued he, "when you get to the verge of starvation come to me and I will generously lend you some of my worms and you shall pay me interest."

"What's interest?" said they.

"Why, just before you starve come to me and I will lend you enough worms to keep you alive, and for every ten you borrow you shall pay me back eleven."

And often the chickens were so hungry they were, in desperation, compelled to borrow from the pile of worms, but they soon discovered that it was easier to go without than it was to pay back both principal and interest.

And now many of them declared that if they could not get enough to keep themselves alive it was a sin and a shame to hatch any more chickens in the world. Then the old rooster read them a long lecture on race suicide, because

if they all died he and his retinue would be compelled to scratch for a living.

One day, after reading his "Political Economy," he beamed all over and said:

"The trouble is over-production."

"Over-production," cried the chickens in astonishment. "We call it underconsumption. The idea of calling it over-production when we are starving to death."

He got out his "Political Economy" to convince them that they could not get enough to eat because there were too many worms and that the only way in which they could get any worms to eat was to dispose of the surplus, so that there would not be so many worms, and they could go to work and dig more worms. The chickens fled, fearing some new disaster, but he explained to the few that were left that what they needed was an outlet for the surplus, and that they must build up a large foreign trade, and that if they made their land the workshop of the world and sold more than they bought, and rolled up a large balance of trade, they would all get rich. So now he advocated the open door and foreign missions to convert the heathen, and went into the world and bought all kinds of tinsel and gew-gaws and gim-cracks to hang around the necks of his wife and daughter. These gim-cracks were not at all comfortable, but they tickled the vanity of the fat hen and her silly daughter and made the starving chickens envious and miserable.

But the pile of worms still grew.

Then the old rooster said:

"See how prosperous we are. See what an enormous foreign trade we have built up."

But the chickens said:

"It may be general prosperity, but it is also private starvation and as usual the general gets all the honors, while the private gets the knocks."

"Why," says the rooster, "see what a profit I have made. I now own all these foreign gim-cracks and my pile of worms is greater than ever before. The high tide of prosperity will enable us to drive all the rest of the world out of business and we shall have the entire market to ourselves."

"Well, what good will that do us?" said the chickens, "Shall we have to pay less rent?"

"Why, of course not, stupids. Rents will advance on account of general prosperity and increase in population through foreign immigration. And I want you to under-

stand that I will not have any fool talk about labor troubles and arbitration from crazy agitators, who only stir strife and array one class against another. You must understand there are no classes in this country and that there is nothing to arbitrate."

But the chickens were getting so restive that he said to some of the clever ones:

"Come, now, you preach to the chickens and tell them that God made one rich and the other poor, and you can live off my pile of worms. You tell them that poverty is a blessing, that they must be content with their lot and must not rebel against the will of the most high."

This quieted them for a while, for they said: "If we have a hard game here, we shall have just so much better time hereafter."

But it was only for a short while, for their poverty was awful, and the upper classes used to say that the lower classes really liked to live in dirt and filth, but the chickens said:

"We have no time to plume our feathers or even take a dust bath. We are too busy trying to get enough to eat. Give us enough to eat and you will see that we will keep clean."

But the old rooster said:

"We will found charities, and I will give ten worms every day if you will give the same, and we will get up charitable organization societies."

"Oh yes," said the ungrateful chickens, "you take a thousand worms from us every day and give us back ten, and think you are very holy and righteous."

"Now, see here," said the rooster, "you have been listening to the agitators again. Let me tell you that the interests of the laboring chickens will not be looked after by the labor agitators, but by the Christian rooster, to whom God, in His infinite wisdom has confided the property of this country."

One day he came home from his foreign tour all in a flutter. For he said that a Duck, or a Duke, as he called it, had asked him for the hand of his daughter in marriage. The Duck had told him that he was awfully in debt, but that it would be a fine thing for his daughter to be called a Duchess, as he called it, and that papa rooster could pay off all the debts of the Duck with his immense pile of worms, and in that way he could effectually dispose of the surplus and be relieved from over-production. The Duck also told him that they could all still live off of the interest and the

profits of the chicken yard. The rooster said further that they were all going to live abroad with his daughter and son-in-law, the Duck, and that he bought a place, Skylow Castle, and that the chickens must all be very proud that their country chick was going to be a Duckess.

"Glory Hallelujah," shouted the chickens, "when he is gone we can have the yard to ourselves again."

But the rooster had left an agent to look after his interests, and the chickens found that the agent was harder than the master, because the rooster had a big lot of rotten debts of the Duck to pay off. But when they all came back and the wedding day arrived, the chickens all kissed the feet of the Rooster and the Roosteress, and Duck and Duckess, and said how proud they were that one of them was to be a Duckess, and begged her if possible, to make Ducks and Drakes of them, which she solemnly promised to do.

It was not long after that the news arrived that the Rooster had so swelled up that he had burst and was dead.

"Hail, Columbia," cackled the chickens. "Now we shall surely have the yard back again for ourselves, just as we had it before."

"Not much," said the Agent, "he has left a will and has given the whole yard to the Duck and Duckess."

"But what right," said the foolish chickens, "has the dead rooster to give away our land. He is dead and no longer has any interest in it. It is bad enough to pay rent and interests and profits to a live rooster, without being compelled to pay it to a dead one. The Duck and Duckess have not practiced abstinence nor do they even earn the wages of superintendence, and they are not entitled to seven-eighths of the product of our labor. They do not even live here. Why should we be compelled to give them seven-eighths of our time when we are starving?"

"Now, I want to tell you," said the agent, "that we are living under the capitalistic system, and a man has a right to do with his own property as he pleases. When we first started the capitalist system, in this yard, we were the only chickens that could boast of it, but now all the other chickens in the world have this same capitalist system, and they are one and all producing a bigger pile of worms than they consume. For that reason we can no longer sell from our pile of worms, and unless you use it to support the Duck and Duckess in idleness and luxury, we shall be compelled to stop all digging of worms and shut down this works."

"Well, if we cannot dig worms, how are we to live?" cried the chickens.

"That is just it." You will all starve, so you might as well submit."

"Well, now, see here. We are not going to starve, nor are we going to submit. We are going to take this chicken yard and stop paying rent, interest and profit."

"What," shouted the agent, horrified, "would you violate the sacred rights of capital? Would you trample on vested rights? Would you break the laws of rent and interest and profit? Would you treat with disrespect the laws of Political Economy? Would you confiscate other chickens' property? For shame, you are no better than Socialists."

"All right," said they. "If that be Socialism, then we will all be Socialists. This can be borne no longer, and we are going to have that which was stolen from us. We are going to own our own yard and we are going to eat all the worms we can find."

And when the agent saw that they were determined he decamped and was never seen in the yard since. And the whole yard once more belongs to all the chickens, and they have a right to scratch where they please, and all the worms that each finds belongs to the finder and all have enough who are willing to scratch for a living.

"Well, we did not think it was so easy," said the chickens.
D. K. YOUNG.

Charles Beresford, member of the English house of lords, speaking of war preparations, said: "It is an insane and mad competition in armaments between the various countries of the world. It is sweeping on to destruction. The civilized countries are spending annually \$2,250,000,000 upon machinery of destruction. In twenty years there has been an increase of \$10,000,000,000 per annum. These figures are appalling. They indicate the utter heartlessness of capitalism. Nero fiddling while Rome burned showed more heart than the modern masters of industry."

There are many problems to solve and issues to meet. Life is indefinite. Man is only at the threshold of his career, but before he can go any further he must provide for his material well-being, not only for a few individuals, but for all. The race is an organism composed of individual men and women vitally related. Its development depends upon the co-relative growth of its component parts—**all human beings.**

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

I wish to call the reader's attention to a remarkable chart which appears in my recent booklet, "Lions and Lambs."

I have demonstrated this chart throughout the country, to all kinds of audiences, ranging from a street corner crowd to college professors and pastors' unions.

In no instance has ANYONE ever been able to pick the slightest flaw in the proposition it proves in spite of a \$1,000 reward which I offered.

I suggest that every lover of truth, and especially every COMRADE, procure a copy of this ten-cent booklet, as with it you can riddle forever the age-long helief that **PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL IS DESIRABLE.**

For instance, the chart proves conclusively that if it were possible to fill this country or any country on earth, with a race of people absolutely perfect, each owning equal portions of the country, each producing equivalent amounts, each having an unlimited desire to better the human race; in fine, granting that each individual in this ideal society was as perfect as Jesus Christ himself, nevertheless from 48 to 72 % of these perfect people would be reduced to hirelings and paupers in TWENTY-FOUR YEARS. Since it has been proven that 72% of any society will be thus reduced to poverty because of PRIVATE OWNERSHIP it follows that the only remedy is to **ABOLISH PRIVATE OWNERSHIP** in all those things through which rent, interest, or profit can be made on the labor of others.

Socialists are the **only ones** who even so much as pretend to stand for the ABOLITION of private ownership of capital. Therefore a vote for any other party or individual, no matter how perfect, is but to vote to continue the present system. Remember there are but **two**, and **CAN BE BUT TWO SYSTEMS** of conducting business. The one, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, the other, PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. If you want private ownership, don't bother to vote any more because you have it NOW. If you really want a change you are compelled to vote for **SOCIALISM**. All the reforms and regulations ever proposed or that could possibly be proposed would still leave the present system untouched. The question is, will you still continue to let the OLD PARTIES or any of the reform or so-called independent parties continue to fool you?

OLD AND NEW PARTIES.

"That any republican congressman or senator should blush at being called a democrat, or a democratic one grow restive when labeled a republican, is strange indeed, when it is so perfectly obvious that the two parties are merely slightly different devices used by the same men for milking the same cow. To suppose that these men care particularly about the devil is absurd. WHAT THEY CARE PARTICULARLY ABOUT IS THE MILK."

—Saturday Evening Post.

Isn't this exactly what the Socialists have been trying to pound into your horny heads for lo these many, many years? When will you wake up to this monstrous fraud that is being practiced upon you at each election by these old parties and their various allies? Haven't you had panics, bread lines and soup-houses under Grover Cleveland, a la the democrats? Haven't you shifted from one party to the other for the past half century? Hasn't the wealth all drifted into the hands of the few? Didn't you work just as hard and as long under one as under the other. Haven't you seen the democrats congratulating the republicans when the republicans won, and vice versa?

Didn't the democratic members of the Illinois legislature confess, that for a cash consideration they voted for the notorious republican fraud, "Bill" Lorimer for United States senator? Didn't a republican mayor of Columbus, Ohio, order the police to club and shoot the street car men of that city when they struck for living wages? And then when forty-two of these police threw down their badges and refused to perform such an ungodly act, didn't a democratic Governor (Harmon) at the request of the capitalists whose pliant tool he is, order out the state troops? And didn't even these hirelings show their sympathy by raising a purse of \$500 for the poor street car men? Didn't J. P. Morgan, the republican standard oil banker of New York, put his "OK" on Harmon and didn't every big and little banker in Ohio forget whether he was a republican or a democrat and "vote 'er straight" for Harmon?

Didn't George Gould state that this year he would vote for the democrats? He is the son of that infamous "Jay" Gould who declared "that in a republican state I am a republican, and in a democratic state I am a democrat, but everywhere I am for Jay Gould." Think of you poor work-

ing jackasses voting with this bunch of capitalists—voting to skin yourselves.

Can you voting jaspers see any moral difference between the republican party of Depew of New York, and the democratic party of Clark of Montana?

When either of the old parties in power becomes so rotten that it stinks, the leaders give the word and the other old party is ready to receive them. This gives the other party a chance to apply disinfectants and otherwise rejuvenate its old carcass for the following election.

Champ Clark, the democratic leader of the house of representatives declares that the salvation of the country lies in the success of the democratic party. Well, the democratic party has been in control and what laws did it pass that helped the working class? Was there any difference in the condition of the people?

Didn't the democrats help the republicans in congress to loot the people? Didn't the democrats help the republicans keep the notorious Cannon as speaker? Don't the democrats control the "solid south"—and is there any difference in their laws than in the states controlled by the republicans in the north? Aren't there more women and children in factories in the south than in any other country on earth—not excepting Russia?

The democrats of the south disfranchise both the black and the "poor white trash." There is less freedom for the voters in the democratic south than in the republican north.

The democratic party is moth-eaten with graft, scurvy with boodle and spavined with corruption—and this is the "bunch" YOU vote with whenever the stench of the other party becomes unbearable.

The facts are that society is divided into TWO GREAT CAMPS—One camp owns the means of production and distribution—the land, the mills, the factories, the railroads, etc. These people are CAPITALISTS. They subsist upon rent, interest and profit. The other camp is composed of the workers—the wage slaves—all those who DO NOT make a living through rent, interest and profit. The capitalist own, control and finance the Republican, Democratic and other independent parties. Hence when any of these parties are voted into power, the capitalists are in power, ABSOLUTELY.

The working class has an organization ready to their hand, which will conserve their interests as the old parties do for their masters. This is the Socialist party. When the

working class attains political power—that is when its OWN party, the Socialist party, assumes the reins of government—laws will be MADE—laws will be INTERPRETED—laws will be ENFORCED in the interests of the working class, and not until then. When the wage workers have had enough of Standard Oilism they can, through their political power, abolish the whole system.

After all, there are and can be but two systems or plans of handling capital—private ownership, the other public ownership which is Socialism. The Socialist party is the only party on earth that stands for Public ownership—the common ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution. All other parties are fighting this program of the Socialists. All other parties are therefore pledged to continue private ownership of the factories, railroads, etc., etc. They promise to “reform” to regulate the private owners. They promise to do everything but get off your backs. The big skimmers—the trusts—the bankers, etc., want to “stand pat”—let good enough alone. These “stand patters” represent about two per cent of our people. The two per cent own and finance the two old parties, the Republican and Democratic parties. Another group of about twelve per cent—the small business man—the shop keepers and other “would-be” business men are “pinched” and driven through bankruptcy into the great army of wage workers and many of them into the ranks of the despised “unemployed.” This 12 per cent, mind you, care nothing about the condition of the wage workers. They do not want to be denied the privilege of helping the big fellows skin the workers. This 12 per cent, in its frantic efforts to remain in business and not be swallowed up by the trusts is periodically organizing new parties—“reform” parties.

Their interests are championed by the LaFollets—the Johnsons—the Hearsts—the Golden Rule Joneses, and his successor, Brand Whitlock.

This whole insurgent movement resolves itself down to this one question: “Will the consumer get his commodities cheaper through a million little fighting dealers than he would through the trust?”

Socialists contend that to pass commodities through millions of hands only adds to the cost. Socialists contend that it would be a step backward to return to the old system of competition, with its hit or miss plan of production and distribution. Socialists contend that the trusts have shown that through co-operation on a large scale, goods can be

manufactured and distributed at a great saving of time and labor. Socialists further contend that since to the owners accrue all the profits, the people—all the people must become the owners. Socialists contend that in no other way except common ownership will the workers be able to get all they produce. Socialists contend that the Trusts will own the nation until the nation owns the trusts. Socialists contend that this is THE issue and that there is and can be no other issue until this supreme issue is settled.

In every instance the so-called “reform parties” make it a business to expose the SMALL crooks and at the same time they are stone blind to the large fry.

The only misfortune of the little parasite is that he operates on a small scale. Whenever the little gambler attains the financial proportions of a Morgan, or a Carnegie, then these same “reformers” take off their hats to him and he is it. It matters very little to the wage workers whether the government is controlled by the little exploiter or the “big Business” man. Neither is the wage worker interested in the fight between the small fry business man and the big fish. Their cannibalism is no concern of his.

At one election one set of “reformers” are elected, and in a few years the set of reformers now elected will have to be replaced by a NEW set of reformers. The cause of failure of all reform movement is that they do not know in advance what they want and when they do act it is against corrupt officials and not against the cause that produced the corrupt officials. The world over, the Socialists are united as one man in fighting to remove the CAUSE—private ownership—capitalism—and substituting Socialism.

The Socialist party is international in its scope. It stands for exactly the same thing in every nation—the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery.

It is the only international party in the political field that has declared itself in favor of organized labor.

It has been in the field for years during which time it has proven its vitality by its increase of membership and votes.

It has built up an organization in every state in the Union.

It has a daily and weekly press that is at all times fighting for the rights of labor.

It has a corps of trained speakers, tried and true, which are constantly kept in the field.

It is the only party which practices what it preaches,

viz: by conducting all its party affairs through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

Its constitution embraces among other things, this principle:

"No state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the candidate of such other organizations."

It is the only party in which every member has an equal and direct vote on every question.

Its funds are derived from a dues paying system and from voluntary contributions from the working class.

There is absolutely no necessity for the various brands of reform and insurgent parties, especially is there no need of another LABOR PARTY and there can be no object in starting one except to prevent the building up of a real party of the working class—the Socialist Party.

Invariably those who start these fake parties are the ones who for years did everything they could to keep union labor out of politics and when this was no longer possible they attempted to deliberately steer them into the camp of the capitalist parties. This was done in the national campaign of 1908. Having failed in this attempt to fool the union man, they now seek to organize a fake labor party. Thus these fake leaders hope to have something to trade that they may fatten their own purses.

The "reforms" such a party would advocate have been offered by every insurgent party put forth during the last quarter of a century.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the labor movement and everyone who really believes in a working class party should join the party, and help to build it up instead of being deceived into supporting a fake labor party whose object is to prevent a bonafide party of the working class.

Politicians beg from the workingmen one day in the year, and workingmen beg from politicians the other 364. This is a menace to the peace and comfort of the community.

Socialism will make useful citizens of both the rich and poor hoboese because it will abolish the system that breeds them, capitalism.

TAFT'S UNSOLVED PROBLEM.

No, Mr. Taft, the Republican party will not solve the Problem, "than which no greater ever confronted this nation." If you understand the nature of this Problem you would not have suggested that the Republican party could solve it. To solve that Problem, "than which we have had no greater in the history of this country," the Republican party would be forced to repudiate the principles for which it has stood for half a century."

To make clear what I mean, I will refer to that other "great problem" which bothered statesmen from 1820 to 1860. The Democratic party could not solve that problem because the Democratic party was wedded, by all the ties of self-interest and tradition, to the peculiar institution of private property in the bodies of black men. This peculiar institution, so long as it remained, prevented the solution of the great problem. It was a bar to the complete development of the wage system. The early Republicans, whose courage and wisdom you applaud, clearly recognized that the Democratic party could not solve that problem "than which no greater ever confronted the country" up to 1860.

A new party, untrammelled by the traditions of the past, virile and vigorous, was needed to perform the task. The new party—your party—appeared in the political arena, and it did a good job. It cleaned away the debris of the decaying institution of private property in the bodies of black men and gave American capitalism the opportunity it needed to expand.

The issue of 1860 was clear cut: To "abolish private property" in black men and grow and expand or respect the institution of "private property" and stagnate and die!

The party that has a reputation for "doing things" did not hesitate to abolish private property to the extent of billions of dollars to save the nation!

Today the United States faces a problem of similar importance: Shall we respect the institution of private property in the machinery of production and bring ruin to the entire nation or shall private property in the machinery of production be abolished and thus give the nation an opportunity to expand and develop to an extent dreamed of only by Utopians?

Your party, Mr. Taft, cannot abolish private property in the means of production, because the Republican party is wedded to the principle of private ownership. It is the cor-

nerstone of the capitalist system, your system, just as chattel slavery was the cornerstone of the system your party overthrew. It is, therefore, necessary that we form a new party, a party whose members believe in the abolition of private property in the machinery used to make those material things necessary for the comfort and happiness of the nation. That party is here. It is called the Socialist party!

The Republican party, through you, confesses its weakness and its inability to cope with this new Problem, the solution of which means the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

Your party, Mr. Taft, has fulfilled its mission and the Socialist is willing to concede to you that it is entitled to be "treated historically." The Socialist is willing to give, yea, does give, your party credit for being the political instrument by means of which the United States has made great material progress. But your party has also left unsolved the Problem, "than which no greater ever confronted this nation" the problem of how to feed and clothe and educate and entertain ninety million men, women and children. A year before you became president you said: "If abuses of monopoly and discrimination cannot be restrained, if the concentration of power made possible by such abuses continues and increases and it is made manifest that under the system of individualism and private property the tyranny and oppression of wealth cannot be avoided, then Socialism will triumph."

Your party, Mr. Taft, has made no headway against this Oligarchy of Wealth. You have compromised and excused and promised—but the Oligarchy of Wealth has grown in power and strength and its profits today are greater than in any year since your party was placed in charge.

Your party has reached that point where it cannot solve the Problem of the nation's emancipation; it can no longer solve the problems of the small capitalist in his struggle for wealth against his big brother, who has captured you and your party. The institution of private property—the Oligarchy of Wealth—has a strangle-hold on the people of this nation. What we need today is a party that will do things! Therefore—

Exit, the Republican party!

Enter, the victorious Socialist party.

FRED D. WARREN.

The possession of land can only be maintained by military power.—John Ruskin.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, author of the *Battle Hymn*, on her eighty-ninth birthday said:

"When I remember the cold welcome given to all the greater movements—temperance, anti-slavery, woman suffrage, the higher education of women, free public schools, etc.—and when I see how largely they have now been accepted into the practical program, I feel that life is miraculous. The world is now awake to things to which sixty years ago saints and philosophers dreamed of, but never expected to see."

During half the lifetime of Mrs. Howe, Socialism contending and overcoming all the difficulties of which she speaks has grown from a despised theory with a handful of exiled supporters into a full-fledged program with 50,000,000 adherents. At every election they have advanced from 20 to 50 per cent. They have elected their members to the legislative bodies of every civilized nation on earth. The political parties of all nations are stealing planks from the International Socialist platform. It is a credit to the correct position of the Socialist when corrupt old parties are compelled to adopt Socialist principles in order to save themselves from defeat. Can you afford to remain ignorant of the greatest movement of modern times. You should study socialism that you may vote intelligently for or against it. It's up to you.

Socialists oppose war. They oppose preparations for war. The workers have everything to lose and nothing to gain by war. It is the products of their toil that will be destroyed. It is their lives that will be sacrificed. They are "food for powder." The Socialist party is the only party that is irrevocably pledged against war. Other parties—Republican, Democratic, Liberal or Conservative—are capitalististic, and capitalism must have war or die.

The right to live carries with it the right to work, the right to rest and the right to be amused and happy. To attain these rights it is necessary to receive for one's work such just compensation as shall be measured by the average of our joint production.

Six days shalt thou labor for me, saith the capitalist, but on the seventh spend thy time in studying my economic principles, my moral precepts and in equipping thyself to diligently and intelligently labor for me another six days, lest I cast thee into the hell of the jobless.

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THE SADDEST SIGHT.

A man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun.—Thomas Carlyle.

"A day of disaster for any nation will surely dawn when its society is divided into two classes—the unemployed rich and the unemployed poor—the former a handful the latter a host.—Daniel Webster.

Today 82% of the American people do not own a home and a small group of plutocrats own about everything. Doesn't this measure up to Webster's idea of a "host" and a "handful?" If so, isn't the "day of disaster" near at hand? What are you doing to better conditions?

The United States, as a matter of fact, today stands for thief rule, and that by a gang of thieves worse than those Christ drove out of the temple. We want, if necessary, mob rule, to clean that sort of thing out, for they are thieves, and everybody knows it.—Prof. Frank H. Giddings, of Columbia University.

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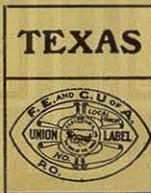
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CONSTITUTION *and* BY-LAWS

The Farmers Educational
and Co-Operative Union
of America

TEXAS



This is the Constitution adopted at Waco, Texas, August 8-12, 1905 and is amendatory to the Mineola Constitution. It was ratified by the Local Unions of Texas and declared in effect January 20, 1906.



THE FARMERS' PRINTING CO.
DALLAS

Constitution and By-Laws

The Farmers Educational *and*
Co-Operative Union

O F A M E R I C A

TEXAS



THE FARMERS' PRINTING CO.
DALLAS

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INTRODUCTION.

This institution is based upon the principles of equity, justice and the Golden Rule. We, the charter members of this Co-Operative Union, have already lived to see the Grange rise like a giant, then wither like the grass, even before the day was half spent. We rejoiced in the birth of the once glorious Farmers' Alliance, and we witnessed the first revolution of the Agricultural Wheel, and then wept as we saw the two laid to rest, side by side, in the same premature grave. From these we have learned a simple lesson. We are told that all professions of men under the sun can be organized successfully, except alone the man who plows. Is this true? If so, then indeed are we, of all people, most unfortunate. Great combinations of capital now control the price of every commodity that is made for man's use and happiness. We price nothing. The simple lesson we have learned is this: As all institutions must come up from small beginnings, and profit by the experience of past ages, even so do we propose to take lessons from those institutions that have passed into history. Ultimate success is not gained at a single bound in

any great movement. The world only moves by inches. Because the Grange, Farmers' Alliance, and all other kindred movements failed to reach the goal of final success, does that mean, that we must forever give it up? Do we teach our children that sort of lesson? Or do we tell them, when they fail, to up, and at it again? Twenty years have passed into history since the Farmers' Alliance first saw light.

It is now our opinion that the time is fully ripe, for the launching of another great institution, whose objects and aims are as follows:

DECLARATION OF PURPOSES.

1. This institution is based upon the principles of equity, justice and the Golden Rule.

The following are among its declared purposes:

2. To discourage the mortgage and credit systems.

3. To assist members in buying and selling.

4. To educate agricultural classes in the science of agriculture.

5. To strive constantly for harmony and good will among all mankind, and to especially cultivate, fraternity—brotherly love—among the members of the Union.

6. To demand a rigid enforcement of law for suppression of vice and immorality.

7. To advance our membership in a correct knowledge of Political Economy, without in any sense permitting the discussion of partisan politics or partyism.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

The title of this organization is The Farmers Educational and Co-Operative Union of America. This Constitution is for the government of the Local, District, County, and State Unions of Texas.

1. No local Union shall be organized with less than five members.

2. The initiation fee shall be \$1.00, and the dues shall be 60 cents a year.

3. Each local and county Union shall have one President, one Vice-President, one Secretary-Treasurer, one Lecturer, one Chaplain, one Doorkeeper, and one Conductor.

4. The officers of Local, County and District Unions shall be elected at the first regular meeting in July of each year, and shall hold office for one year, and until their successors in office are installed, and shall turn over all property of the Union to their successors in office.

5. It shall be the duty of the President to open and close all meetings according to the ritual, to preside at all meetings, to decide all questions of con-

stitutional law, and to vote only in case of tie.

6. It shall be the duty of the Vice-President to assist the President in the performance of his duties, and, in his absence, preside.

7. It shall be the duty of Local, County, and District Secretary-Treasurers to keep a correct record of all the proceedings of each meeting, to collect and receipt for all moneys due the Union, and be prepared at the first meeting each month to make satisfactory statement of the receipts and disbursements of all moneys received by him, and to give a reasonable bond sufficient to secure the Union against all losses liable to occur.

8. The Chaplain's duty shall be to open and close the Union with prayer, when called upon by the President, and to look after the spiritual welfare of its members.

9. The Doorkeeper will guard the door when the Union is in session, and permit no one to pass without proper authority.

10. The duty of the Conductor shall be to have charge of the property of the Union, to provide for wood, water and lights, and to have charge of the candi-

dates during the initiatory ceremony, as directed by the President.

11. When neither the President nor Vice-President is present at a meeting, provision is hereby made that the Union may at once proceed in its own way to select a President or Vice-President to serve during that meeting, and they shall have all the power of duly elected officials.

12. All official vacancies may be filled by appointment of the President at any meeting.

13. No person shall be admitted to membership unless of sound mind, over the age of sixteen years, a white person, of industrious habits, believes in a Supreme Being, is of good moral character, and who is a farmer or farm laborer. Provided, that country school teachers, country mechanics and country ministers of the Gospel are also eligible to membership. Provided, that all editors of newspapers who receive a unanimous vote of the Union to which they apply for membership are eligible after taking the following obligation:

"I,, do solemnly promise upon my honor that I will support the principles of the Order through the columns of my paper, the, and

will do all in my power to promote the upbuilding of the cause of agriculture and further the interests of the Farmers Educational and Co-Operative Union; and should the time ever come when I cannot consistently do so, I will withdraw from the Order, and will remain quiet concerning the workings of same."

14. No person shall be disqualified for membership on account of his political or religious views.

15. The initiation fee of \$1.00 is payable in advance and shall be used as follows: The first \$15.00 collected by the local Union shall be paid to the Organizer for the charter. Under no circumstances shall a charter be granted to a local lodge having fewer than 15 members; and 50 per cent of all moneys arising from initiation fees, after the charter fee has been paid, shall be sent, on the first of each month, by the local Secretary to the State Secretary, to be used for general expenses; 25 per cent retained by the local Union, and 25 per cent sent to the county Union quarterly.

16. The dues, 5 cents per month (60 cents per year), payable in advance, shall be divided every three months as follows: Five cents shall be retained by

the local Union, and 10 cents shall be sent to the county Union, 5 cents of which is to be retained by the county Union, and 5 cents to be sent to the State Secretary; provided, however, that women shall be exempt from all fees and dues. The local Secretary shall send county and state dues to the county Secretary; the county Secretary shall send state dues to the State Secretary. The State Secretary shall send the quarterly pass-word to the county Secretary, who shall furnish said password to the local Secretary entitled to the same.

17. Any person qualified for membership under this Constitution, wishing to become a member of the Order, after the Order has been organized and chartered, shall be required to offer his application in writing at a stated meeting, stating age and occupation, application to be accompanied by the initiation fee of \$1.00; upon the receipt of same the President shall appoint a committee of three to investigate the character of applicant, who shall report as soon thereafter as convenient. The candidate may be initiated at said meeting, if he so desires, and it suits the convenience of the Union.

18. All elections for membership in the Order shall be by ballot, and three black balls shall reject; provided, that

another ballot may be taken if deemed advisable by the Union.

19. No person shall be eligible to membership who has not lived within the jurisdiction of the nearest Union to him for at least three months; provided, however, that should he be able to furnish proof of good moral character and good citizenship where he formerly lived, he shall be considered eligible to membership.

20. When a person making application for membership has been rejected, he shall not be permitted to renew his application for a space of three months, and then only to the local Union to which he formerly made application. If a member has been expelled he shall not be eligible to membership within twelve months, and the application for membership must be made to the local Union from which he was expelled.

21. Any member clear on the books, and otherwise in good standing, wishing to transfer his membership to another Union, shall be furnished a dimit signed by the Secretary and President.

22. Any person holding a dimit and wishing to become a member of another Union, shall file said dimit with the Secretary-Treasurer of the Union to

which he makes application for membership, and shall be declared elected only on a two-thirds ballot; provided, that the Secretary-Treasurer shall collect from the applicant dues from the date of his dimit, at the rate of 60 cents per year.

23. When personal or *pecuniary differences* arise between members of the Union, it is hereby recommended that, as a last resort, the Union shall take it up and arbitrate the matter, in which case the Union shall take such steps as it sees proper, and from which decision there is no appeal.

24. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of each local Union to notify quarterly the Secretary of the State Union of all dues paid to the county Secretary. Any local Union failing to do so shall forfeit its charter, and can only be reinstated by paying up all past dues.

25. Provision is hereby made by which any local Union may separate and form two Unions by two-thirds majority vote, in case its membership becomes too large and unwieldy. An extra charter will be furnished them without cost by the State Secretary when application has been made, giving names of charter members.

26. Where it is deemed best for the

good of the Order, two local Unions may unite their membership by a two-thirds majority vote of each Union, and by surrendering one charter to the State Secretary; and where a Union has not procured a charter, they may assemble and dimit.

27. If any member shall *disclose or divulge any of the secrets* of the Order to any one not entitled to receive same, he shall, upon conviction, be immediately expelled from the Order, and his name published throughout the jurisdiction of the Union as a traitor.

28. A charter is the authority under which a Lodge does its work, and it is the duty of the President to see that the charter is present when the Lodge is open for business.

29. Dues shall begin with the quarter following initiation.

30. The local organization shall be required to meet as often as twice a month, and shall have as many extra meetings as the business of the Order may demand.

31. All committees shall be appointed by the President, unless otherwise ordered by the Union.

32. All members present at any meet-

ing shall be required to vote on all questions submitted to a vote; provided, that visiting members shall not be allowed to vote on any question, but shall be considered in every sense advisory members.

33. A county Union may be formed in any county having not less than five local Unions.

34. The officers of a county Union shall be the same as those of a local Union; provided, that others may be added, should the county Union see proper.

35. Each county Union shall be composed of its officials (when elected) and one delegate for every ten members or majority fraction thereof, and one delegate-at-large for each local Union; provided, however that each county Union may curtail its own representation.

36. The officers of any Union, local, district, county, or State, shall, when elected, hold at least one year; provided, that any officer may be removed for improper conduct or for *incompetency*.

37. Any Union shall have the right to make and adopt its own by-laws; provided, that such by-laws shall not conflict with the Constitution.

38. It shall be the duty of each local Union to see after and render assistance to all sick and distressed members, and the President, Chaplain, and Vice-President shall constitute a Relief Committee, and upon evidence of the sickness of any member, the President shall appoint a committee to render all assistance necessary, who shall have authority to use any funds belonging to the Union, not otherwise appropriated.

THE STATE UNION.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. The State Union shall be composed of its officers, President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Lecturer, Secretary, Chaplain, Doorkeeper, Conductor, and an Executive Committee of five, and one delegate from each county Union, also one delegate from each one thousand members or a majority fraction thereof.

Sec. 2. Delegates from one-fourth of the County Unions in the State shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business in the State Union.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. There shall be elected at each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Committee, consisting of five members, who shall be actual farmers.

Sec. 2. The duties of the State Executive Committee shall be to examine the books of the Secretary and the Treasurer, and report their condition to the State Union at each annual meeting, with an itemized statement of all re-

ceipts and disbursements since the last annual meeting; they shall likewise prepare quarterly reports in itemized form the county Unions in the State shall of all receipts and disbursements of the Secretary and Treasurer's offices, together with reports of salaries and expenses of all the officers and agents of the State Union.

Sec. 3. They shall keep a correct record of all their official meetings, giving in detail the questions voted on, how and by whom each vote was cast; they shall furnish the State Secretary with quarterly reports and records of their meetings, so that he can furnish same to any local Union or member in good standing that will send postage for same.

Sec. 4. They shall require suitable bonds from the Secretary, the Treasurer, the agents, and all other officers authorized by State Union to be bonded, and approve all bonds by their signature and the signature of the State President. They shall have power to increase, diminish, or cancel said bonds with the consent of the State President, and shall audit all claims against the State Union.

Sec. 5. They shall have power to remove from office any officer of the State Union for incompetency, dishonesty or immoral conduct; provided, that such

removal cannot take place except through the process of a fair and impartial trial, giving the accused every reasonable and just opportunity to defend himself against charges preferred; provided, further, that charges cannot be preferred without a majority vote of the Executive Committee.

Sec. 6. They shall fill all vacancies caused by sickness, death, resignation or removal in accordance with the provisions in the Constitution.

Sec. 7. Said Committee shall receive each year for services, while engaged in their official duties, the sum of \$3.00 per day and all necessary expenses, not to exceed \$2.00 per day and transportation.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1. The State President shall preside over all the meetings of the State Union, decide all questions of constitutional law, have general supervision over all the officers and business of the State Union, approve by his signature all checks, drafts, warrants and moneys paid out by the State Treasurer. No checks, bills, drafts, or warrants against the Union shall be honored without the approval or signature of the State President or his successor in office. The State President shall represent the State Union, or appoint some one to do so, in

all business pertaining to the interest of the Union where representation is necessary, if not otherwise ordered by the Union. He shall perform such other services as will in his judgment promote the best interests of the Union. His official services shall be subject to inspection, approval or disapproval of the State Union or any committee the State Union may select for such purpose. He shall receive for such services the sum of \$900.00 per annum, payable monthly, and all necessary expenses, not to exceed \$2.00 per day and transportation. He shall devote his entire time to Union work.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Vice-President to assist the President in the performance of his duties, and in his absence to preside.

ARTICLE V.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a correct record of all proceedings of each meeting; to collect all moneys due the Union; to turn over same to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; and be prepared at each quarterly meeting to make a correct statement of all receipts of moneys of the Union. He shall be required to give

bond in an amount sufficient to secure the Union against all losses liable to occur. He shall sign all warrants drawn on the Treasurer, and issue all charters.

Sec. 2. He shall furnish local, county, and district Unions all necessary supplies. His salary shall be \$900.00 per annum, and all necessary expenses; provided, that when traveling on business for the Union, he will also be allowed traveling expenses, not to exceed \$2.00 per day and transportation.

ARTICLE VI.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive and disburse all funds of the State Union, and he shall pay no warrants or accounts unless signed by the Secretary and approved by the President. The Treasurer shall make such bond as the Executive Committee may require. The Treasurer shall be paid a salary of \$600.00 per annum, payable monthly.

ARTICLE VII.

Section 1. The State Lecturer shall be ex-officio State Organizer and manager of the organizing force under jurisdiction and direction of the State President and Executive Committee. He shall be paid \$3.00 per day and necessary ex-

penses, not to exceed \$2.00 per day, together with railway fare. This compensation is allowed only while actually doing organizing work.

Sec. 2. The State Lecturer must select assistants from county Lecturers, who shall be ex-officio county Organizers of their respective counties. If the State Lecturer commissions other than county Lecturers, said Organizer must be endorsed by his local Union and his county officers, or by the county officers nearest to the counties in which said Organizers resides.

Sec. 3. Provided, further, that the compensation of these Organizers shall be \$12.50 for each Union chartered; and the excess of \$2.50 shall be turned into the State Treasury for general expenses.

ARTICLE VIII.

Each officer of the State Union whose compensation has not been otherwise provided for herein shall receive \$1.50 per day, including all necessary expenses, while in attendance at the State meeting.

ARTICLE IX.

All officers of the State Union shall furnish to the State Executive Committee quarterly an itemized account of all

moneys received, all work done, and all expenses incurred by them in their official capacity, and the same shall be audited and approved by said committee before such shall become a liability against the State Union.

ARTICLE X.

No member shall be eligible to hold office in local, district, county or State Unions unless he is an actual farmer.

ARTICLE XI.

When any State or Territory in the United States under jurisdiction of The Farmers Educational and Co-Operative Union of America has a membership of not less than 5,000, said State or Territory may organize a State or Territorial Union, under a constitution adopted by them.

ARTICLE XII.

Expenses of delegates to the State Union shall be paid out of the State Treasury, to be \$1.50 per day and railway fare.

BY-LAWS.

1. Each delegate to any Union shall present written credentials from the Secretary of his Union.

2. All members of the Farmers Union in good standing, present at any meeting of the Union, shall be considered advisory members of that body.

3. All members in good standing shall be required to vote on all questions, unless excused by the President, who shall vote only in case of a tie or in balloting.

4. A majority vote of all members present entitled to vote shall decide any question before any Union, unless otherwise specified.

5. No member shall vouch for another in any Union unless they have been together in open Union within the quarter.

6. On the election of Secretary of any Union at any time, notice shall immediately be given the Secretaries of the State and county Unions.

7. Any officer who shall fail to ful-

fil the duties of his office, or absent himself from his Union for three stated meetings in succession, without a valid excuse, shall be suspended from office.

8. Any proposed amendment to these By-Laws shall be in writing, at a stated meeting of the State Union, and if two-thirds of the members present vote for the amendment, it shall be adopted.

9. The discussion of partisan politics in any Farmers Union shall forever be prohibited, and any member guilty of violating this law shall be expelled from the Order after the second offense.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call.
2. Have all fees and dues been paid?
3. Reading minutes.
4. Application for membership.
5. Balloting.
6. Initiatory ceremony.
7. Is any member sick, or in need of employment?
8. Bills or accounts.
9. New and unfinished business.
10. Receipts of the meeting.
(What business should be kept secret, and from whom, and to what extent.)
11. Lecturing: The following subjects are recommended for a general discussion by the members (the President may appoint a leader):
 - (a) The mortgage system and its tendencies;
 - (b) Crop diversification, and scientific agriculture;
 - (c) How to buy and how to sell;
 - (d) Usury;
 - (e) Our present tenant system.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

1. The election of all State officers shall be at every annual meeting of the State Union, to be held on the first Tuesday in August. The date and place of holding said meeting shall be designated by the Executive Committee. The above named officers shall remain in office until their successors have qualified.

2. No officer of the State, county, or local shall be eligible to the same office for more than two consecutive terms. The term of the State officers shall commence from the date on which they were elected by the State Union now in session.

3. It shall be the duty of the State President, Secretary, Treasurer and Lecturer to be located at a general headquarters at one place; provided, however, they may have separate offices. There shall be furnished to the above named officers such fixtures and stationery as they may actually need to perform their official duties; provided, however, that the State Secretary shall have such assistance as the necessities of his office may require. All bills for fixtures, of-

rice rent, postage, stationery and assistance shall be paid from the general fund of the State

4. It shall be the duty of all the State officers to surrender their offices, with all documents, moneys, notes, bills, stationery, accounts, and any other property in their possession or control belonging to the Union, to their successors when the latter have been duly qualified.

5. All officers to State, county, and local Unions must be elected by a majority vote.

6. It is hereby provided that a State Business Agent shall be elected by the State Union, and shall be paid \$50.00 per month, and allowed necessary expenses. Said agent shall be under the supervision of the President and Executive Committee.

7. This Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the State Union by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present; provided, however, that said amendment shall not go into effect until it shall have been within sixty days ratified by a majority vote of every local Union in the State voting. Provided, further, that if at any time as many as forty local Unions in the State demand it, any proposed amendment to

this Constitution, or any other proposition affecting the State organization as a whole, shall be submitted by the State Executive Committee within ten days of the receipt of such demand to the vote of all local Unions in Texas. A two-thirds vote is required to adopt or reject such proposition or amendment.

8. The State Secretary shall furnish to the Secretaries of the local Unions in good standing all of the amendments adopted by the State Union now in session within thirty days from date of adjournment, or as soon thereafter as possible. It shall be the duty of all local Unions, upon the receipt of the above stated amendments, to immediately take action upon said amendments, and forward within thirty days the result of said vote to the State Secretary, also a duplicate of said action to their county Secretary. It shall be the duty of the State Secretary to receive and file the returns of the vote on the amendments submitted to them, and forwarded to him by the various local Secretaries of the State. Said returns shall be taken up by the State Secretary, President and Treasurer on the first Monday in December, 1905, and counted. Such amendments as have received a majority vote of the members of the local

Unions shall be declared by the President to be in full force and effect.

9. Any local, county or State officer of this Union may be removed by a majority vote of the locals of their respective jurisdiction. In furtherance of this principle, it is hereby provided that if in a local as many as three members demand it, if in a county as many as three locals demand it, if in the State as many as sixty locals demand it, a vote shall be submitted within thirty days by the proper authorities and taken on the proposition whether or not they shall be removed. Said officers shall, however, be given the right to defend themselves either orally or in writing.

The Unskilled Labor Problem

Developments in the case of the I. W. W., which the Department of Justice is trying to stamp out by the prosecution and imprisonment of 166 of its leaders, have taken a turn that promises to give this case a paramount importance. It looked for a long time as though Mr. Gregory would have his own way in these cases,—that the nation's obsession with the war would permit them to be tried and the defendants committed to prison with a minimum of discussion and with unanimous public approval. The Public has pointed out the danger of such a course, but with scant hope that any protest would be more than a voice in the wilderness. But we underestimated both the numbers and the courage of those enlightened liberals in the United States who now know why the I. W. W. exists, who regard it is a phenomenon made inevitable by prevailing economic conditions, and who are determined that the country's real labor problem,—the problem of unskilled immigrant and native migratory labor,—shall not be handed over to the ignorance, stupidity and malice of prosecutors and professional detectives,—aided and abetted by exploiting private interests.

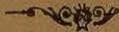
It is now a safe prophecy that before the trials are concluded in Chicago, we shall have had a public exposition and thrashing out of the problems involved in the I. W. W. cases that will have been a liberal education for the American public. Men whose loyalty and devotion to the Government are unquestioned,—men of the calibre of Frank P. Walsh, John Graham Brooks, Clarence S. Darrow, Prof. Carleton H. Parker,—have assumed as a public duty their part in seeing that the I. W. W. are not condemned without a hearing,—that the American people, whose love of fair play can be suffered to suppose they have got rid of the unskilled labor problem by sending a few agitators to prison. Exactly what measures these disinterested liberals will take to accomplish this are not yet disclosed. It is enough that their active interest and participation have been enlisted.

The I. W. W. prosecutions can be considered a blessing if they lead to a thorough airing of the conditions under which unskilled or migratory wage earners live and work, of their relations with county, state, city and federal officials, of their treatment by officers of the law and the courts, of the means by which ruthless employing corporations have manipulated public sentiment and controlled local governmental agencies for

returns for only ten months of the year 1914, 44 families, who performed little or no useful service, had aggregate incomes of more than \$50,000,000.00, an amount equal to the income of 100,000 of the poorer paid toilers; that one man in the United States possessed a fortune equal to that of 2,500,000 of the work-
They told us that the wage system does not distribute the proceeds of industry between employer and employee, and that any regard whatever for their just claims is in vain. They investigated the earnings of 615,595 employees of all classes in the basic industries, and the income and living conditions of 15,726 families. They told us that 64 per cent of these possessed incomes of less than \$750.00, and 30 per cent of less than \$500.00, the average for all being \$721.00; while the cost of bare subsistence for a family of the average size of 5-6 members was \$700.00. They also told that after exploiting the workers in this inhuman fashion, the employers often used their illgotten gains in corrupt political practices to defeat remedial legislation; and, when finally such laws were secured, the laborer was robbed of their fruits by years of insincere litigation. This and thousands of other things they told us; things which should make us blush for very shame. And finally they told us the only remedy in labor's hands was to organize as ca-

pital had done, in order that in union they might find the strength to resist such exploitation. But labor had already tried this, and the history of these attempts is written in the bloody massacres of Cripple Creek, Ludlow, The to the d'Alene, the West Virginia coal men and numberless others. Labor is John trying to right these wrongs and row, some day succeed; but that day ing longer misled by a subsidized press ed warns a sympathetic ear to the ap- ican of its workers.

be st. I. W. W. does not bring these of ptions out for an annual dusting. in cy are with him always. To correct vem is his religion and his biblo is the Report of the Industrial Relations Com- mission. He is our industrial watch dog, and like the proverbial watch dog, his rewards consist principally of bricks. One of these is the charge that he is disloyal, another that he burns crops and forests, that he is an irresponsible an- archist, bent upon a campaign of indis- criminate destruction, etc., etc. Who threw those bricks? Who usually throws bricks at watch dogs?



THE I. W. W.

Once more we are engaged in the business of national housecleaning. This time the unusual demands of war have forced it upon us. We have looked carefully into all the unused corners and opened all the cupboards and closets. We have found the usual skeletons. The country is overrun with profiteers. The government has been compelled to establish a guardianship of our coal, shipbuilding and agricultural interests. The railroads won't run right. Everything smells wrong about the stock market. Business is good, very good, if we judge by the swollen income tax returns. Yet somehow the public is not getting the results. This is not a new experience. We have done the same thing often before, and always with the same result. Sometimes it is a condition of wholesale political corruption that we unearth, sometimes a lot of trusts that have been conspiring against us, sometimes this, sometimes that, but always something which for the time being ruffles our family pride. But, in the end, like the proverbial housewife, we dust them all off and carefully put them back in their cupboards and corners. Smug complacency has become a national trait. We are too prosperous and

too proud as a nation, to worry long about anything. With us what is everybody's business is truly nobody's business. Therein lies the most fundamental difference between the I. W. W. and the rest of us. "The I. W. W. never forgets." It cannot forget. It belongs to the great class of unskilled working men whose children starve by thousands on their mothers' breasts, when trusts misbehave and the income tax laws swell too much. We read these things in our papers by our comfortable firesides. They read them in the bareness and toil and grind of the sweatshops and factories, in the squalor, misery and suffering of the tenement house, in the terrible wreck and ruin of human lives and morals and finally in the lonely grave in a potter's field. People can't forget such things. We couldn't. They can't. And so they have been telling us for years, the things we keep forgetting. In 1915 a commission of nine great Americans, chosen impartially by President Wilson from all the walks of life, made a close study of our industrial conditions, and reported their conclusions to the Congress of the United States. They told the American public that 2 per cent of the people of the United States owned 60 per cent of the wealth, and another 65 per cent owned only 5 per cent; that according to income tax

the persecution and suppression of their spokesmen. Such an airing will disclose vast areas of American industry beyond the influence of the American Federation of Labor. It will disclose the essential solidarity and sympathy existing between the rank and file of trades unionists in the West and the otherwise-neglected migratory or unskilled workers composing the I. W. W., and this in contrast with the bitter opposition to the latter of the national leaders of trades union movement, their indifference to the problems that brought I. W. W. into being. It will place trial, not alone the I. W. W., but American people, the American school of county, city, state and federal government, the American Federation of Labor, the economic regime under which such things can be.

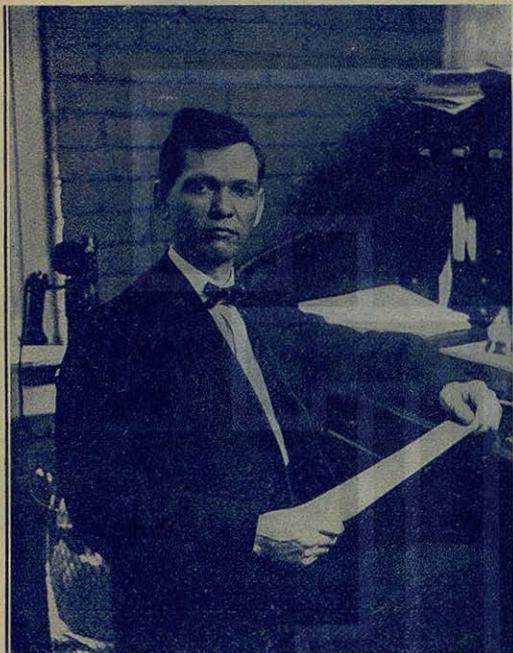
To insist on such a hearing for the I. W. W. does not involve the assumption that the I. W. W. are right and their opponents wrong. This disposing of a social problem by branding one side "right" and the other "wrong" is a piece of fatuity we must leave behind. The defense of the I. W. W. can be left to their lawyers. The duty incumbent upon every one who knows the facts, —as set forth, for instance, by Dr. Parker in his article in the November Atlantic Monthly or by Mr. Herbert Quick

in his testimony on migratory labor before the Industrial Relations Commission,—is to explain the I. W. W., not defend them. We must adopt the scientist's method, so well used by Dr. Parker, and approach the problem from the point of view of causal sequence. If the American public can have the facts and be persuaded to apply this process of judgment, the gain in the understanding that must precede remedial action will be enormous. Nothing less may result than an entirely new and more adequate orientation of the American labor movement.

Recent developments do not increase the evidence that the I. W. W. is to have a square deal. A recent raid on the headquarters in Chicago resulted in the confiscation of a large supply of pamphlets and leaflets and of blank subscription lists that had been prepared solely for use in soliciting funds for the employment of attorneys and the expenses of the defense. And at the time of writing the Department of Justice had taken no action against the corporation officials at Bisbee, Ariz., whose specific violations of federal statutes in connection with the wholesale deportation of striking miners last July were called to the Department's attention by the President's special labor commission.—The Public.

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FRED WARREN'S DEFIANCE

INTRODUCTORY

During the trial of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners in Idaho, when things were looking pretty blue for them, Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor of the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, wished to call attention to the manner in which they had been taken from one state to another for trial—not by extradition but by virtual kidnaping—and offered a reward for the kidnaping of ex-Governor Taylor and his delivery to the authorities of Kentucky, where he was under indictment for complicity in the killing of Goebel. The publication of the reward attracted wide attention and no doubt had an important bearing on the federation case; for the accused men were acquitted when they came to trial.

Soon after their acquittal, Warren was indicted in the federal court of Kansas for having sent scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter through the mails in the offer of the reward to which reference has been made. The case was postponed from time to time by the government and finally, after two years had elapsed, went to trial, Warren being convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,500 and serve six months in jail. Warren created a sensation by attacking the trial court in his paper, and declaring that the jury was packed against him, every man subpoenaed being a republican. He took an appeal to the court of appeals at St. Paul.

WARREN'S FORT SCOTT SPEECH.

I wish to call the attention of the court to the fact that this case is the outgrowth of the kidnaping of three workmen by the agents of the great mining corporations, with the connivance of the state officials of Idaho and Colorado. The kidnaping of these workingmen was acquiesced in by the president and sanctioned by the supreme court of the United States.

In referring to the manner in which these workingmen were taken from their homes as kidnaping I wish it understood that no less distinguished a personage than Justice McKenna of the supreme court of the United States used this term in dissenting from the opinion of his associates. Justice McKenna, after reviewing the facts laid before the supreme court, said:

In the case at bar the states, through their officers, are the offenders. They by an illegal exertion of power deprived the accused of a constitutional right. * * * Kidnaping is a crime, pure and simple. * * * All of the officers of the law are supposed to be on guard against this. * * * But how is it when the law becomes the kidnaper—when the officers of the law, using the forms and exerting its power, become abductors? This is not a distinction without a difference, another form of the crime of kidnaping, distinguished only from that committed by an individual by circumstances. If a state may say to one within her borders and upon whom her process is served, "I will not inquire how you came here; I must execute my laws and remit you to proceedings against those who have wronged you," may she so plead against her offenses? May she claim that by mere physical presence within her borders an accused person is within her jurisdiction denuded of his constitutional rights, though he has been brought there by her violence? And constitutional rights the accused (the three workingmen I have alluded to) in this case certainly did have, and valuable ones.

Justice McKenna voiced my views and the views of every law-abiding citizen on this important matter touching the rights of the individual. But the supreme court declared otherwise and refused to grant the relief asked for by these workingmen and guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States and by every consideration of fair play and justice.

It was during the heat of this struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the wealthy Mine Owners' Association of the west that I conceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, protected from the service of requisition by the governor of Indiana, whose position was indorsed by Governor Roosevelt of New York and every prominent Republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

Would the supreme court hold to its opinion that kidnaping was not a crime if the victim was a member of the Republican party and a representative of the capitalist class? I did not believe that the \$1,000 offered by the Appeal would induce any man to undertake the abduction of Mr. Taylor, as for seven years the state of Kentucky had a standing reward of \$100,000 for the capture of the murderers of Governor Goebel, for which crime Taylor had been indicted by the Franklin county grand jury in January, 1900.

But I did expect that the offer of this reward in the manner and with the language used would attract public attention to the kidnaping decision of the supreme court. I felt that if this decision, sanctioning the kidnaping of poor and defenseless workingmen by rich and powerful capitalists, was understood by the American people a wave of protest

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would sweep the country and force the supreme court to recede from its position, as had been done before, notably in the famous Dred Scott decision, and will undoubtedly be done again.

This Taylor reward was circulated through the mails in a manner in daily use by banks, private detective agencies, anti-horse thief associations, sheriffs and marshals. I have here three postal cards mailed by national and state banks offering rewards for the arrest of men whom these banks allege to have committed crime. The card which I offer for the inspection of the court, it will be noted, bears upon the back or outside of the card, in large letters, figures and characters, the following language: "B. B. Bond, produce dealer, wanted for issuing forged bills of lading; \$250 reward will be paid by the First National bank, Nashville, Tenn., for his arrest and delivery to Nashville authorities."

It will be observed that this language, to quote this court's decision on our demurrer to the indictment, "is calculated to impress the readers of the language with the thought that Bond was guilty of the commission of some crime for which he would be prosecuted by the Tennessee authorities if captured and returned to them." It can further be said, following the court's line of reasoning, that this language was obviously intended by the First National bank to reflect injuriously upon the character of B. B. Bond and from its terms and the manner and style in which it was displayed on the postal card is calculated to have that effect.

The other cards contain similar language and display. This is characteristic of thousands of cards which daily pass through the mails of the United States, and yet in not a single instance has any effort been made by the government to rid

the mails of this objectionable matter and protect those of its citizens who are fugitives from justice.

My arrest and conviction is the first instance on record where a man was prosecuted for attempting to bring to the bar of justice an indicted fugitive charged with the crime of murder.

There must be some reason why I alone of the thousands of men who, according to the rule of this court and the opinion of the district attorney and his assistant, have committed substantially the same act should be singled out and marked for prosecution.

The reason is not hard to find. Society today is divided into two classes. On the one side we find the work people—men, women and children who have no means of obtaining a livelihood but by their hard labor. On the other hand we find a relatively small group of men who own the land, and the tools which these people must have access to if they are to live. It is the primary if not the sole purpose of the men who own this productive property to obtain as large profits as possible, while on the other hand the work people strive constantly to increase their wages. This creates a class conflict.

This conflict began with civilization and has come down under varying forms to this day and will continue with increasing intensity so long as a small group of rich men are permitted to lay upon the masses, to quote from Pope Leo, "a yoke little better than slavery." Discussing the ever present problem of labor and its compensation, John Adams in 1776 observed:

It is of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freemen or slaves. In some countries the laboring poor men were called freemen, in others slaves, but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his

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farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life or gives them those necessaries at first hand?

Coming down to the civil war period, we find that the Charlestown Baptist Association in presenting a memorial to the Georgia Legislature in 1835 discussing this ever with us problem of labor gave expression to the following conclusion:

It amounts in effect to this—whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold and themselves become property, as in this state, or whether they shall become hirelings and their labor only become property, as in some other states.

It will be seen from these two quotations, clearly reflecting the opinion of the Revolutionary and Civil war periods, that the master class recognized no difference between the chattel slave and the wage hireling. In 1865 Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, summed up the labor problem in the following striking sentence:

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord or whether he works in the factory or workshop six hours daily for himself and six hours daily for his employer, it comes to the same thing.

This surplus value over and above that which is required by the slave, the serf and the wageworker to maintain his physical existence is the portion which the master, the feudal lord and the capitalist have taken by force of arms in the first case, by ownership of land in the second, and by ownership of tools and cunningly devised laws and court decisions in the last instance.

The slave master built up a civil and political system which protected his right of property in the bodies of his slaves and the wealth they produced. One does not have to go very far back in the history of this country to find confirmation of this statement. Prior to 1860 the laws enacted

by congress and by most of the several states, backed by the decisions of federal and state courts, had for their object the protection of the slave master in his right of ownership of men, women and children. The man who dared raise his voice in protest against the exploitation of the black man was branded as a traitor to his country. If he attempted to speak he was thrown into jail, and if he attempted to print a newspaper voicing his sentiments his press was destroyed and he was mobbed and murdered.

What was true in the two revolutionary periods which marked the disappearance of a political system based on kingcraft and a political system based on chattel slavery is true today.

The men and the newspapers that have espoused the cause of men, women and children who work in the fields, factories and mines of this nation are marked for persecution, as were the Revolutionary and Abolition editors before them. For ten years as editor of the Appeal to Reason I have been in constant conflict with the ruling class and the men who hope to pick up the crumbs which drop from the tables of the great captains of industry, on whose will employment depends, not alone in the industries, but in the government and municipal service.

The postoffice department was first employed to hamper and harass the Appeal to Reason in its work of education and enlightenment. The most absurd rules and regulations were specially formulated to apply, as Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden wired to the Girard postmaster, "to the Appeal to Reason." In every instance where our right to the mails was questioned the Appeal won a signal victory, because we strictly obeyed the spirit and the letter of the law.

Then the aid of the courts was invoked to accomplish what the postoffice department had failed to do. The courts today,

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as prior to 1860, are with the owning and ruling class. Daily this fact is becoming more apparent. One has only to refer to the long list of decisions in which the interests of labor and capital are opposed to verify this statement. The blacklist has been legalized and the boycott outlawed. The injunction has been used with telling effect in labor controversies to terrorize and crush the men who work, while it has proved ineffective and of no avail when directed against great capitalist interests, as President Roosevelt pointed out when he was engaged in his battle with the great packing industries.

The people of Missouri in their capacity as sovereign voters recently elected a governor and legislature on a platform demanding relief from railroad extortion. A two-cent fare bill was enacted into law. This law was upheld by the state supreme court. The railroads went to the federal courts, which with the stroke of a pen nullified the will of 3,000,000 people. So closely allied has become the federal judiciary of this country to the great corporations that even now there is pending in congress a resolution demanding an investigation of the acts and conduct of the federal judges who have prostituted their high office to the profit of these corporations, three-fourths of which, according to a statement made by Governor Hadley, are either illegally organized or unlawfully conducted.

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging almost single-handed a fight against the oppressive and intolerable industrial and political conditions which confront this country. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth, and it is because of this that I face this court today a convicted felon in the eyes of thousands of men and women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the department of justice at the instance of the president of the United States had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kan. I do not know the Journal's source of information, but am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prosecution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the attorney general's office in Washington.

When the Pierson envelope, on which this action is based, was sent to the postoffice inspector of this district from Los Angeles that gentleman turned it over to the district attorney. The district attorney returned the envelope to the postoffice inspector with the opinion that there was no ground for action. The inspector in making report to the department at Washington marked the case "Closed." He later explained to me that this meant that so far as the district of Kansas was concerned no further action would be taken. But soon thereafter word was received from Washington, so the assistant district attorney announced in the presence of this court, that there had been a violation of the law and that the case must be reopened and vigorously prosecuted.

The district attorney's office at Topeka, however, revised its decision after hearing from Washington that there was no ground for action against me. One of my attorneys journeyed to Washington and laid before the department thousands of reward cards similar to the Taylor reward which had been mailed from nearly every city in the Union. When my attorney inquired why the Appeal was singled out for prosecution on this flimsy charge, while all the senders of these other cards, who were equally culpable, were not molested, the representative of the government opened a drawer in his

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desk and produced an armload of marked copies of the Appeal.

Blue pencil marks designating certain articles in the Appeal indicated that this paper is pretty closely read by high government officials. The government official shrugged his shoulders in reply to Darrow's question and remarked, "We are after the Appeal."

This case has dragged its weary way through this court for over two years, continued from time to time at the instance of the government. I submit from these facts that I am not prosecuted for having violated any federal law, but purely because of my political opinions and my work in behalf of the working class of this nation.

This prosecution is not unexpected to us. As plainly stated by the government official to whom our attorney talked while in Washington, it is evident that secret service agents of the government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for, lo, these many years.

Is it not pretty conclusive evidence that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ten years of effort the government is able to find only this lone and paltry alleged violation?

Personally I feel proud of this record. I feel no sense of guilt, nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are known.

The government's witnesses testified here on the stand that I submitted to them copy of the matter I expected to mail and asked whether in the postmaster's judgment it constituted a violation of the federal law. That official after looking the matter up said it did not, and I want to say here that during the ten years of my connection with the Appeal to Reason I have had frequent occasion to consult with the postmaster at Girard on matters relating to the postal laws,

and in no instance was his judgment ever at fault. He assured me that in his judgment the matter I proposed mailing was identical in character with the thousands of postal cards mailed at his office by the sheriff, the marshal and the officers of the Anti-Horse Thief Association.

In submitting to this court these postal cards mailed by bankers it is not my intention that the government should proceed against these men on the evidence furnished by me. I know these gentlemen are immune from prosecution because they represent the dominant class in society today. The rewards which they offer are for men who have committed crimes against property, and in the prevailing social system the property of the rich is of vastly more consequence than the life and liberty of the poor.

On the other hand, the editor who has espoused the cause of the wage slave today has in the eyes of the ruling class committed a crime against existing institutions for daring to offer a reward for the apprehension of an influential member of the dominant political party.

I have also dared to criticise a decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the United States. Judge West, the assistant district attorney who assisted in my prosecution, in his argument a year ago last November, after presenting his reasons why the demurrer in this action should be overruled, closed his argument in a burst of passion with the statement that "as a matter of fact this literature was sent out for the purpose of bringing into contempt and discredit the supreme court of the United States." Is criticism a crime? And is it for this I am being prosecuted?

Smarting under the vicious attempt of the English king to prevent the circulation of Revolutionary newspapers during the period preceding the signing of the Declaration of Inde-

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pendence, the first amendment to the new constitution was made to provide for a free press and free speech, always and everywhere recognized as the sustaining pillars of free institutions.

Our colonist forefathers, imbued with the high ideals embodied in their immortal Declaration, shouldered their guns and shot to death the divine right of kings, and then the cunning enemies of democracy raised in its stead the supreme court, with its many federal arms reaching out into all the states of the Union.

The supreme court has become in fact the reigning monarch of the American people. No measure of relief demanded by the voters of this nation enacted into law by their elected representatives and signed by the president may become operative without its judicial sanction. At the command of the lords of privilege any obnoxious law is promptly declared unconstitutional.

The supreme court of the United States has today more real power over the people than is vested in any monarch of the old world.

The late Senator Hanna boasted that the courts are maintained to buttress property rights. Ex-President Roosevelt denounced a federal judge for his interpretation of the law in the government's prosecution of the beef trust.

President Taft in his Hot Springs (Va.) speech expressed a decided opinion upon the same question in referring to the inability of the poor to cope in the courts with men of wealth. With expressions like these from men of prominence, do you wonder that there is a growing distrust on the part of the poor people of this nation that the courts are against them?

In the western district of New York of thirty cases decided in favor of injured employees twenty-eight were reversed in

favor of the master class by the higher courts. United States District Attorney Sims of Chicago was waging a vigorous fight against the white slave drivers, and when victory was almost within his grasp his hand was paralyzed by a decision of the supreme court, which virtually put an end to the prosecution of that unspeakable infamy. There are property interest involved in the wholesale debauchery of young girls, and these property interests must be safeguarded at whatever cost. As for the girls, they are the daughters of the working class and in point of value are not to be compared to property.

Our modern system of jurisprudence is a survival of mediaeval times, when judges presided by right of ownership of lands and castles, and it will require another political revolution similar to that of 1776 and that of 1860 to abolish this bulwark of special privilege and capitalist exploitation.

I was convicted by a jury composed of partisan Republicans. It was shown by competent evidence introduced in this court today that two of the jurors had expressed hostile and prejudicial sentiments against me. Affidavits herewith filed show that one of the jurors, Mr. Nelson, became deathly sick in the jury room, and he affirms that it was because of this sickness and his fear of death unless medical attention could be secured that he was forced into voting for a conviction. Again it is shown by competent evidence introduced at this hearing that the principal witness for the government, ex-Governor Taylor, made statements which were untrue. He stated that at the time the reward which I offered was circulated through the mails he was not a fugitive from justice nor was there any charge pending against him of a criminal nature in Kentucky. Affidavits, state records and letters signed by Taylor himself, all on file in this court, show that Taylor had been indicted and that for seven years prior to the

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offer of our reward he had been a fugitive from justice with a price on his head. It is the common practice in all courts that where the defendant can show that a juror in qualifying perjures himself a new trial is granted. Perjured testimony on the part of the prosecuting witness is also ground for a new trial in ordinary cases. Of course I understand that this is not an ordinary case. The whole history of these proceedings shows conclusively that it is not an attempt to secure the ends of justice, but an effort to punish me because of my political views.

In conclusion permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime, and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class?

In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords, in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners, and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

Whoever protests for the sake of justice or in the name of the future is an enemy of society and is persecuted or put to death.

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history Charles Sumner, tracing the march of the centuries, pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race had been sanctioned by the so-called courts of justice.

This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of Mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown, but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenthralled, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

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SCENE IN THE COURT ROOM.

By George H. Shoaf.

No court in the history of jurisprudence ever presented a scene more replete with dramatic interest than that witnessed in the federal building at Fort Scott, Kan., Thursday afternoon, July 24, when, in response to Judge Pollock's invitation to show cause why sentence should not be pronounced, Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, arose and began to speak. The last bit of uncontradicted evidence disclosing the bias and prejudice of the jurors who convicted Warren had been introduced. The last argument in behalf of justice for the defendant had been made by his attorneys. Bone and West of the prosecution had declined to reply to Darrow and Boyle. Judge Pollock had just delivered his decision overruling the motion for an arrest of judgment and a new trial. Everything that could be said and everything that could be done to reverse the processes of the court and snatch victory from defeat had been said and done.

Tense were the feelings of the spectators as Warren faced the court. Instinctively it was realized that something was about to happen, but just what it would be no one could think or say. The benign face of Clarence Darrow, the celebrated lawyer who in a hundred courts has championed labor's cause and whose voice from a thousand platforms has been lifted in behalf of the poor and oppressed, showed concern, as did the faces of his associate attorneys, when it became evident that their defeated but unconquered client was about to initiate action in his own behalf. The government's agents and attorneys looked as if a red flag had been unexpectedly unfolded or a bomb was about to be hurled, and they cringed speechless in their chairs. Judge Pollock himself, his eyes fastened on the figure before him, his countenance plainly revealing the conflicting emotions of his mind, sat as if stricken dumb.

"Yes, your honor, there are some reasons why sentence of the court should not be pronounced."

With his hands on the table before him and his eyes looking straight and fearlessly into those of the court, Warren's voice rang like a clarion as he began a speech as remarkable as it is without a parallel. The unexpectedness of the proceeding and Warren's boldness of utterance astounded Judge Pollock. Once or twice Prosecutor Bone looked appealingly at the court as if the latter dignitary ought to foreclose on the speaker's remarks, but the court was too preoccupied with amazement to except. To a silenced judge and in the presence of an audience whose very breathing could neither be felt nor heard capitalism's most prominent victim and labor's uncompromising champion proceeded with the uncovering of the causes that had led to his conviction. Never in his life had Judge Pollock listened to a speech like this; never in the history of jurisprudence was there a speech like this made in a federal court.

Warren represented in the concrete the agony and woe, the blood and tears of the working class of the world. He typified the issue between the ruling class and those who are fighting the age-long war for human emancipation. Through him were voiced the outraged sentiments of men, women and children who in the field, factories and mines do the work of the world and who in some way would protest against the methods by which the wealth their work creates is taken from them and given to those who labor not. Here in this federal court, the the strongest bulwark of the system that is responsible for the agony and blood and outraged sentiments, Warren, already convicted and about to receive sentence, faced without hesitation and without a tremor the flesh and blood embodiment of capitalism's mighty power and challenged him to do his worst.

Warren's speech climaxed his defense and clinched it irrefutably in the consciences of his auditors. If there had been any doubt as to the injustice of the prosecution air the animus and origin of it, this doubt rapidly dispelled as the speech proceeded. After sentence was pronounced and the prisoner was admitted to bail pending an appeal John H. Crider, one of the most prominent Republicans in Fort Scott and probably in secret society circles the most influential man in Kansas,

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who had listened to Warren's address, came forward and volunteered to sign his bond. The offer was accepted. Downstairs after adjournment of court a group of men, Democrats and Republicans, united in open endorsement of the speech and unqualifiedly expressed their admiration for the man who made it.

"If ever that man runs for president he will get my vote," declared one of those who participated in the discussion.

"Darrow's argument and Warren's speech put this case in a different light," said R. J. Finley, one of the jurors, who voted to convict and who sat through the proceedings of the day. "There is no question as to Warren's ability and sincerity. I am not a Socialist, but as far as I am able to determine I believe Warren is honest and free from criminal intent," Finley declared.

It is difficult to interpret the impression that was made on the mind of the court. Ordinarily convicted prisoners accept in silence. Warren's course petrified with astonishment the court, to whom his remarks were addressed. An age seemed to have elapsed before Pollock recovered sufficiently to proceed. It is very evident that he did not know what to say. Undoubtedly he had made up his mind as to the severity of the sentence, but this speech from the prisoner apparently upset his plans. Now he vibrated between doubt and despair. Warren, possibly with a note of defiance, had announced that he did not ask or expect clemency or mercy; that he was not guilty and was not conscious of having committed an offense. The United States district attorney had demanded that the full penalty of the law, five years in the penitentiary and a \$5,000 fine, be inflicted.

With halting tones and in a manner plainly denoting the confused condition of his mind, Pollock began the pronouncement of the sentence with an apology in part and an attempt at argument in reply to Warren's speech.

According to the Fort Scott Tribune, Warren's impassioned address made a most profound impression.

"The fact that Judge Pollock stated he had given the case weeks and weeks of deliberation and had hardly known what

to do shows that Warren may have some merit in his claim that the government had sanctioned kidnaping. The speech Mr. Warren delivered will be kept as a treasure by many who are with him in this case," declared the Tribune.

* * * * *

When the case came before the court of appeals, Warren's attorneys would not handle it as he wanted, insisting on arguing technical points, and then Warren took the bit in his own mouth, threw technicalities to the winds, admitted that he had sent the offer of reward, and demanded a decision of the one question as to whether kidnaping was legal.

Never before had a layman argued a case before the court of appeals, and this in itself was sufficient to create a sensation. But when Warren launched into an attack on the federal courts as a usurping body, working along class lines, it became one of the most remarkable court scenes ever witnessed in America.

The sensation was deepened when more than twenty thousand postal cards of protest arrived in St. Paul for Warren, from all over the United States, addressed in care of the clerk of the court of appeals. The interest of the people in the Warren case had been so great that the circulation of his paper, the Appeal to Reason, had risen from two hundred thousand to nearly half a million since the case opened and as a direct result of it. All these features, taken together, make the hearing and the speech perhaps the most striking that history affords.

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WARREN'S ST. PAUL SPEECH.

I appear before this court in my own defense because my attorneys are unwilling to say what I think should be said. I desire to waive all that counsel for the defense has said with reference to the government's inability to prove that this envelope was mailed from the office of the Appeal to Reason, of which I am editor. I wish to waive all the objections interposed by my attorneys and the arguments advanced by them why I should be given a new trial. I do not want a new trial. This case has cost the defense \$20,000. A new trial, before a jury of my political opponents, selected by the district attorney's office from among government employes, or those who hope to get a federal job, before a judge prejudiced against my cause, could result only in another miscarriage of justice.

In waiving the arguments of my attorneys on these points—(and I wish to say here, in justification of my course at this time, that the theory on which this case was conducted in the lower court was over my vigorous protest)—I do so to put the issue squarely before this court: Is the mailing of this envelope with its offer of a reward printed in red, for the capture and return to Kentucky authorities of ex-Governor William Taylor, under indictment at that time for murder, a violation of the federal statutes? Stripped of all legal verbiage and technicality, that is the issue here and no other.

My attorneys argue in the brief submitted that the indictment is defective. I do not pretend to know about this. I will say, however, that I have no desire to have my sentence set aside on a mere technical defect in the indictment, and I

would regret to see the issue involved disposed of in this unsatisfactory manner. It would still leave the question in doubt as to whether the mailing of a reward, printed in red, for the capture of a fugitive republican politician, is a violation of the federal statutes.

I call the attention of the court to the testimony introduced by the government, showing that I submitted a draft of the alleged defamatory envelope to the postmaster at Girard and asked his opinion as to its mailability. The postmaster, the representative of the government, informed me that in his judgment there was nothing in the postal laws that would prevent the mailing of this reward offer, as hundreds of similar cards and envelopes were mailed in the course of a year at the Girard postoffice. This certainly establishes my good faith. No man with criminal intent would voluntarily submit the evidence of his contemplated crime to the agent of the institution against which the crime was directed.

In this connection I wish to call the court's attention to the statement made from the bench by the trial judge that, when this matter was first submitted to him, he himself was in doubt as to whether the mailing of this envelope was a violation of the federal statutes. If the law is so indefinite that even the trial judge is unable to determine whether a crime has been committed, until after he "had consulted higher authority," how is the layman to determine what is lawful and what is not. In the lower court's decision on our demurrer Judge Pollock stated that the language was not scurrilous and threatening, as charged in the indictment, but that it was defamatory, inasmuch as it was calculated to impress the reader thereof with the thought that ex-Governor W. S. Taylor was wanted in Kentucky by the authorities of that state for some alleged crime. Under this decision every offer of a

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reward for a man charged with crime, mailed by a private individual or a civil officer, is a violation of the federal statute under which this indictment was returned against me. In order to prevent this construction and its far-reaching consequences, Judge Pollock, in his final summing up of the case, decided that it was not defamatory nor scurrilous but threatening. It is hard for the average man to follow such judicial reasoning, and I sincerely trust that this court's opinion will be written in such clear and unmistakable terms that there will be no question as to this law in the future.

It will be argued by counsel for the government that kidnaping is a crime and, therefore, an offer of a reward to kidnap ex-Governor Taylor is a threat against that gentleman. I will ask the counsel for the government to cite the federal law constituting kidnaping a crime. He cannot do this. On the other hand, the United States supreme court, in an exhaustive opinion, handed down in the case of the three workmen who had been kidnaped in Colorado and taken to Idaho, plainly states that it is no violation of the federal statutes to forcibly abduct a man and take him from one state to another. In its opinion the supreme court says:

"Looking first at what was alleged to have occurred in Colorado touching the arrest of the petitioner and his deportation from that state, we do not perceive that anything done there, however hastily or inconsiderately done, can be adjudged to be in violation of the constitution or laws of the United States. Even if it be true that the arrest and deportation of Pettibone, Moyer and Haywood from Colorado was by fraud and connivance, to which the governor of Colorado was a party, this does not make out a case of violation of the rights of the appellants under the constitution and laws of the United States."

Under this decision I do not see what weight this court can give to the argument of the government's counsel, that to offer a reward to do what the supreme court has explicitly declared is not a crime is in violation of the law.

What I did, in fact, was to offer a reward to any one who would capture, forcibly abduct if you please, a man under indictment for murder and return him to the Kentucky authorities. To kidnap means not only forcible abduction, but hiding from friends and the proper authorities. Under this view how can it be maintained that it is unlawful to offer a reward for the capture of ex-Governor William S. Taylor and his return to the authorities of Kentucky?

Let me state a hypothetical case: Suppose the Socialists capture the political powers of Kansas—as we shall. We find that Mr. Armour is violating the anti-trust laws of our state. He lives in Illinois. The governor of Illinois, being a republican, refuses to grant a requisition. Suppose our Socialist state officials, who would be private citizens in Illinois, should quietly go at midnight, surround Mr. Armour's house in Chicago, capture him, carry him into Kansas, and there place him on trial before a Socialist judge and a Socialist jury. Would the men that kidnaped Armour violate any federal statute? Would they not be immune from prosecution under the supreme court's ruling?

The question involved in this case is whether there is one law for the workingman and another law for the rich employer. The supreme court's decision in the famous kidnaping conspiracy in Colorado and the action of high government and state officials in protecting a fugitive republican politician, charged with murder, lends color to my contention that there is one interpretation of the law for the poor and another one for the rich. The action of the governor of

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New Jersey in refusing to issue requisition papers for Armour, the Chicago meat packer, who was charged by the New Jersey prosecutors with violating the anti-trust laws of that state is a convincing argument that **there is one law for the poor and none for the rich.** The methods adopted by the government's attorney in his prosecution of me and his refusal to take cognizance of similar acts on the part of bankers and others, strengthens our argument that there are two wholly different kinds of law in this country; and your decision will, if that decision upholds the action of the lower court, add to this belief in the public mind.

The government's attorney emphasizes the fact that this reward offer is printed in red. Out of curiosity, I asked a number of the leading ink manufacturers in the United States for what color of printing ink they had the greatest demand, and they replied, without a single exception, that they sold more red ink than all others combined, save one—black. Black is the emblem of piracy and has been since long before the days of Captain Kidd. Under its sable folds march the land thief, the predatory rich, the employer of little children, those who barter justice, the Wall street speculator, the petty gambler and grafter, and all those who plunder labor and oppress the poor. Black is the color of death. Red on the other hand is the color of life; it glows with vitality; it is the badge of universal kinship. It has been from the days of Spartacus, down through the ages, the emblem of revolt against tyranny. Under the crimson banner the revolutionary patriots of 1776 fought and won their battles against the English king. Longfellow's inspiring poem to Pulaski, the Polish patriot who gave his life for American independence, immortalizes the red banner:

Where, before the altar, hung
The blood-red banner, that with prayer
Had been consecrated there—

Take thy banner—and if e'er
Thou shouldst press the soldier's bier,
And the muffled drum should beat
To the tread of mournful feet,
Then this crimson flag shall be
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.
The warrior took that banner proud,
And it was his martial cloak and shroud!

The original flag of the American revolution was red. The stars and stripes were added later by our rebel forefathers to distinguish it from the national emblems of other countries. It is a significant historical fact that red predominates in the flags of all countries with one exception—Russia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government attorney who sails under the blag flag should seek to cast aspersions on the red banner.

If the liberties bought with the blood of our forefathers, who fought under the red flag are to be preserved it will be done by the men who today march under the crimson banner.

The theory of law that a man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty was wholly overlooked in my trial at Fort Scott. I was convicted and sentenced before I entered the court room. I was not prosecuted as a presumably innocent man charged with an alleged violation of the law. I was prosecuted by partisan politicians, before a partisan jury, three of whom it was proved later had declared they were prejudiced against me, and before a partisan judge and on perjured testimony. But this is not the first time in the history of the world that this same farce has been enacted. When the ruling class of any epoch is forced to use such means to

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bring about the imprisonment of a man advocating revolutionary doctrines, it has always foreshadowed the dawn of a new era.

Several million men and women in the United States today believe that I have been prosecuted in the federal courts because of my political beliefs. It is true I am in revolt against the present capitalistic regime of graft and boodle and I have dedicated my life to the Revolution of Tomorrow. Our cause will triumph in America just as it is winning in Germany, France and England. The Milwaukee Socialist victory is a prophecy of what will happen throughout the nation at no distant day.

By environment, training and economic interests, the judges who compose this court are opposed to me. You can no more impartially consider the questions involved in this case than could the judges appointed by the English king to consider impartially the questions which arose between that monarch and his American subjects.

In all controversies that arose between the master and his slave prior to the revolution of 1860, the federal courts made their decisions conform to the interests of the masters. It was from the slave owners that they derived their powers and held their positions. No man openly antagonistic to the slave power could hold a position on the federal bench.

An examination of the decisions of this court—and your decisions are similar to those of all other federal courts—wherein the interests of the workingman conflict with the interests of the employer, is ample proof of the class character of the federal judiciary. Dissenting from the opinion of this very court, in a case wherein a working girl was pitted against a great corporation, Judge Thayer said: "I dissent from these doctrines which seem to have been formulated with an

eye mainly to the protection of the employers and with too little regard for the situation and rights of the employes."

As a militant member of the working class I frankly confess that I expect nothing from this court. A court of justice, so-called, which turns away a mangled working child empty-handed in defense of capitalist class property against working class life and limb, is not apt to look with favor upon one in revolt against such shocking inhumanity and the system responsible for it.

I know that this is the settled policy of this court. I understand why its decisions are in the interest of the employer and against the working man and working woman.

You are serving those to whom you are indebted for your position and responsible for your power. I am simply trying to show to the working class of the world, which embraces a great majority of the population, the character of the federal court to which must be submitted their liberties and their lives. The federal court under capitalist misrule is essentially capitalistic in its sympathies, its interests and its decisions.

In this important work of educating the working class as to the true character of the courts you are helping me. It was the Dred Scott decision that hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery, and, as history repeats itself, we may confidently expect that the decision of the supreme court in the now famous kidnaping conspiracy, backed by the federal court's decisions in all other labor cases, will precipitate the downfall of wage slavery. When the toilers of the mill, factory, mine and farm once understand the true situation, they will realize that there can be no relief from judicial despotism until they use the power latent in themselves to abolish the present iniquitous system, based upon the legalized robbery of the nation's toilers and producers, in which the courts are

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mere creatures of capitalist class rule and instruments of working class subjection. These workingmen will one day learn to choose their own judges and while these judges may know little of the intricacies of law and the chicanery of technicality they have an inherent sense of justice and they may be depended upon to serve their brothers.

Personally, it is a matter of no consequence to me what this court may decide in this case. If this court concludes to sanction the scandalous methods employed to secure my conviction and the outrageous sentence imposed upon me for the commission of what Judge Pollock termed "a mere misdemeanor," I shall consider it the proudest day of my life when I enter the jail at Fort Scott, imprisoned because of my defense of the poor and oppressed. You will by that act increase my power a thousandfold and carry my message to the toiling millions from sea to sea. Gladly will I make this small sacrifice in a cause to which I would willingly give my life.

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COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

MARX AND ENGELS



MANIFESTO
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

BY
KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS

AUTHORIZED ENGLISH TRANSLATION: EDITED AND
ANNOTATED BY FREDERICK ENGELS



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PREFACE.

The "Manifesto" was published as the platform of the "Communist League," a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party-programme. Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's "Red Republican," London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848,—the first great battle between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working class. Thenceforth the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between dif-

ferent sections of the propertied class; the working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow-room, and to the position of extreme wing of the Middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League, then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated "Cologne Communist trial" lasted from October 4th till November 12th; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years. Immediately after the sentence the League was formally dissolved by the remaining members. As to the "Manifesto," it seemed thenceforth to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the "Manifesto." The International was bound to have a programme broad enough to be acceptable to the English Trades' Unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, and to

the Lassalleans* in Germany. Marx, who drew up this programme to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working-class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against Capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favourite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassalleism in Germany were dying out, and even the Conservative English Trades' Unions, though most of them had long since severed their connexion with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their President could say in their name "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." In fact: the principles of the "Manifesto" had made considerable headway among the working men of all countries.

The Manifesto itself thus came to the front again. The German text had been,

*Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a disciple of Marx, and, as such, stood on the ground of the "Manifesto." But in his public agitation, 1860-64, he did not go beyond demanding co-operative workshops supported by State credit.

since 1850, reprinted several times in Switzerland, England and America. In 1872, it was translated into English in New York, where the translation was published in "Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly." From this English version, a French one was made in "Le Socialiste" of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less mutilated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakounine, was published at Herzen's "Kolokol" office in Geneva, about 1863; a second one, by the heroic Vera Zasulitch, also in Geneva, 1882. A new Danish edition is to be found in "Socialdemokratisk Bibliothek," Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh French translation in "Le Socialiste," Paris, 1886. From this latter a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, 1886. The German reprints are not to be counted, there have been twelve altogether at the least. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some months ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it his own production. Of further translations into other languages I have heard, but have not seen them. Thus the history of the Manifesto reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working-class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most wide-

spread, the most international production of all Socialist Literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California.

Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a Socialist Manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle-class movement, Communism a working class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the

very beginning, was that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself," there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have, ever since, been far from repudiating it.

The "Manifesto" being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class-struggles.

This proposition which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's

theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my "Condition of the Working Class in England."* But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here.

From our joint preface to the German edition of 1872, I quote the following:

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct to-day as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organisation of the working-class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune,

*The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Florence K. Wischniewetzky—London, Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.

where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that "the working-class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." (See "The Civil War in France; Address of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association," London, Truelove, 1871, p. 15, where this point is further developed). Further, it is self-evident, that the criticism of socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition-parties (Section IV.), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."

The present translation is by Mr. Samuel Moore, the translator of the greater portion of Marx's "Capital." We have revised it in common, and I have added a few notes explanatory of historical allusions.

Frederick Engels.

London, 30th January, 1888.

Manifesto of the Communist Party.

BY

KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS.

A SPECTRE is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its re-actionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and

sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

I.

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS.*

The history of all hitherto existing society† is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master‡ and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended,

*By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live.

†That is, all written history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organization existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then, Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and by and bye village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organization of this primitive Communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the gens and its relation to the tribe. With the dissolution of these primæval communities society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in: "Der Ursprung der Familie des Privateigentums und des Staats," 2nd edit., Stuttgart 1856.

‡Guild-master, that is a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of, a guild.

either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the

means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand, ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle-class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bour-

geoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune,* here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

*"Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement

in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to shew what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploita-

tion of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Re-actionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations

into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one na-

tion, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the dis-

posal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working-class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i. e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-class, developed, a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell them-

selves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work enacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of

officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion or strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the Middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods

of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is con-

centrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved

means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours'-bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat,

to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in

the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle-class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so, only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois preju-

dices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where

that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is

the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II.

PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS.

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only:

1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common inter-

ests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property-relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have con-

tinually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the ground work of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artizan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage-labour create any property

for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i. e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of getting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class-character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i. e., that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means in-

tend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois, individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all

the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is, the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so: that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, i. e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of

property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society: all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois

property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes,

and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, &c.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion, than that the lot of being

common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident, that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i. e., of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities.

The working men have no country. We

cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions

of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes

eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property-relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organised as

the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bring-

ing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will

thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

III.

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE.

1. Reactionary Socialism.

a. Feudal Socialism.

Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July, 1830, and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political contest was altogether out of the question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period * had become impossible.

In order to arouse sympathy, the aristocracy were obliged to lose sight, apparently, of their own interests, and to formulate their indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocracy took their revenge by

*Not the English Restoration 1660 to 1689, but the French Restoration 1814 to 1830.

singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.

In this way arose feudal socialism: half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very hearts' core, but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them, waved the proletarian alms-bag in front for a banner. But the people, so often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coats of arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

One section of the French Legitimists, and "Young England," exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different to that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forget that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that, under their rule, the modern proletariat never existed, they forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism, that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this, that under the bourgeois regime a class is being developed, which is

destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat, as that it creates a revolutionary proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working-class; and in ordinary life, despite their high falutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love, and honour for traffic in wool, beetroot-sugar, and potato spirit.*

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these, charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian Socialism is but the Holy Water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat.

*This applies chiefly to Germany where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beetroot-sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies.

b. Petty Bourgeois Socialism.

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The medieval burghesses and the small peasant bourgeoisie were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries, like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois regime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the stand-

point of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working-class. Thus arose petty bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France, but also in England.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labour; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the frame work of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of Socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

German or "True" Socialism.

The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and beaux esprits, eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting, that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the Eighteenth Century, the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure Will, of Will as it was bound to be, of true human Will generally.

The work of the German literati consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into

harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophical point of view.

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic Saints over the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German literati reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism," "German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth, not the interests of the proletariat,

but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical phantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its school-boy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German, and, especially, of the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long-wished-for opportunity was offered to "True Socialism" of confronting the political movement with the socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this bourgeois movement. German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their

following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets, with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the German working-class risings.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the petty bourgeois class, a relic of the 16th century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class, is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction; on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" Socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths" all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognised, more and more, its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its true character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.

2. Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism.

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole and corner reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of Socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's "Philosophie de la Misere" as an example of this form.

The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical, but less systematic form of this socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economical relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of Socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of

these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labour, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work, of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois Socialism attains adequate expression, when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade: for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: for the benefit of the working class. Prison Reform: for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois Socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

3. Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism.

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat: such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the

impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social leveling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, (see section I. Bourgeoisie and Proletariat).

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to phantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class-organisation of the proletariat to an organisation of society specially contrived by these

inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working-class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, cause Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavour, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

Such phantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state, and has but a phantastic conception of its own position, correspond with the first instinctive yearn-

ings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them, such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production, all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class-antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognised under their earliest, indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.

The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this phantastic standing apart from the contest, these phantastic attacks on it lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the orig-

inal views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavour and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realisation of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "phalansteres," of establishing "Home Colonies," of setting up a "Little Icaria"—duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem, and to realise all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new Gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively oppose the Chartists and the "Reformistes."

IV.

POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN RELATION TO THE VARIOUS EXISTING OPPOSITION PARTIES.

Section II. has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America.

*Phalanstères were socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier. Icaria was the name given by Cabot to his Utopia and, later on, to his American Communist colony.

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the Communists ally themselves with the Social-Democrats,* against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements, partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution, as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.

But they never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary

*The party then represented in parliament by Ledru-Rollin, in literature by Louis Blanc, in the daily press by the Réforme. The name of Social Democracy signified, with these its inventors, a section of the Democratic or Republican party more or less tinged with Socialism.

classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation, and with a more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries unite!

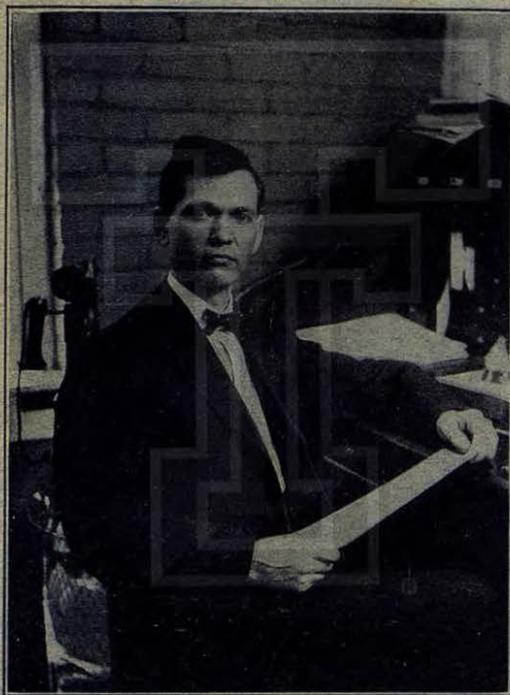
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There is just one place now to get all the best Socialist books that are published in the English language at prices wage-workers can afford to pay. Our co-operative publishing house owns the plates and copyrights of most of the books, and has lately made arrangements by which it can also fill orders for books of other publishers. The **Appeal to Reason**, an excellent Socialist newspaper published at Girard, Kansas (fifty cents a year), also published Socialist books until recently, but has made a contract turning over its entire book business to us, for five years beginning February 1, 1909.

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Suppressed Information *and* Federal Court Speech



BY

FRED D. WARREN

MANAGING EDITOR APPEAL TO REASON

PRICE { 10 Cents Per Copy
 { \$5.00 Per Hundred

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AND
Federal Court Speech

By
FRED D. WARREN



CHICAGO
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

Two large editions of "Suppressed Information" have been printed and circulated by the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, the most widely-circulated Socialist newspaper in the world. Our co-operative publishing house has lately taken over the Appeal's book business, and we now present this third edition of Mr. Warren's pamphlet.

A notable addition will be found in the latter pages. It is the speech that Fred Warren delivered before the United States Court at Fort Scott, Kansas, on July 1, 1909.

When Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone had been kidnaped from Colorado by State officials of Idaho, with the connivance of the Governor of Colorado, and when the Supreme Court of the United States had refused to release the kidnaped men, Fred Warren and his associates in the Appeal to Reason resorted to a novel object lesson to show the people that kidnaping had been upheld by the courts.

They offered a reward for the kidnaping and delivery to the Kentucky authorities of ex-Governor Taylor, who was under indictment on a charge of murder and had taken refuge in Indiana. Of course no injury to Taylor was intended; the object was to expose the class character of the United States courts, and to arouse public opinion in behalf of Haywood.

For mailing a notice offering this reward Fred Warren was indicted. By a jury composed of Republicans he was convicted. He was asked to show cause why sentence should not be passed upon him. His answer was the great speech with which this pamphlet ends.

To make room for it we have omitted some of the less essential portions of "Suppressed Information," and we believe that the pamphlet, as it now appears, will prove wonderfully effective in the propaganda of Socialism.

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FACE.

SUPPRESSED INFORMATION

In the Congress of 1776 John Adams observed:

That as to this matter, it was of no consequence by what name you called your people, whether by that of free men or of slaves. That in some countries the laboring poor men were called freemen; in others they were called slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm, gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand?—From "The Lost Principles of Sectional Equilibrium," by "Barbarossa," 1860, p. 39.

The following pages are made up very largely from the "Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor," issued by the United States Department of Labor. This report is now "out of print"—though at the time I write scarcely six months have elapsed since it was issued from the press of the government printing office.*

Many thousands of requests have been made to the department for copies. These requests have been met by the department officials with the statement that the "edition was exhausted and no more copies would be issued."

The explanation was made by the acting labor commissioner, C. W. Hanger, that "there were no funds available for its reissue." When one takes into consideration the millions expended by the United States government, and the resources at its command, such an excuse sounds childish. It is hardly in keeping with the boasted prosperity of the nation. But a poor subterfuge is better than none at all.

*Four years later, as the third edition of this pamphlet goes to press, the report is still "out of print."

The truth is that the report contains information of so damaging a character against the capitalist system that its votaries would fain keep it hidden from the eyes of the public—especially that portion of it known as the working class.

It shows, as does no book of modern times, the abject dependence of the wage worker upon the capitalist for the means of life—(a job)—and it shows, too, the utter inability of the capitalist system to provide steady employment for more than one-half of the great army of workers ready and willing to convert their lives into wealth in exchange for the food and clothing necessary to maintain an animal existence.

President Roosevelt, in his letter of acceptance, referred to an advance bulletin of this report as evidence of the "high standard of living" which his administration and the previous republican administrations had made possible for the working class. When the volume itself was issued it was so at variance with the high-sounding phrases of the president that word was hastily sent along the line to "bury the book."

If you will follow me through the pages of this little pamphlet you will understand why the supporters of the capitalist system did not want Carroll D. Wright's "Eighteenth Annual Labor Report" to gain general circulation. In quoting from other writers to support Mr. Wright's figures, I have been careful to select only those who are recognized by the capitalists as authorities. I do this in order to disabuse the mind of the prejudiced reader, so far as possible, of any partisanship on my part.

From these sources I will produce evidence showing—

FIRST—That, as John Adams pointed out 100 years ago, there is no real difference between the laboring poor man who to-day works for wages, which he must spend for the necessities of life, and the chattel slave who received those necessities from his master;

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average American workingman is worse than was that of the chattel slave in the United States before the civil war;

THIRD—That the state of unemployment is the inevitable result of and necessary to the maintenance of the capitalist system of production;

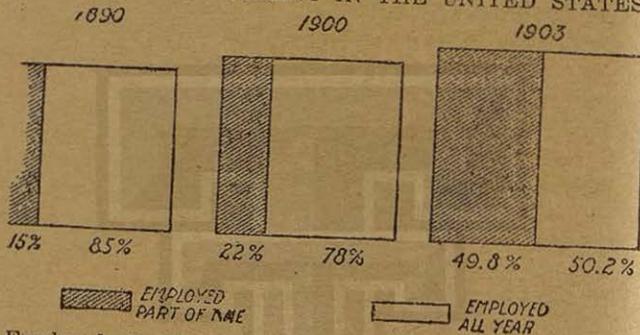
FOURTH—That so long as it (the capitalist system) continues the condition of the working class will steadily grow worse.

These four propositions I will prove by the words and evidence furnished by the supporters of the system itself. I will then prove to you, my plain, practical friend, that only by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth on the ruins of the competitive capitalist system can the condition of the wealth producers of the nation be improved.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Our modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin, some reserve of labor.—Prof. Charles Booth.

STATE OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.



Employed all the time 50.19 per cent
 Employed part of the time..... 49.81 per cent
 —Page 42, 18th Annual Labor Report.

Is there an unemployed army composed of men and women who are willing—yea, anxious—to work who can find no one to employ them?

The average man will dismiss the question with little consideration. If he happens to belong to that group of wage-earners, comprising 50 per cent of the working class, constantly employed, he may tell you there is a job for every man willing to work. On the other hand, did he belong to that other group, comprising 50 per cent of the working class, employed part of the time, his answer would doubtless be entirely different.

If you ask this question of a politician belonging to the dominant party, he will dismiss it with a wave of his hand and tell you that in this wonderful land of prosperity there is plenty of work, and to prove it he will quote from the February, 1904, issue of the Na-

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But do the facts, as disclosed by your personal experience and observation, backed by the official figures of your government, bear out these optimistic and careless statements?

The most important contribution made by Commissioner Wright to the economic literature of the nation is his "Eighteenth Annual Labor Report." It is labeled the "Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Food." The investigation, however, covered a larger field. In it we find carefully compiled the earnings of the American workingman, his wife and children. More than this, it shows the state of employment and of unemployment, and the causes of the latter condition. It is with the unemployed problem I will deal in this chapter.

In the preface of his report, page 11, Mr. Wright, in order, doubtless, to impress the reader with the thoroughness with which the field had been covered, says:

Inasmuch as the families canvassed were distributed over thirty-three states, and the proportion in each geographical division corresponds very closely to its importance in an industrial sense, and owing to the large number of families investigated, selected without reference to industry, it is believed that the data here given relative to cost of living are fairly representative of the conditions existing among the wage workers of the whole country.

"There was a disposition," continues the report, "on the part of the families visited to give exact information," and "while individual statements may not be absolutely accurate, it can be safely assumed that averages based on any considerable number of statements correctly represent the group of families from which they were secured."

Mr. Wright's conclusions, based on his investigation, in which he was aided by the resources and prestige of the United States government, agree with those of other investigators, who followed different methods.

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"The figures of unemployment," says Robert Hunter, in his new book, "Poverty," "although imperfect, show that the evil is wide-spread, *even in times of prosperity*. . . . *In every industrial community the same insecurity of livelihood, due to irregular employment, exists.*" It has been said that during the anthracite coal strike of 1902 the entire supply of mined coal was exhausted, but the excess of laborers in that district is so great that within a short time after the strike was settled a report was sent out on reliable authority that "intermittent labor is again the lot of anthracite employes. The collieries do not average more than two-thirds time."

The census of 1900 shows that 3,523,730, or 15.1 per cent of all the workers over ten years of age engaged in gainful occupations, were unemployed a part of the time during the year. The census of 1900 places the number of unemployed during some part of the year (1899)—at 6,468,964, or 22.3 per cent of all workers over ten years of age. These figures include the country as a whole, and include agriculture.* In manufacturing alone the unemployment rose to 27.2 per cent of all the workers, the industrial states of the North and East showing the greatest per cent of unemployment. In the industrial towns of Haverhill, New Bedford and Fall River the number of unemployed ranged from 39 to 62 per cent.**

These figures, if one could read behind the returns, tell a story of pitiful hardship and privation which the black slave never knew. The chattel, in whose body the master had from \$500 to \$1,000 invested, was at least provided with food, clothing and shelter. He may have felt the lash on his back at times, but he never knew the haunting fear of hunger, which is the lot of millions of free American wage workers of to-day.

*Census Reports, Vol. I. Occupations, page ccxxvi.

**Census of Mass., 1895, p. 105.

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The significance of these figures of unemployment is apparent when we compare them as follows:

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| 1889 (census of 1890)..... | 15.1 | per cent unemployed |
| 1899 (census of 1900)..... | 22.3 | per cent unemployed |
| 1903 (18th Labor Report)..... | 49.81 | per cent unemployed |

Study those figures calmly and dispassionately, my practical friend. What sort of a story do they tell you? What are the causes of this unemployment? Back of every effect is a cause—search far enough and you will find it. Commissioner Wright enumerates the superficial causes of unemployment as follows, page 296 of his report:

CAUSE OF IDLENESS.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Establishment closed, unable to get work, and slack work | 56.96 |
| Sickness | 23.65 |
| Vacation | 6.45 |
| Bad weather | 2.25 |
| Strike | 2.07 |
| Accident | 1.66 |
| Not given | 6.68 |
| Drunkenness | .26 |

Before entering into an analysis of the real causes of the unemployment of the wage workers, I wish to consider the above table briefly, in order to puncture some of the glaring fallacies spread broadcast by capitalist writers and speakers. The real causes of unemployment, as we shall see presently, are not hinted at by Mr. Wright and his co-laborers.

We are calmly told by a group of self-satisfied reformers that "drunkenness causes idleness—hence misery and degradation. Abolish the liquor traffic, and you end idleness."

Mr. Wright's investigation shows that one-fourth of one per cent of the idleness which he found existing among the working class was caused by drunkenness. "It may be well to remark," says Mr. Wright, page 46, "that it is quite probable that drunkenness in some cases was reported as 'sickness' by the forbearing wife when giving data for the schedule." Assum-

ing that this is true to a certain extent, that the figures given are not far from wrong, one has but to remember that Mr. Wright tells us the average workingman's family spends 25 cents per week for liquor. As one-half of the families investigated reported no expenditure for liquor it would leave an average expenditure for each workingman who did spend his money in riotous living of 50 cents per week. Fifty cents per week wouldn't go very far towards habitual drunkenness. In the absence of any more definite figures on this particular phase of idleness, we must accept the conclusions of the Labor Commissioner as approximately correct—in which case drunkenness among the working class as a cause of idleness may be dismissed as of little importance.

Driven to the wall on this proposition, the bourgeois economist, anxious to throw the responsibility for chronic idleness upon the working class, points to the long array of strikes—strikes, we are told, that are in all cases and at all times inaugurated by the men. Assuming that this is true, we find charged up against them responsibility for 2.07 per cent of the idleness we find in the country. Add to this the .26 of one per cent charged against drunkenness, and we find, according to the best figures produced by the capitalist class, less than 3 per cent of the appalling total of idleness which exists in the United States, at a time when the country is enjoying a gratifying period of "prosperity," chargeable to the working class.

"You surely will not charge our beneficent system with the idleness caused by sickness," protests the capitalist apologist.

I will let Mr. Robert Hunter answer this question, as follows:

There is no other nation, comparable industrially to the United States, which is so backward as this country in its knowledge, in its legislation, in its administrative machinery for dealing with the insanitary conditions in factories, mines and workshops, and in preventing or regulating those dangerous processes in industry which are responsible for a very large number of unnecessary diseases,

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accidents and deaths. . . . No other country has so much as our own permitted individuals to disregard, to a criminal extent, the health and welfare of employes. I dare say no other nation has so many cases of illness wholly due to preventable industrial causes as the United States. The workmen who are crushed, crippled, or killed, who contract incurable diseases, who are poisoned, or who are incapacitated by carelessness, insanitary conditions, or dangerous machinery, are so numerous in this day that in a very few decades we shall look back upon this period as one of downright barbarism. . . . No one can help knowing that sickness is caused by vile tenements, by dangerous employments and insanitary workshops; furthermore, no one can fail to know that an excessive number of deaths occur among the work people employed in certain industries and living in certain tenements. The cause and effect are clear. Then why does not the owner or employer remedy the cause of the sickness, poverty and death? "He probably does not know it exists" is the ordinary answer. But it is no answer. Attempt to remedy the evils by legislation, or by enforcement of the laws, and then you begin to realize that you are in a fight, and that, for one reason or another, the landlords and employers are against you. Every movement you make is watched and attacked. Even bribery will be used to defeat sanitary measures; that is to say, measures to save life. Now the conclusion one is forced to draw from an experience of that sort is not a pleasant one, but the logic by which one reaches the conclusion seems clear and certain. These men are murderers.

This is a strong indictment, but who is willing to undertake to refute Mr. Hunter's statement of facts and his conclusion that the employing and landlord classes are responsible to a very large degree for the sickness and disease among the working class?

"But these men do not have to work in these unsanitary and dangerous surroundings!" again protests our capitalist apologist. Sidney Webb, in "Industrial Democracy," says:

The wage earner sells to his employer, not merely so much muscular energy or mechanical ingenuity, but practically his whole existence during the working day. An overcrowded or badly ventilated workshop may exhaust his energies; sewer gas or poisonous material may undermine his health; a badly constructed plant or imperfect machinery may maim him, or even cut short his days;

coarsening surroundings may brutalize his life and degrade his character; yet, when he accepts employment, he tacitly undertakes to mind whatever machinery, use whatever materials, breathe whatever atmosphere, and endure whatever sights, sounds and smells he may find in the employer's workshop, however inimical they may be to health or safety.

The workingman to-day has no choice—if he does not like the conditions of employment, the employer or his agent shrugs his shoulders and informs him there are plenty of men willing to do the job. Pressing necessity and the cry of the little ones at home decide the day, and for the bread necessary to sustain life men will face risks which the slave master would never have permitted his slave to take.

I stood at the mouth of a coal mine in Missouri several years ago, and I saw cageful after cageful of blackened corpses brought to the surface; to this day the wails of anguish from wife and children as the body of the loved one was discovered rings in my ears, and I wondered why men would take such risks. I was young then—I know better now. I can now understand why, the day after the wreckage of the explosion had been cleared away, men took their lives in their hands and faced the unseen dangers of black-damp, falling slate and gas. *They had to live.* And then I learned that a few thousand dollars spent in measures of safety would have prevented this sacrifice of human life—that the law required this to be done. But over against the law, against the lives of these men, against the tears of the widows and the fatherless, was balanced the dividends of the stockholders of the mining corporation. They lived in New York and London, and could not be expected to know the local situation—they demanded profits and dividends of their superintendents. The superintendent knew he had to produce dividends or hand in his resignation, and to have done that meant that he, too, must face death in the darkness of the mine. And so the law was violated and the safety appliances were not installed. Mr. Hunter is right—these capitalists

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We now come to that other phase of idleness—the “closed shop.” Not the “closed shop” which Mr. Parry and his friends talk about—but the shop that is closed because the capitalist can find a market for no more of his goods. Mr. Wright enumerates under the headings, “Establishments Closed,” “Unable to Get Work” and “Slack Work,” responsibility for 56.96 per cent of the idleness which he found existed among the workers. There is no other explanation; simply the shop was closed, or work was slack and the applicant was unable to secure employment.

Now, in considering the real causes which lead up to this condition of unemployment we are going to get very close to the trouble which afflicts the organism we call society.

Since the beginning of the wage system it has been the dream of reformers and philanthropists that there would come a time when all men would be employed. Wise solons in the past and law makers of the present have sought to solve the riddle, but it has baffled their very best efforts. The capitalist, the employer of men, knew the effort was futile. He readily grasped the fact that should all men be employed the employer would become the slave of an aristocracy of labor.

He understood, dimly it is true, that his modern system of industry would not work without a great reserve army of labor. He wanted this reserve for two reasons: In times of prosperity he needed it to bring him extra profits, but, in addition to this, he wanted this reserve army of labor to keep in subjection his employes. There is no known method of keeping a workingman to his task so effectual as the fact that just outside the factory door stands a man willing to take his job should he be dissatisfied with the conditions made by the employer.

The cry of “work wanted” was never heard until the wages system became firmly established as the prevailing mode of production. The slave never lacked for a task, nor did the serf have any idle time. In

these former periods there was a constant effort on the part of the workers to jump their jobs—*today men fight for the chance to work.*

A few months ago a new packing house in Kansas City advertised for 300 men. Six thousand applied for the jobs—and *they fought for the chance to work.* I talked with one of them a few days after the riot—that's what the newspapers called it—a "riot for work." He was a big, open-faced Swede—with arms muscled like an ox. He told me they tore down the railing surrounding the stairway as the maddened crowd surged forward trying to get to the packing house agent. The agent selected the most likely and the others turned away.

"Modern life," Mr. John Hobson has said, "has no more tragic figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wandering about the crowded centers of industry and wealth, begging in vain for permission to share in that industry, and to contribute to that wealth; asking in return, not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family which would be practically secured to him in the rudest form of savage society."

I think it is clear to the reader that there exists in the United States a great army of unemployed—you have the evidence of capitalist statisticians and capitalist writers—and above all you have the evidence of your own experience. But why?

There are, you will at once recognize, a number of causes, but we may, for the purpose of this discussion, sum them all up in the one word—MACHINERY!

So evident is this that even the unimaginative compilers of the United States Census Reports, p. cxxiii, volume VII, say: "A factor that has had a real tendency to lower the actual average earning of the wage earner in many industries is the displacement of the skilled operative by machinery, which permits the substitution of a comparatively unskilled machine hand. The tendency is noticeable in many lines of in-

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dustry. Its effects are twofold: *To reduce the number of employes producing the same or an increased quantity of product*, and, hence, to lower the total wages of the group; and to reduce the average rate of wages because of the lower degree of skill required."

The census reports are rich in illustrations of this twofold tendency, but we will consider but one showing to what extent modern methods reduce the number of men required to produce a given amount of wealth, thus increasing the number of men unemployed.

"In the tanning of leather," says the census report, "by reason of improved machinery, there has been a constantly decreasing demand for skilled workmen. Women and girls are now performing work formerly done by men. In 1890 a 'shaver,' who had to serve an apprenticeship of several years before he became a skilled workman, received as high as \$6 per day at hand work. In 1900 he had been quite generally supplanted by the 'handy man,' who did the same work by machinery, accomplishing four times as much, and, perhaps, received a third of the pay. . . . These statistics indicate that the increase in production has been accomplished very largely through the utilization of new and improved machinery *without a corresponding increase in the number of wage-earners and wages paid.*"—Census, 1900, Vol. VII, page cxxiv.

TENURE OF HOMES.

| | Rented, per cent. | Free, per cent. | Mort- gaged, per cent. |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1903. For the United States (U. S. Labor Report, 18th Vol., pp. 54-55), working class families | 81.1 | 10.6 | 8.3 |
| 1920. For the United States (Census Re- port, Vol. II., p. cxcii), all fam- ilies | 53.5 | 31.8 | 14.7 |
| 1890. For the United States (Census Re- port, Vol. II., p. cxcii), all fam- ilies | 52.2 | 34.4 | 13.4 |

America is very rapidly becoming a nation of tenants. A glance at the above summary discloses this fact—a fact which our friends of the capitalist parties would hide from their constituency. Mr. Roosevelt of late has had much to say about “race suicide”—but I have seen nothing from his pen which would indicate that he was aware of the startling tendency toward “home suicide.”

Did you ever read of a “homeless chattel slave?” Did you ever read of a chattel slave who lived in a rented or a mortgaged house—in constant fear that he would be kicked out by the landlord for non-payment of rent or failure to meet the interest installment? No! Rented and mortgaged “homes”—excuse the satire—among the working class came on with the establishment of the wage system of production by “free” labor, which concentrates the workers into large cities and industrial centers.

“When this revolution,” says Hunter, “brought into the world large cities and a new industrial life, it, at the same time, destroyed what has been described as the Home. In our largest cities this home no longer exists. The economic development of the last hundred years has destroyed it and left in its stead a mere

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shadow of what once was the source of all things essential to the world. The home is now a few rooms in a crowded tenement or apartment house."

But homelessness, however, is not confined to the large cities, as one would infer from Mr. Hunter's remarks, but extends to the remotest districts in the agricultural states. The per cent of rented and mortgaged homes is greater in the North Atlantic states—the most advanced industrial section of the country—where we find the greatest per capita wealth and the greatest per capita of production—the more recently settled sections showing a greater per cent of free homes.

Take New York City, for instance. New York, it might be mentioned in passing, is the wealthiest city in the Union. Its banks stand on a par with the financial houses of Europe, and it is whispered that the seat of financial power is soon to be, if not already, located on Manhattan Island.

In the value of its manufactures it stands at the head of the list.

Its per capita wealth production is exceeded by but three other American cities.

It leads in the number of millionaires within its borders—in point of fact, New York City typifies American financial and industrial progress, and yet what do the census reports show?

Read in the history of New York City the history of every other city—and know to a certainty that the homeless condition of its inhabitants is the condition in which the people of every other city will find themselves at no distant day.

In New York City there are, reported by the census, a few over 400,000 "homes." Of this number less than 9,000 are owned free and unincumbered; less than 14,000 families have even a mortgaged title to shelter over their heads;—

And 384,349 are rented!

Ponder over the spectacle. Of the two millions of people in New York City, surrounded on every hand by

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wealth outrivaling as does the sun the stars the dazzling splendor of Rome in her most palmy days of robbery and rapine—a few over *two per cent can say they have a home exempt from the toll of the landlord and the money shark!*

New York City is but a type, a little more intensified, of other American cities.

The census statistician has painstakingly gathered his information, and it should damn any politician who claims responsibility for the prosperous times of the past twenty-five years.

Bad as this showing is, it does not convey to the mind a picture of the true condition of the working class—the great army of wealth producers.

Turning to page clxiii, Vol. II., Census Reports, we find that Manhattan's 2,000,000 people, embracing 433,000 families, live in 100,000 dwellings. Take from this one-half of the houses owned free and mortgaged, and, assuming that but one family lives in each, it leaves 90,000 dwellings to 400,000 families.

Startling as this condition is, the situation is steadily growing worse. Says the United States Census Report, page cxcii, Vol. II.: "These percentages, as compared with similar percentages for 1890, show a slightly increased proportion of both hired and encumbered homes, and a corresponding decreased proportion of homes owned free. Nor is this homeless condition confined to the city proletariat." Says the Census Report, page and volume last quoted: "A comparison of the percentages for farm homes shows conditions similar to those already stated for all homes."

On page 59 (lix), Volume VII., the report says:

The census of 1900 was taken at a time of special activity and productivity in manufactures, and thus its record is of a volume of industry at almost high-water mark. The same general conditions existed during the census of 1890, in a degree less marked, perhaps, but so nearly identical that comparison between the statistics of the two censuses can safely and satisfactorily be made. There is, perhaps, no decade covered by previous censuses in which the conditions were so nearly alike at the beginning and at the end

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of the decade. This may be shown by brief reference to the business situation at the time of each census. The year 1889 was highly prosperous, passing all previous years in the volume of business done. . . . The agricultural crops were the largest in the history of the country. These large crops stimulated business in all directions. . . . The development of manufacturing in the decade that followed was retarded by a period of pronounced business depression, first manifested in the second quarter of 1893, and extending into 1896. . . . The gradual restoration of business confidence began in 1896, and 1897 was a year of recovery. Large and remunerative crops from 1896 to 1899 accelerated this recovery, and an increased demand for all varieties of product infused unusual activity into manufacturing enterprises. The approach of the census year (1900) found the capacity of every line of manufacture tested to the utmost.

I have quoted thus at length from the report in order to get the thought firmly fixed in the mind of the reader that we are discussing figures indicating the high-water mark of capitalistic prosperity. Naturally, during the prosperous times men buy homes, and it is not assuming too much to say that every family who possibly could availed themselves of the extraordinary opportunity to secure this very desirable possession. But what do the figures tell us? Says the government statistician, page 193 (cxci), Vol II.:

A careful study of the census figures will show that the older, richer and more advanced the community, the larger the per cent of hired or rented or encumbered homes.

From this summary it appears that of the 16,187,715 homes on the mainland of the United States in 1900, 7,259,362 are returned as owned by the families living in them, 8,365,739 as hired, leaving 562,614 for which the facts of proprietorship were not stated. Disregarding the unknown element and considering the percentages based upon known proprietorship, it appears that 46.5 per cent of all the homes in 1900 are owned and 53.5 per cent are hired. The owned free constitute 31.8 per cent. . . . These percentages, as compared with similar percentages for 1890, show a slightly increased proportion of both hired and encumbered homes and a corresponding decreased proportion of homes owned free. . . . A comparison of the percentages for farm homes shows conditions similar to those already stated for all homes.

In Alaska, where man is just emerging from "primitive savagery," and where the beneficent reign of the higher civilization has not yet been introduced, less than twenty per cent of the people live in hired homes. And, strange, the census does not report a single mortgaged home. Benighted Alaska—may she be redeemed from her ignorance and stupidity.

Next comes New Mexico, Oklahoma, Idaho, Nevada and Utah. Here the blessed mortgage—that badge of prosperity—makes its debut and spreads its slimy coils around the firesides of the free American people.

Gradually the tenant and the mortgagor make their way down through the line of states. The free homes disappear under the banner of the auctioneer's red flag and the tenant takes his place in the procession. Wisconsin, Vermont and North Dakota are neck and neck for first place in the greatest number of mortgaged homes.

New Jersey leads the procession with the smallest number of homes owned free and the greatest number of rented homes, with the exception of the trust-ridden island of Hawaii. Rhode Island, a state that produces more wealth per capita than any state in the Union, follows next, with New York, the great Empire State, following a close third. Massachusetts shows less than one-fourth of her families living in homes free from encumbrance.

And what effect has this industrial revolution, which has made homeless the wage-worker, had upon the individual? Here again we may quote from Mr. Hunter's book, "Poverty," with the assurance that he has not overdrawn the picture. It exists as he describes it, as you may see for yourself—if you are so fortunate as not to be a part of it:

Without the security which comes only with the ownership of property, without a home from which they may not be evicted, without any assurance of regular employment, without tools with which they may employ themselves, they are pathetically dependent upon their physical efficiency—their health and strength, and upon the activity

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of machinery, owned by others, and worked or left idle, as the owners consider it wise or profitable.

In this community of workers several thousand human beings were struggling fiercely against want. Day after day, year after year, they toiled with marvelous persistency and perseverance. Obnoxious as the simile is, they worked from dawn until nightfall, or from sunset until dawn, like galley slaves, under the sting of want and under the whip of hunger. On cold, rainy mornings, at the dusk of dawn, I have been awakened two hours before my rising time by the monotonous clatter of hobnailed boots on the plank sidewalks, as the procession to the factory passed under my window. Heavy, brooding men, tired, anxious women, thinly dressed, unkempt little girls, and frail, joyless little lads, passed along half awake, not uttering a word as they hurried to the great factory. From all directions thousands were entering the various gates—children of every nation of Europe. Hundreds of others—obviously a hungrier, poorer lot than these entering the gates; some were most ragged and almost shoeless, but all with eager faces—waited in front of the closed gate, until finally a great red-bearded man came out and selected twenty-three of the strongest, best looking of the men. For these the gates were opened, and the others, with downcast eyes, marched off to seek employment elsewhere, or to sit at home, or in a saloon, or in a lodging house, until the following morning, when they came wistfully again to the same factory gate. In this community, the saddest in which I have ever lived, fully fifty thousand men, women and children were all the time either in poverty or on the verge of poverty. It would not be possible to describe how they worked and starved and ached to rise out of it. They broke their health down; the men acquired in this particular trade a painful and disabling rheumatism, and consumption was very common. The girls and boys followed in the paths of their parents. The wages were so low that the men alone often could not support their families, and mothers with babies toiled in order to add to the income. They gave up all thought of joyful living, probably in the hope that by tremendous exertion they could overcome their poverty; but they gained while at work only enough to keep their bodies alive. There was a sort of treadmill existence, with no prospect of anything else in life but more treadmill. When they were not given work in the mill they starved; and when they grew desperate they came to my office and asked for charity.

And yet, whatever the ills of mankind, they seem to weigh heaviest upon the children. The enormous number of deaths in certain parts of our largest cities has been referred to as the "Massacre of the Innocents." In certain

rear tenements, in dark rooms and in the most unsanitary portions of the "double decker" tenements, and especially in certain unsanitary and pestilential blocks, the death rate of children under five years of age is a matter of public disgrace. The death rate of children under five years in those places where there were both front and rear tenements ran up as high as 204 per thousand. In other words, four or five times as many babies die in these houses as in the houses of the well-to-do districts. If this same rate were maintained among all the poor (which is not probable), of 1,000,000 babies under five years, 200,000 would die annually; while of the 1,000,000 babies in the well-to-do districts only 50,000 would die. The Tenement House Committee of 1894 called the rear tenements "veritable slaughter-houses."

These present day problems of the child—the cities, the coming of immigrants, the collapse of home life, the yardless tenement—are all due to one underlying cause. There has been an entire revolution of industry during the last century, and nearly all the social problems of child life have grown up as a result of this revolution. The best thought of the entire period has been given to industrial development—to economy, wealth, profits and wages. That the needs of the child have been overlooked, if not entirely forgotten, in the readjustment of society to the new conditions, cannot be questioned.

When children are robbed of play time they too often assert their right to it in manhood, as vagabonds, criminals and prostitutes. There is a time for work and there is a time for play. A well known educator has said: "Play is the first and only occupation of our childhood, and remains the pleasantest our whole life long. To toil like a beast of burden is the sad lot of the lowest, the most unfortunate, and the most numerous class of mortals, but this is contrary to the intent and wish of nature." Whether or not it is contrary to the intent of nature, at this moment, after one hundred years of war has been waged for the abolition of child-slavery, over 1,700,000 children under fifteen years of age are toiling in fields, factories, mines and workshops. "You cannot put tired eyes, pallid cheeks and languid little limbs into statistics."

The evil of child labor is a new evil. It was brought into existence by the factory system, as the street child was brought into existence by the tenement. And, now, in this day of steam and electrical power, when the mere force of one's hands is the most insignificant part of production, and when numberless machines are able to turn out a hundred and a thousandfold more than it was possible for men to do when aided only by simple hand-tools, child labor has become an evil—superfluous and wicked—a shame

to our civilization and an inexorable crime against humanity.

Child labor has been synonymous with "child-slavery" during the entire last century. Any one reading the literature of the previous centuries will see that child labor was never so thought of before. In the days of home industry it was a most natural and proper thing that the child should be a "little helper" to father and mother; "little brother" once meant that, I believe. In the home fields the child was learning to do the work of the world, and there was both wisdom and kindness in teaching his little hands to master the simple industrial processes. The work was neither dangerous nor confining, neither a monotonous, uneducative routine, specialized as it is now, to a hundredth part of a man, nor was it injurious to those tender years and tender bodies. It was the source of the child's real and vital education, and, as a little helper or apprentice, the child was given attention, direction, taught the use and value of materials and skill of hands, so that, in a few years, he was graduated a craftsman with a joy-giving and dignified calling. The workshop was his school, and it was a good school, with able and competent teachers. But what was a blessing in this age became a curse in the next.

A vagrant whom I once knew had for five years—from the day he was eleven until the day he was sixteen—made two movements of his hands each second, or 23,760,000 mechanical movements each year, and was, at the time I knew him, at the age of thirty-five, broken down, drunken and diseased; but he still remembered this period of slavery sufficiently well to tell me that he had "paid up" for all the sins he had ever committed "by those five years in hell." But there is yet one thing that must be added to the picture. Give the child a tenement for a home in the filthy and muddy streets of an ordinary factory town, with open spaces covered with tin cans, bottles, old shoes, garbage and other waste, the gutters running sewers, and the air foul with odors and black with factory smoke, and the picture is fairly complete. It is a dark picture, but hardly so dark as the reality, and if one were to describe "back of the yards" in Chicago, or certain mill towns or mining districts, the picture would be even darker than the one given.

It is a dismal picture, is it not? You have been boasting of the splendid condition of the "American working class." And you have been unconsciously aiding in its perpetuation by your vote and your influence. Contrast, if you will, the condition of the black slave before the war with that of the free wage-worker today. The following extract is taken from an article

printed in a recent issue of the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution*:

The negro in slavery had no thought for the morrow, but he spent his quiet, humble life in his little cabin, with his master to care for every want of self and family. He lived under the best hygienic restraint. His habits of life were regular, food and clothing substantial and sufficient, and the edict of his master kept him indoors at night and restrained him from promiscuous indulgence and the baneful influence of the liquor saloon. In sickness he was promptly and properly cared for by physician and nurse.

I do not know what may be the object of the southern journals in raking up this kind of stuff, unless it is to taunt the black man with what he has lost. Surely no master would advocate a return to chattel slavery after a half-century of prosperity under the wage system. The slave might desire a change to the good-old days before the war, but the master—never.

As advantageous as may have been the system of chattel slavery in America to the slave, as compared with the present system, there is no hope for either the black or white wage-worker in looking to the past. It is the future that holds the key to the situation. That under the prevailing condition advantages have come to the working class there is no question—but *that those advantages have kept pace with the power and privileges of the capitalist class I deny most emphatically*. By comparison there is a wider gulf, measured by dollars and cents and economic advantages, between the wage worker and his employer today than existed between the slave and his master or the serf and his lord. In support of this statement, I refer you to the information collected by Mr. Wright, the labor commissioner for the United States, the Census Reports, Mr. Hunter's book and the evidence which you see on every hand.

Look at the problem from whatever point of view, we are forced to accept the rather remarkable declaration of John Adams quoted in a previous chapter.

Then why all this struggle? Is it hopeless? By no means, my dear reader, as I hope to show you, presently.

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HOW THE WORKMAN LIVES

Mr. Wright, after his exhaustive inquiry, finds that the income of the average American family, including husband, wife and children, is \$827.19.

How is it spent?

Here again we are enlightened by the United States Labor Commissioner. He has gone into the homes of the American workingmen and inquired minutely into what it costs to maintain the worker and his family, much as a dealer in fine stock would investigate the cost of keeping and reproducing Shorthorn cattle or Berkshire hogs.

We are told that the expenses necessary to keep the household in fair working order are, on an average, \$768.54. This goes for the necessities of life.

Theoretically the workingman in America is supposed to live in a mansion and own a piano and an automobile, but in reality he does not. It is true he makes the piano and the automobile and he builds the mansion—but he does not own them nor does he use them.

He does not spend his money in this frivolous manner—though the Rev. W. B. Leach, of Chicago, tells a surprised world that the American people spend \$700,000,000 on jewelry, \$178,000,000 for candy, \$80,000,000 for millinery and several hundreds of other millions for various luxurious items, but only a very small portion of these luxuries goes into the homes of the working class. The worker needs muscle. His "necessities are necessities," observes Hunter. "Necessity's sharp pinch is like a steel vise. There is no give to it. Necessity is like flint or granite. It is irresistible. It cannot be shuffled or altered."

So the workingman goes into the market and buys muscle-producing food. Commissioner Wright has also itemized the expenditures of this Sovereign Workingman of America. Here is the list:

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| Fresh beef | \$50.05 | Rent | \$ 99.53 |
| Salt beef | 5.26 | Principal and interest on mortgage.. | 12.15 |
| Fresh hog products. | 14.02 | Fuel | 32.21 |
| Salt hog products... | 13.89 | Lighting | 8.15 |
| Other meat | 9.78 | Clothing | 107.90 |
| Poultry | 9.49 | Taxes | 5.76 |
| Fish | 8.01 | Insurance | 20.98 |
| Eggs | 16.79 | Organization fees .. | 8.99 |
| Milk | 21.32 | Religious purposes . | 7.60 |
| Butter | 28.76 | Charity | 2.39 |
| Cheese | 2.62 | Furniture and utensils | 26.28 |
| Lard | 9.35 | Amusements and vacations .. | 12.30 |
| Tea | 5.30 | Books and Newspapers | 8.38 |
| Coffee | 10.74 | Intoxicating liquors. | 12.45 |
| Sugar | 15.76 | Tobacco | 10.91 |
| Molasses | 1.69 | Sickness and death. | 20.52 |
| Flour and meal ... | 16.76 | Other purposes | 45.14 |
| Bread | 12.44 | | |
| Rice | 2.05 | | |
| Potatoes | 12.93 | | |
| Other vegetables ... | 18.85 | | |
| Fruit | 16.52 | | |
| Vinegar and pickles. | 4.12 | | |
| Other food | 20.40 | Total for all purposes | \$768.54 |

Look it over carefully and see if you discover any expenditures for jewelry, and such. I don't. This is the standard of living which the president of the United States declared emphatically must be maintained. In his letter of acceptance he told prospective voters, most of them members of the working class, that his party would continue to be good to them.

And yet, is it not a fact that the slave masters of ante-bellum times were as good to their slaves? Did they not provide them with food and clothing and raiment, and a place to sleep? How much better off is the American white slave to-day?

You say he has freedom? Yes, he is free to quit his job and ask for another. He may even become an employer, and, later on, a capitalist—but this does not change the relationship of the two great classes in

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America. For every workingman who becomes a capitalist, two capitalists are shoved down into the ranks of the proletariat to become competitors in the already overcrowded labor market.

As Mr. Roosevelt has pointed with pride to the showing exhibited by his labor commissioner's report, we must assume that this is the best which the capitalist system has to offer to the American workingman.

He is to have the munificent sum of \$12.29 for vacations and amusements. "Recreation and recuperation," observes one writer, "are vital necessities to the man whose work is hard, intense and spurred on by the feverish competitive spirit of American life." No one will deny this, yet who will contend that the American working class enjoys that recreation necessary to maintain a healthy physique? Mr. Wright finds that less than 3 per cent of all the workers in the United States are so situated that they can take a much-needed vacation.

Unable to do this the worker wears away his life until at last he can stand the strain no longer and he becomes a ward upon the charitably inclined.

Professor Edward D. Jones, a capitalist economist, says the necessity for higher wages than the worker now receives "is based upon the observation that, in the purchase and sale of labor on the market, all the necessary and legitimate cost of producing labor are not provided for in the wages received. Such transactions are not completely economical, and do not meet the claims of social justice. Fair wages must include more than enough to support the laborer while working, and must cover compensation for seasons of idleness due to sickness, old age, youth, lack of work, or other causes beyond the control of the laborer. Skill must be so paid for as to cover the expenses of education and the risk of failure. The wages of those who work should include enough to support that proportion of every normal society of human beings which cannot or ought not to be earning wages. When one pays for a vase he pays not merely for the one given him, but for part of those which have been ruined in the making or broken in handling, so the cost of labor should include the expenses of those who die in youth, or who, in age,

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live to be a charge upon others. As the vane in fashion must pay for a part of a superseded stock, so wages must take account of superseded skill. If these elements in the social cost of labor are not provided for directly by wage payments, they must be surreptitiously added as public or private charity. If withheld entirely, the deterioration of the society concerned is certain."

How cramped and pitiful is the life of the man who does the work in the United States one can understand by glancing at the itemized list of his expenditures, which is reproduced on page 17.

Twenty dollars is spent per year in cases of sickness and death. Reduced to the five members of the family, it means about \$4 per year for each. It probably cost the slave master less to care for his slaves, but the slave was not under the severe mental strain that is the lot of the free worker. Medical science attributes to mental exhaustion many of the diseases which today afflict the working class. Not the mental exhaustion which comes from productive labor—but the effort to keep the wolf from the door and the endeavor to keep one's footing in the fierce struggle for existence.

Imagine taking one's wife and children to the seaside on \$20 per year!

Imagine one taking his family to a mountain resort and permitting the nature-starved babe to breathe the germless air on that sun!

Again we find the workingman and his family yearly spend \$26 for furniture. How many pianos would that provide? This sum wouldn't furnish a dog house for a second-rate captain of industry—yet it is expected to furnish a workingman's home.

Of books and papers he has a supply—such as it is. Eight dollars and thirty-seven cents will not go far towards educating a family of growing children and at the same time supply the father with his daily newspaper and his weekly and monthly magazines and the mother with an occasional book and a household journal or two. This trifle would not buy Harry Lehr's cigars for a day—yet it is expected to furnish the

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means of educating a workingman's family for twelve months.

Your moralists will point to the fact that the workingman spends \$23.16 for liquors and tobacco, and they will tear their hair while pointing to the evils which follow this accursed traffic—forgetting that it is the profits from the liquor and tobacco taxes which enable the government to carry on its foreign policy and send ships and munitions of war to the Orient! They overlook the fact that they are partners with the saloonkeeper, the distiller and the brewer in debauching mankind for a few miserable dollars of profit. They overlook the fact that in the White House of the United States more is spent in a day for wines and tobacco than the workingman's family spends in a year. They overlook the fact that the men and women who support the pulpits, from which are hurled these diatribes at the extravagance of the poor, consume many millions of dollars per year in champagne, and that a Morgan will in one day spend more for wines than the workingman does in five years.

One hundred and seven dollars is expected to clothe a family of five winter and summer—while one society woman in New York boasts of spending \$30,000 on her wardrobe! An Easter bonnet of a dame of fashion would wipe out the whole sum. And you wonder that the poor sometimes murmur?

You point to the sum expended for "other purposes." You tell me that it is here that the working class gets the things which are necessary for their welfare and happiness. Search the list carefully and you will find no item covering the sums expended for railroad fare, street car fare, and the innumerable little incidentals which capitalism has placed so cleverly in the way of the simple-minded workingman and his family. The sum expended for incidentals, which you point to as covering all those things which go to make life pleasurable, are wiped out by the daily street car fare extracted from the workingmen in the

city, and by the horse and cart used by the miners and other workmen in going to and from their places of labor. *The worker follows the job—and he pays his own expenses.*

But, again, you point to the fact that the income of the average American family of five, consisting of husband, mother and three children, is \$827.19, while the expenses during the same period are but \$768.54—leaving a net gain to the workingman and his family of \$58.65. This represents the savings for fifty-two weeks. It shows a surplus of—think of it—a little over \$1 per week! Is this not a munificent sum? Here is a family of five—consisting of at least two wage earners—by dint of economy and denying themselves many of the little things which you consider actual necessities of life—laying by for future emergencies one dollar per week! Gracious, generous capitalism! He surely must be an ungrateful man who would ask for more!

But here, again, we see the clammy hand of commercialism. Is the workingman and his family permitted to keep this little horde, laid by with such painstaking care and denial? What do you gather from the long list of defaulted savings banks, insurance companies, building and loan associations, and the countless other “safe” institutions where the workingman is invited to place his money in trust? But the danger does not stop here. Grant that the bank or other safe deposit institution remains intact. The workingman is growing old; for twenty years he has saved and the little home is nearly paid for. Another year and the place will be out of debt.

The shop closes down!

Out of work!

The days pass, lengthening into weeks and months. The interest comes due on the mortgage—then the principal. Finally the sheriff knocks on the door, and the gray-haired old man and old woman are invited to step down and out. And, mayhap, if they do not move fast enough to suit the minion of the

law, the old capitalist class are but trifling wealth from these things which political. And yet will tell you years ago spread disaster who and set 7,000 the Pennsylvania corporations to 1000 men, men out in a few

No slave did he fail

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In the great district wash, dress and hurry rests upon everything else not to. But the will live upon are in des laborers a the machine want is ceases sufficient actual production of soil who lions who sion of a know not They know

law, the old people are forcibly told to move on. The capitalist class do not consider these matters—they are but trifles to them, surrounded as they are by the wealth from the toil of these people. You consider these things the workings of a divine providence, with which politics and politicians have nothing to do. And yet when you go to Argentine, Kan., the people will tell you that it was the smelter trust that a few years ago closed the big smelters and caused widespread disaster to the toilers. It was Robert T. Lincoln who closed the doors of Pullman-town last year and set 7,000 men and their families adrift. It was the Pennsylvania railroad and other great eastern corporations that during 1904 discharged more than 75,000 men, making homeless that many families—wiping out in a few short months the savings of years.

No slave master ever evicted the aged slave—nor did he fail to provide him with a job.

* * * * *

The statistics of Mr. Wright furnish us ample proof of the correctness of the observations made by writers who have personally investigated the home life of the working class. Says Robert Hunter:

In the same cities, and, indeed, everywhere, there are great districts of people who are up before dawn, who wash, dress and eat breakfast, kiss wives and children, and hurry to work or to seek for work. The world rests upon their shoulders; it moves by their muscles; everything would stop if, for any reason, they should decide not to go into the fields and factories and mines. But the world is so organized that they gain enough to live upon only when they work; should they cease, they are in destitution and hunger. The more fortunate of the laborers are but a few weeks from actual distress when the machines are stopped. Upon the unskilled masses want is constantly pressing. As soon as employment ceases suffering stares them in the face. They are the actual producers of wealth, who have no home nor any bit of soil which they can call their own. They are the millions who possess no tools and can work only by permission of another. In the main they live miserably, they know not why. They work sore, yet gaining nothing. They know the meaning of hunger and the dread of want.

They love their wives and children. They try to retain their self-respect. They have some ambition. They give to neighbors in need, yet they are themselves the actual children of poverty.

THE WORKER'S FAMILY LIFE.

Few persons in the United States have not read of the tenement districts in New York and Chicago. Jacob Riis, friend and co-laborer of President Roosevelt, has done much to familiarize the public with the manner in which millions of the lowest-paid toilers live, rear their young, and die in fetid and disease-infected slum districts. Riis has been making a gallant, though ineffective, fight against the slum. In an address which he delivered recently, I heard him make this remark: "Thirty years ago, when I commenced this fight, there were 40,000 windowless rooms in New York. To-day there are 360,000—and they exist in defiance of the law."

Like a chronic ulcer, society has grown used to the New York and Chicago sore spots. We flatter ourselves that it is confined to these cities. But it isn't, and as industrialism grows the hard conditions of the working class become more unbearable.

Cleveland, Ohio, aspires to be the "City Beautiful." It is the home of John D. Rockefeller. Within its limits millions of dollars have been absorbed by the captains of industry—it is a typical industrial community of the more decent sort. Its chamber of commerce recently appointed a committee to investigate the conditions of the working class in Cleveland. It is needless to say that the Republicans will not use the result as a campaign document. From the report the following extracts are made:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY.

A few generations ago a man depended largely upon the work of his own hands for supplying his wants. He was largely independent of the labor of others, and there was, likewise, small demand for his services. As a result, it was not necessary that he live near the base of supplies,

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and in direct touch with thousands of other men. There was practically no "labor market." With the introduction of machinery came an industrial revolution. Mechanical was largely substituted for muscular power, and the factory, with its division of labor, was introduced. Now men, instead of being independent in their means of livelihood, are largely interdependent. The head of the family must be near a common exchange, where his services will find a market value. The clothing which he wears, and the food which he eats, instead of being provided by himself and a few of his neighbors, are furnished by the combined labor of thousands all over the world. In exchange, his labor must be available equally to those thousands, through the medium of the factory, the mill or the shipping house. The factory operative, the shop girl, the street vender, the boot-black, all must be near the scene of the day's work; the day laborer must live near the center of his field of action, for in all these cases the time and money which might be spent in transportation are important factors. As has been shown, in the earlier stages of the present industrial system this resulted in the workman's small cottage near the center of industrial activity. But as demand for labor grew greater the only way in which increased rent charges could be met was by filling up houses, moving into smaller apartments and taking lodgers—the final result being the crowding of every available corner in the double-decker.

THE BROOD OF MISERY.

It was gathered that immorality, perverted sexuality, drunkenness, pauperism, and many forms of debauchery, were caused in some instances, in others abetted, by the indecent overcrowding which existed; high death rates; a pitiful increase in infant mortality; terrible suffering among little children; scrofula and congenital diseases; ophthalmia, due to dark, ill-ventilated, overcrowded rooms; sheer exhaustion and inability to work; encouragement of infectious diseases; reducing physical stamina and thus producing consumption and diseases arising from general debility, were some of the evils of overcrowding.

BREEDING SPOTS FOR DISEASE.

They are inhabited by the laboring classes, comprising people of all nationalities, living in their respective neighborhoods or streets, in crowded quarters, engaged in exhausting labor, and both working and sleeping in unsanitary surroundings. The air inside these houses during the cold months is bad, the result of having been breathed over and over again, until most of the available oxygen is taken from it, and the excretive products of the lungs

have accumulated in it. In many of these rooms, especially those of the mill workers, from two to six people sleep at night, and when off to work this room is occupied as a sleeping apartment by an equal number of night laborers, who sleep during the day. The windows are kept battened up in winter, ventilation being a thing apparently not thought of.

EAT, SLEEP, LIVE, IN ONE ROOM.

Mark off upon your floor six paces in one direction and seven in the other and you will have the space, in which over 50 per cent of these families are carrying on their existence. It must be remembered, too, that these advantages are deceiving, for very often the largest families are housed in the smallest quarters, and vice versa. For instance, we find seven people living in two rooms with an area of only 160 feet, while all are sleeping in a single room.

* * * * *

Nearly one-fourth of the apartments examined contained living rooms which were slept in as well, while one-fifth of all apartments had every room used for both living and sleeping purposes. These were largely two-room apartments.

More serious still, of course, is the case where all sleep in a single room. For instance, we find nine people—father, mother, four children, and three lodgers—all sleeping in a single room. Two of the children are small, while two are about 14 years old. The moral influence of these promiscuous relations must be most demoralizing. Imagine the conditions where all the functions of living, including cooking, eating, dressing, sleeping, bathing, giving birth to children, are carried on in a single small room.

BATHING EXTRAORDINARY.

The lack of bathing provisions in these districts is so universal as to make a table showing the extent of their existence unnecessary. In Block 1 there is not a single bath tub; in Block 2 there is one; in Block 3 is one; in Block 4 six were found; in Block 5 two, and in Blocks 6 and 7 one. In other words, about 99 per cent of the people inhabiting these districts are absolutely without respectable provisions for bathing.

THE BETTER WAY.

If our forefathers had been told that one day humanity would have at its disposal all the engines of which it is to-day possessed to maintain and defend its material ex-

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istence, they would have concluded, first, that there would be an augmentation of independence, and, in consequence, happiness; and, in the second place, a sensible decrease in the competition for the necessities of life. It would even have been permitted them to think that the simplification of existence, resulting from these perfected means of action, would bring the realization of higher morality. Nothing of all this has come to pass. Neither happiness, social peace, nor power for good increased.—From Wagner's "Simple Life." Of this book Roosevelt said: "I am preaching his book to my countrymen."

We have carefully examined Commissioner Wright's report showing the per cent of unemployed in the United States; side by side with his statistical tables we have placed the observations of trained writers verifying his facts; we have discovered that the problem confronting the race is the one of unemployment—it looms up with the frightful menace of a derelict wreck in a fog.

We have seen how the American workingman and his family live. Side by side we have placed Mr. Wright's figures and the conclusions of social economists and committees appointed by capitalist, municipal and national officers; we have seen that one-half of the working population is unemployed part of the year; that from this condition grows the misery and degradation of the workingman and his wife and children; we have read Mr. Wright's explanation of the causes of unemployment, and we find them neatly tabulated; we find this unemployment is caused by closed establishments, slack work, inability to get work, sickness, etc. Mr. Wright has not gone back of these "causes." There must be a reason why these establishments are closed, why there is slack work, and why men and women willing to work are unable to find a master.

Does it not seem strange, as the quotation at the head of this chapter points out, that with the vast improvements society has made in its productive machinery there should be such a terrible strife for an opportunity to earn bread? Let us look into this and

see if we cannot discover in the thing itself the difficulty.

Says the 1900 Census Report, Volume VII, page 123:

A factor that has had a real tendency to lower the actual average earnings of the wage-earner in many industries is the displacement of the skilled operative by machinery, which permits the substitution of a comparatively unskilled machine hand. The tendency is noticeable in many lines of industry. Its effects are two-fold: to reduce the number of employes producing the same, or an increased quality of product, and hence to lower the total wages of the group; and to reduce the average rate of wages because of the lower degree of skill required.

The effect of the introduction and improvement of machinery upon the condition of the skilled artisan is an economic question of the greatest importance. Although difficult to show statistically, the effect can, in some degree, at least, be measured by the census figures. . . . In the tanning of leather, by reason of improved machinery, there has been a constantly decreasing demand for skilled workmen. Women and children are now performing work formerly done by men. In 1890 a "shaver," who had to serve an apprenticeship of several years before he became a skilled workman, received as high as \$6 per day at hand work. In 1900 he had been quite generally supplanted by the "handy man," who did the same work by machinery, accomplishing four times as much, and received perhaps a third of the pay. From the table it appears that to produce an increase of 18.5 per cent in value of products there was required an increase . . . of only 6.3 per cent in wages. These statistics indicate that the increase in production has been accomplished very largely through utilization of new and improved machinery without a corresponding increase in the number of wage-earners and wages paid. . . . In the boot and shoe industry an increase of 18.3 per cent in the value of products resulted . . . with only 6.9 per cent increase in number of wage-earners and an apparent decrease of 2.5 per cent in wages paid.

Again, Volume VII, page 134, of the report says:

It is stated in the special report on the boot and shoe industry that the machinery capacity employed in that industry was sufficient to produce in seven months of the year all the boots and shoes for the normal annual consumption.

Now you begin to see what effect the introduction

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of improved methods has upon the wage earners, and why the nation is confronted with an unemployed problem.

The politicians and statesmen have been unable to solve it. They stand aghast at its proportions—increasing swiftly with each revolution of the wheel of industry.

Shall we destroy the machines? No—that would be folly. It has taken thousands of years of ceaseless toil and the sacrifice of innumerable human lives to reach the point we have on the ladder of progress—and we can take no backward step. We have seen the hand tool and the individual workman grow to the great machine and the associated groups of employed thousands; we have seen this perfected machine grouped into larger and larger combinations—increasing productivity to a point so far beyond the dreams of our fathers of 100 years ago that, were they alive to-day, it would appear to them as a revised edition of the "Arabian Nights."

As men become familiar with the facts which enable them to understand the situation—when they bump up against economic conditions which put them out of business or shove them down into the ranks of the unemployed, they begin to make an effort to solve the problem.

You can see at once that it is not the machine—if you did not you would desire a return to the primitive times of your fathers. But you have no serious expectation or hope that the "good old days" will return. You would not exchange the passenger train for the stage coach, nor the weaving machine of to-day for the hand loom.

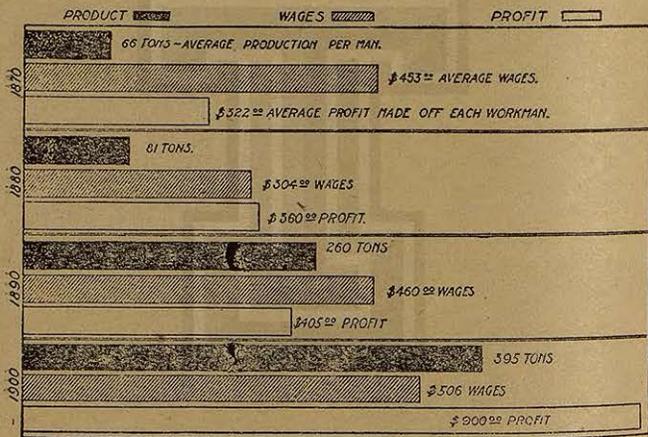
The world would starve to death in thirty days were it possible to destroy the machinery now used and return to the primitive tools of a century ago.

Then wherein lies the trouble? This: The machine to-day is owned by the captain of industry and a small group of his fellows. The increase in productivity goes to the capitalist, just as a half century or

so ago the child born on the plantation of slave parents became the property of the master—to be used in producing more wealth.

You have seen from the figures and the comments quoted from the census reports that as productivity increased the number of wage earners decreased, as did likewise wages.

Suppose, then, we take the ownership of the machines from a few individuals, who absorb the tremendous social values created, and place the title in the men who *use* them—in society in general—and give to each worker his proportion of what is created. There would then be no surplus values climbing up into millions to be used to club the working class into misery and want and degradation.



In order to illustrate the difference in income which would be the lot of the worker under Socialism and his wages to-day, I will call your attention to the iron industry.

For your better understanding, I have made two drawings which you will study carefully.

In the diagram on this page you will find represented by the black column the progress made in the

manufacture of iron represents the average of the mills of the country. Each man employed on the advancing scale, mechanical improvements, handling the new machinery in a few years the table shows the product per man employed in another way.

One man in 1870 produced six tons of iron as did six men in 1900.

The light colored column represents the owners of the mills. In 1870 each worker produced \$322 profit—of \$322. 300 per cent.

In 1870 his wages were \$453 per year.

As his hands increased, his wages increased, his wages per week. In 1890 his wages first must add more workers. The climbing of that section of the pig iron plants. Note the lengthening profits, and representing wages. You have a clear view of the wages system under private ownership.

Now, then, I will ask you of the question.

When the wages are not "divided up" but eliminated.

There will be the disappearance of the difference between

manufacture of pig iron. The small black column represents the average number of tons produced in the mills of the United States for the year 1870 for each man employed, including superintendents, clerks, advancing scale, which illustrates the growth of mechanical improvement and the laborer's skill in handling the new machines. For the period of thirty years the table shows an increase in the finished product per man employed of about 600 per cent. To put it in another way—

One man in 1900 turns out as many tons of pig iron as did six men in 1870.

The light columns show the net profit reaped by the owners of the mills for each man employed. In 1870 each workman created a surplus value—net profit—of \$322. In thirty years it increased nearly 300 per cent.

In 1870 his wages for making 66 tons of iron were \$453 per year. The next decade, although the product of his hands increased and the profits of his masters increased, his wages fell to the pitiful sum of \$6 per week. In 1890 he regained the ground lost, but he first must add many millions to the coffers of his masters. The climax came in 1900—the exploitation of that section of the working class which operated the pig iron plants had well nigh reached perfection. Note the length of the 1900 white column, representing profits, and then compare it with the column representing wages. A study of this diagram will give you a clear understanding of the operation of the wages system under the present arrangement of private ownership.

Now, then, I will ask you to look at the other side of the question.

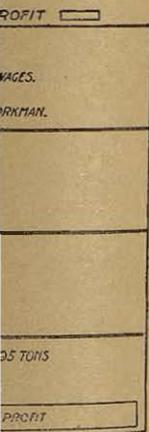
When the workers own the machinery—they will not “divide up” with the capitalist—profits will be eliminated.

There will be no unemployed problem, because with the disappearance of this surplus-value—(the difference between the wages paid and the price of the

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laborer's product on the market)—there can be no overproduction. Each worker will consume what he produces.

To-day an improvement in machinery means loss of work to millions—under Socialism it would mean an increase in the income received by each worker.

It is in your power, as a voter, to complete this new arrangement. You have the votes—and for the present at least you have the opportunity of using them. To-morrow it may be too late.

I urge you, my working class friend, to study carefully the facts and figures here set forth. Draw your own conclusion—I am willing to leave it to you if you will but investigate.

HAND AND MACHINE LABOR.

The following table is taken from U. S. Labor Bulletin, No. 54. It is compiled from the thirteenth Annual Labor Report, which presents in detail the results of an investigation showing the difference in time required to produce a certain number of units of manufacture by the hand process and by the machine process. The report is out of print. This table is valuable and should be preserved. With it you can discover at a glance the difference in the two methods, and you will begin to understand why the owners of the machines wax rich while the worker struggles to live. For instance, under the old hand method, it required 118 hours to make one landslide plow. To-day, with modern machinery, it requires less than four hours. The worker to-day produces 30 plows in the same length of time it formerly required to make one plow. If he worked in the good old days for \$1 per day, it cost his boss about \$11 in wages. To-day he gets \$2 per day and in eleven days gets \$22 in wages. For this outlay on the part of the capitalist he gets 30 plows. In other words, the capitalist doubles his wage fund and increases his wealth 30 times—or, assuming that plows have decreased one-half in price, he still has wealth 15 times greater than did his predecessor. The laborer gets for his \$2 to-day just what his father got for \$1—"his board and keep." Go down the list and you will grasp the significance of the figures and will know the secret of capitalist accumulation:

| | —Hours— | |
|---|---------------|----------------|
| | Hand Mthd. | Mchn. Mthd. |
| Pitchforks—50 pitchforks, 12-inch tines..... | 200.00 | 12.33 |
| Plow—1 landslide plow, oak beams and handles | 118.00 | 3.75 |
| Bags—5,000 cotton flour sacks..... | 137.50 | 28.33 |
| Blank books—12 crown ledgers, 8½x14¼ inches, 400 pages, full sheep..... | 107.22 | 13.74 |
| Bookbinding—500 12mo. books, 320 pages, full cloth..... | 228.00 | 59.96 |
| Shoes—10 pairs men's fine grade, calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, soft box toes..... | 222.50 | 29.66 |
| Boxes—1,000 strawboard, paper-covered, shoe boxes, 11½x6x3½ inches..... | 228.00 | 34.50 |

Crackers—1,000 packed.....

Carpet—200 yard wool filling, 1.

Carriage—1 ellipt piano body, cloth trimming

Watch cases—10 size, engine pattern.....

Watch movement watch movement

Combs—1 gross inches, coarse

Barrels—100 flour

Rope—300 pounds

Corsets—1 dozen eyelets in back

Hatchets—12 doz 22 pounds per

Firearms—1 doz hammerless sh

Pamphlets—Print phlets, 32 page

Magazines—Foldi 2,000 copies inches.....

Newspapers—Print 19x28 inches,

Typesetting—100.

Electrotyping—10 inches.....

Engraving—1 w pattern under

Envelopes—50,000

Butter—500 pound

Shirts—1 dozen w en bosoms, li attached.....

Lounges—12 oak ered lounges,

Harness—1 set d stitches per in

Granite—Dressing

Barley—100 bush

Carrots—10 tons

Corn—50 bushel blades cut int

Corn—50 bushels

Cotton—Seed cot

Hay—Harvesting

Oats—160 bushel

Peas—50 bushels

Potatoes—500 bu

Rice—10,000 pou

Rye—100 bushels

Strawberries—50

Sweet Potatoes—

Tomatoes—100

SUPPRESSED INFORMATION

| | Hours | |
|--|------------|-------------|
| | Hand Mthd. | Mchn. Mthd. |
| Crackers—1,000 pounds graham crackers, packed | 160.00 | 35.56 |
| Carpet—200 yards ingrain carpet, cotton warp, wool filling, 1,088 ends, 26 picks per inch... | 151.05 | 64.86 |
| Carriage—1 elliptic spring, leather top buggy, piano body, dropped axles, banded hubs, cloth trimmings | 200.42 | 39.14 |
| Watch cases—10 gold hunting watch cases, 18 size, engine turned, "Barleycorn shield" pattern | 174.97 | 35.55 |
| Watch movements—1 key-wind brass hunting watch movements, 18 size, full plate | 195.65 | 5.51 |
| Combs—1 gross horn dressing combs, 7x1 1/4 inches, coarse and fine, teeth 1 1/4 inches.... | 66.60 | 12.48 |
| Barrels—100 flour barrels, patent hoops | 50.50 | 22.32 |
| Rope—300 pounds 3/4-inch hemp baling rope... | 134.25 | 17.00 |
| Corsets—1 dozen medium sateen corsets, 17 eyelets in back | 210.00 | 18.95 |
| Hatchets—12 dozen No. 2 shingling hatchets, 22 pounds per dozen | 191.00 | 54.93 |
| Firearms—1 double-barreled, breech-loading, hammerless shotgun | 202.50 | 58.38 |
| Pamphlets—Printing and binding 4,000 pamphlets, 32 pages, 3 3/8 x 5 3/4 inches | 234.00 | 5.00 |
| Magazines—Folding, stitching and covering 2,000 copies 96-page magazine, 6 1/2 x 9 1/2 inches | 151.20 | 47.73 |
| Newspapers—Printing and folding 36,000 pages | 216.00 | 1.03 |
| Lithography—Printing 1,000 sheets art work, 19x23 inches, 6 colors | 281.00 | 5.68 |
| Typesetting—100,000 ems, newspaper work.... | 209.60 | 45.45 |
| Electrotyping—100 electrotype plates, 8 1/2 x 7 1/2 inches | 260.00 | 89.50 |
| Engraving—1 wood cut 7 1/4 x 9 inches, same pattern under each method | 119.50 | 36.10 |
| Envelopes—50,000 No. 6 3/4 plain white envelopes | 217.33 | 15.78 |
| Butter—500 pounds, in tubs | 125.00 | 12.50 |
| Shirts—1 dozen white muslin shirts, plaited linen bosoms, linen-covered collars and cuffs attached | 119.92 | 15.68 |
| Lounges—12 oak frame, round end, plush-covered lounges, 69x23 inches, antique finish... | 246.50 | 46.00 |
| Harness—1 set double coach harness, traces 10 stitches per inch | 234.50 | 40.72 |
| Granite—Dressing 150 square feet | 243.00 | 19.00 |
| <i>Agriculture.</i> | | |
| Barley—100 bushels | 211.94 | 9.04 |
| Carrots—10 tons long orange | 160.17 | 79.35 |
| Corn—50 bushels, shelled, stalks, husks and blades cut into fodder | 228.36 | 34.38 |
| Corn—50 bushels, husked, stalks left in field.. | 48.44 | 18.91 |
| Cotton—Seed cotton, 1,000 pounds | 223.78 | 78.70 |
| Hay—Harvesting and baling 8 tons timothy... | 284.00 | 92.53 |
| Oats—160 bushels | 265.00 | 28.39 |
| Peas—50 bushels | 192.50 | 114.08 |
| Potatoes—500 bushels | 247.54 | 86.36 |
| Rice—10,000 pounds rough | 235.16 | 64.55 |
| Rye—100 bushels | 251.93 | 100.67 |
| Strawberries—500 quarts | 216.54 | 84.42 |
| Sweet Potatoes—50 bushels | 151.11 | 58.15 |
| Tomatoes—100 bushels | 216.22 | 89.92 |

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cumulation:

| Hours | |
|------------|-------------|
| Hand Mthd. | Mchn. Mthd. |
| 200.00 | 12.33 |
| 118.50 | 3.75 |
| 137.50 | 28.33 |
| 107.22 | 13.74 |
| 228.00 | 59.96 |
| 222.50 | 29.66 |
| 228.00 | 34.50 |

| | Hours | |
|---|------------|-------------|
| | Hand Mthd. | Mchn. Mthd. |
| Wheat—50 bushels | 160.63 | 7.43 |
| <i>Mining.</i> | | |
| Coal—50 tons bituminous | 171.05 | 94.30 |
| <i>Quarrying.</i> | | |
| Drilling granite—60 2½-inch holes, 1½ feet deep, in granite rock | 178.35 | 29.64 |
| Drilling rock—6 2-inch holes, 12 feet deep, in hard, blue rock | 180.00 | 8.20 |
| Granite—Quarrying 50 cubic feet | 252.00 | 65.50 |
| Limestone—Quarrying 100 tons | 115.28 | 80.67 |
| Marble—Quarrying 72 cubic feet | 133.57 | 26.08 |
| Red rock—Quarrying 40 tons | 205.33 | 80.00 |
| <i>Transportation, Etc.</i> | | |
| Loading grain—Transferring 6,000 bushels wheat from storage bins or elevators to vessel | 222.00 | 53.60 |
| Loading ore—Loading 100 tons iron ore on cars | 200.00 | 2.36 |
| Unloading coal—Transferring 200 tons from canal boats to bins 400 feet distant | 240.00 | 20.00 |
| Unloading cotton—Transferring 200 bales from vessel to dock | 240.00 | 75.50 |

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES.

| ESTATES. | Number. | Aggregate wealth. | Average wealth. |
|--|------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| The wealthy classes \$50,000 and over | 125,000 | \$33,000,000,000 | \$264,000 |
| The well-to-do classes \$50,000 to \$5,000 | 1,375,000 | 23,000,000,000 | 16,000 |
| The middle classes \$5,000 to \$500 | 5,500,000 | 8,200,000,000 | 1,500 |
| The poorer classes under \$500 | 5,500,000 | 800,000,000 | 150 |
| Total | 12,500,000 | \$65,000,000,000 | \$5,200 |

—From Charles B. Spahr's "Distribution of Wealth in the U. S.," p. 56.

| Class. | Families. | Per Cent. | Average Wealth. | Aggregate Wealth. | Per Cent. |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Rich | 125,000 | 1.0 | \$263,040 | \$32,880,000,000 | 54.8 |
| Middle | 1,362,500 | 10.9 | 14,180 | 19,320,000,000 | 32.2 |
| Poor | 4,762,500 | 38.1 | 1,639 | 7,800,000,000 | 13.0 |
| Very poor .. | 6,250,000 | 50.0 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Total ... | 12,500,000 | 100.0 | \$4,800 | \$60,000,000,000 | 100.0 |

—From John Graham Brooks' "The Social Unrest."

"I do not personally believe that trustworthy statistical sources exist that enable one to make tables of this character that are more than mere guesses at the facts. Yet, if it were known what the possessions of the one hundred and twenty-six thousand richest families in the United States are the result would be all that any agitator need ask." How many liberties have been taken with Mr. Spahr's figures in order to construct this latter table I do not know; it can be said, however, that while neither his figures nor those of Mr. Holmes have escaped criticism the critics have not, thus far, been able to make out a case against them which necessitates any material alteration either of the handling of the data or of the conclusions finally drawn.—Robert Hunter.

These tables proportion of the census year including for males and a

Glassworkers ..
Plasterers ..
Masons (brick a
Teachers and pu
Brick and tile
Fishermen and
Paper hangers
Laborers (not s
Miners and qua
Painters, glazie
Carpenters and
Hat and cap ma
Marble and stor
Roofers and sla
Agricultural lab
Wood choppers
Saw and planin
Stove, furnace a
Coopers ..
Boatmen and sa
Potters ..
Other food prep
Seamstresses ..
Boot and shoe m
ers ..
Rubber factory
Lumbermen and
Silk mill operat
Iron and steel
Actors, professi
Tobacco and cig
tives ..
Tailors and tai
Turpentine farm
Other agricultur
Charcoal, coke
Tin plate and ti
Gold and silver
Wireworkers ..
Broom and brus
Carpet factory
Leather carrier
Other woodwor
Other metal wo
Other textile wo
Shirt, collar an
Oil well and o
ploys ..

PER CENT OF UNEMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION.

These tables show that the apparent increase in 1900 in the proportion of those out of employment during some part of the census year included all but fifteen of the 140 groups specified for males and all but 7 of the 63 groups specified for females.

| Hours | |
|------------|-------------|
| Hand Mthd. | Mchn. Mthd. |
| 160.63 | 7.43 |
| 171.05 | 94.30 |
| 178.35 | 29.64 |
| 180.00 | 8.20 |
| 252.00 | 65.53 |
| 115.28 | 80.67 |
| 133.57 | 26.08 |
| 205.33 | 80.00 |

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 222.00 | 53.60 |
| 200.00 | 2.86 |
| 240.00 | 20.00 |
| 240.00 | 75.50 |

| UNITED STATES. | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Aggregate wealth. | Average wealth. |
| 1,000,000,000 | \$264,000 |
| 1,000,000,000 | 16,000 |
| 200,000,000 | 1,500 |
| 800,000,000 | 150 |
| 1,000,000,000 | \$5,200 |

| Aggregate Wealth. | Per Cent. |
|-------------------|-----------|
| 32,880,000,000 | 54.8 |
| 19,320,000,000 | 32.2 |
| 7,800,000,000 | 13.0 |
| 60,000,000,000 | 100.0 |

| OCCUPATION. | Per Cent of Males Unemployed in | | Per Cent of Females Unemployed in | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| | 1900. | 1890. | 1900. | 1890. |
| Glassworkers | 59.9 | 53.1 | 45.5 | 39.1 |
| Plasterers | 56.1 | 42.9 | .... | .... |
| Masons (brick and stone) | 55.5 | 42.9 | .... | .... |
| Teachers and professors | 55.0 | 30.8 | 61.2 | 33.1 |
| Brick and tile makers, etc. | 48.4 | 43.6 | .... | .... |
| Fishermen and oystermen | 46.3 | 40.4 | .... | .... |
| Paper hangers | 44.5 | 28.0 | .... | .... |
| Laborers (not specific) | 44.3 | 38.4 | 44.1 | 22.6 |
| Miners and quarrymen | 44.3 | 47.9 | .... | .... |
| Painters, glaziers and varnishers | 42.4 | 31.1 | .... | .... |
| Carpenters and joiners | 41.4 | 31.8 | .... | .... |
| Hat and cap makers | 41.0 | 33.1 | 3.49 | 33.3 |
| Marble and stone cutters | 39.5 | 30.3 | .... | .... |
| Roofers and slaters | 36.5 | 26.8 | .... | .... |
| Agricultural laborers | 36.1 | 17.2 | 44.3 | 18.6 |
| Wood choppers | 35.2 | 31.3 | .... | .... |
| Saw and planing mill employes | 35.1 | 31.7 | .... | .... |
| Stove, furnace and grate makers | 34.7 | 30.4 | .... | .... |
| Coopers | 34.3 | 26.4 | .... | .... |
| Boatmen and sailors | 33.3 | 28.8 | .... | .... |
| Potters | 32.8 | 30.7 | 34.4 | 40.0 |
| Other food preparers | 32.7 | 23.3 | .... | .... |
| Seamstresses | 32.5 | 18.0 | 24.2 | 13.1 |
| Boot and shoe makers and repairers | 31.7 | 25.2 | 42.5 | 36.4 |
| Rubber factory operatives | 31.0 | 38.0 | 39.6 | 40.9 |
| Lumbermen and raftsmen | 30.9 | 29.5 | .... | .... |
| Silk mill operatives | 29.3 | 27.4 | 25.8 | 24.3 |
| Iron and steel workers | 28.1 | 25.4 | .... | .... |
| Actors, professional showmen, etc. | 27.8 | 17.5 | 39.1 | 20.6 |
| Tobacco and cigar factory operatives | 27.2 | 21.5 | 31.1 | 27.2 |
| Tailors and tailoresses | 27.0 | 14.5 | 26.4 | 16.5 |
| (Turpentine farmers and laborers) | 26.4 | 16.0 | .... | .... |
| Other agricultural pursuits | 26.4 | 16.0 | .... | .... |
| Charcoal, coke and lime burners | 26.2 | 26.4 | .... | .... |
| Tin plate and tinware makers | 25.9 | 14.5 | .... | .... |
| Gold and silver workers | 25.3 | 18.7 | 28.8 | 27.4 |
| Wireworkers | 25.3 | 17.0 | .... | .... |
| Broom and brush makers | 25.1 | 20.7 | .... | .... |
| Carpet factory operatives | 25.0 | 25.6 | 24.4 | 23.9 |
| Leather curriers and tanners | 24.8 | 20.3 | .... | .... |
| Other woodworkers | 24.6 | 16.9 | .... | .... |
| Other metal workers | 24.3 | 16.6 | .... | .... |
| Other textile workers | 23.8 | 19.6 | 22.1 | 15.0 |
| Shirt, collar and cuff makers | 23.7 | 14.6 | 22.1 | 17.8 |
| Oil well and oil well works employes | 22.8 | 13.2 | .... | .... |

How many liberties in order to construct said, however, that Holmes have escaped in able to make out material alteration e conclusions finally

Per Cent of Unemployed by Occupation.—Continued.

| OCCUPATION. | Per Cent of Males Unemployed in | | Per Cent of Females Unemployed in | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| | 1900. | 1890. | 1900. | 1890. |
| Packers and shippers | 22.5 | 18.0 | 26.0 | 21.2 |
| Other miscellaneous industries... | 22.1 | 20.2 | ..... | ..... |
| Plumbers and gas and steam-fitters | 22.0 | 13.4 | ..... | ..... |
| Tool and cutlery makers | 22.0 | 20.4 | ..... | ..... |
| Trunk and leather case makers, etc. | 21.1 | 16.8 | ..... | ..... |
| Cabinetmakers | 20.9 | 13.8 | ..... | ..... |
| Upholsterers | 20.9 | 15.0 | 21.3 | 14.9 |
| Dressmakers | 20.8 | 13.0 | 19.8 | 11.2 |
| Butter and cheese makers | 24.4 | 27.7 | ..... | ..... |
| Hosiery and knitting mill operatives | 20.3 | 31.5 | 20.0 | 29.9 |
| Messenger and errand and office boys | 19.7 | 12.2 | 21.0 | 13.5 |
| Brassworkers | 19.6 | 13.2 | ..... | ..... |
| Woolen mill operatives | 19.5 | 22.0 | 21.1 | 25.2 |
| Bleachery and dye works operatives | 19.3 | 15.9 | ..... | ..... |
| Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc. | 19.3 | 15.9 | ..... | ..... |
| Boxmakers, (paper) | 18.3 | 14.9 | 20.4 | 17.1 |
| Other textile mill operatives | 18.7 | 20.7 | 18.6 | 18.7 |
| Other chemical workers | 18.5 | 19.5 | ..... | ..... |
| Steam boiler makers | 18.4 | 16.3 | ..... | ..... |
| Engineers and firemen (not locomotive | 17.7 | 14.9 | ..... | ..... |
| Mechanics (not otherwise specified) | 17.6 | 14.4 | ..... | ..... |
| Wheelwrights | 17.4 | 12.8 | ..... | ..... |
| Musicians and teachers of music | 17.3 | 11.1 | 22.4 | 11.4 |
| Glovesmakers | 17.1 | 38.8 | 20.0 | 32.8 |
| Servants and waiters | 17.0 | 9.8 | 14.8 | 7.0 |
| Paper and pulp mill operatives | 16.9 | 14.5 | 21.1 | 15.7 |
| Distillers and rectifiers | 16.4 | 15.5 | ..... | ..... |
| Steam railroad employes | 16.8 | 13.0 | ..... | ..... |
| Telegraph and telephone linemen | 15.8 | 10.5 | ..... | ..... |
| Nurses and midwives | 15.3 | 11.7 | 27.1 | 18.4 |
| Stock raisers, herders and drovers | 15.3 | 11.6 | ..... | ..... |
| Printers, lithographers and pressmen | 15.0 | 9.6 | 16.5 | 11.0 |
| Hostlers | 14.7 | 10.6 | ..... | ..... |
| Bookbinders | 14.6 | 9.9 | 16.7 | 13.0 |
| Hucksters and peddlers | 14.6 | 10.5 | 14.3 | 6.4 |
| Housekeepers and stewards | 14.5 | 10.3 | 9.1 | 3.6 |
| Other persons in trade and transportation | 13.9 | 10.6 | ..... | ..... |
| Blacksmiths | 13.7 | 12.1 | ..... | ..... |
| Machinists | 13.4 | 10.8 | ..... | ..... |
| Harness and saddle makers | 13.3 | 10.0 | ..... | ..... |
| Street railway employes | 13.3 | 9.9 | ..... | ..... |
| Cotton mill operatives | 13.1 | 13.2 | 14.9 | 14.0 |
| Engravers | 13.0 | 9.7 | ..... | ..... |
| Porters and helpers (in stores, | | | | |

Per Cent

OCC

etc.
 Bartenders ..
 Gardeners, f
 etc.
 Brewers and
 Bottlers and
 etc.
 Electricians ..
 Engineers (c
 veyors ..
 Model and pa
 Millers ..
 Butchers ..
 Bakers ..
 Clock and w
 pairs ..
 Confectioners
 Artists and t
 Stenographers
 Janitors and
 Photographer
 Telegraph an
 Watchmen,
 etc.
 Other domest
 vice ..
 Salesmen and
 Milliners ..
 Dairymen an
 Launderers a
 Barbers and
 Bookkeepers
 Farmers, pla
 Literary and
 Agents ..
 Clerks and o
 Commercial
 Architects, c
 etc.
 Manufacture
 Other profess
 Officials (go
 Foremen and
 Restaurant
 Boarding a
 keepers ..
 Journalists
 Clergymen ..
 Merchants (s
 sale) ..
 Bankers and
 Dentists ..
 Undertakers

Continued.

Per Cent of Unemployed by Occupation.—Continued.

| Per Cent of Females Unemployed in | | OCCUPATION. | | Per Cent of Males Unemployed in | | Per Cent of Females Unemployed in | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|--|--|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| 1900. | 1890. | | | 1900. | 1890. | 1900. | 1890. |
| 26.0 | 21.2 | etc. | | 12.6 | 7.4 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Bartenders | | 12.5 | 8.9 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc. | | 12.3 | 13.3 | 8.7 | 7.4 |
| .... | .... | Brewers and malsters | | 12.1 | 8.6 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Bottlers and soda water makers, etc. | | 11.9 | 9.0 | .... | .... |
| 21.3 | 14.9 | Electricians | | 11.8 | 9.9 | .... | .... |
| 19.8 | 11.2 | Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors | | 11.8 | 9.7 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Model and pattern makers | | 11.6 | 11.2 | .... | .... |
| 20.0 | 29.9 | Millers | | 11.5 | 7.6 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Butchers | | 11.3 | 8.1 | 9.9 | 5.2 |
| 21.0 | 13.5 | Bakers | | 11.3 | 9.9 | 11.9 | 11.4 |
| 21.1 | 25.2 | Clock and watch makers and repairers | | 11.2 | 7.6 | 16.6 | 8.5 |
| .... | .... | Confectioners | | 10.7 | 7.0 | 17.6 | 7.4 |
| .... | .... | Artists and teachers of art | | 10.4 | 6.5 | 13.2 | 9.1 |
| .... | .... | Stenographers and typewriters | | 10.1 | 7.8 | 7.3 | 5.0 |
| 20.4 | 17.1 | Janitors and sextons | | 9.7 | 7.5 | 14.9 | 9.7 |
| 18.6 | 18.7 | Photographers | | 9.6 | 6.7 | 10.7 | 6.7 |
| .... | .... | Telegraph and telephone operators |  | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc. | | 8.9 | 6.3 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Other domestic and personal service | | 8.4 | 5.6 | 11.0 | 6.4 |
| .... | .... | Salesmen and saleswomen | | 8.1 | 6.1 | 26.3 | 13.1 |
| .... | .... | Milliners | | 7.9 | 6.3 | .... | .... |
| 22.4 | 11.4 | Dairymen and dairywomen | | 7.9 | 5.2 | 19.7 | 10.1 |
| 20.0 | 32.8 | Launderers and laundresses | | 7.7 | 5.6 | 12.2 | 6.7 |
| 14.8 | 7.0 | Barbers and hairdressers | | 7.7 | 5.0 | 8.8 | 6.4 |
| 21.1 | 15.7 | Bookkeepers and accountants | | 7.7 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 3.6 |
| .... | .... | Farmers, planters and overseers | | 7.5 | 5.4 | 11.6 | 7.2 |
| .... | .... | Literary and scientific persons | | 7.4 | 4.8 | 16.9 | 9.8 |
| .... | .... | Agents | | 7.3 | 5.0 | 9.6 | 5.8 |
| 27.1 | 18.4 | Clerks and copyists | | 7.2 | 5.4 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Commercial travelers | | 6.8 | 4.5 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc. | | 6.8 | 6.1 | 8.1 | 2.4 |
| 16.5 | 11.0 | Manufacturers and officials, etc. | | 5.8 | 5.5 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Other professional service | | 5.8 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 3.3 |
| 16.7 | 13.0 | Officials (government) | | 5.5 | 5.4 | .... | .... |
| 14.3 | 6.4 | Foremen and overseers | | 4.7 | 3.6 | 5.6 | 2.7 |
| 9.1 | 3.6 | Restaurant keepers | | 4.4 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 0.8 |
| .... | .... | Boarding and lodging house-keepers | | 4.0 | 3.0 | 6.5 | 4.2 |
| .... | .... | Journalists | | 3.6 | 2.1 | 7.5 | 4.7 |
| .... | .... | Clergymen | | 3.4 | 3.6 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Merchants and dealers (wholesale) | | 3.3 | 1.5 | .... | .... |
| 14.9 | 14.0 | Bankers and brokers | | 3.3 | 2.4 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Dentists | | 3.2 | 2.8 | .... | .... |
| .... | .... | Undertakers |  | .... | .... | .... | .... |

SUPPRESSED INFORMATION

Per Cent of Unemployed by Occupation.—Continued.

| OCCUPATION. | Per Cent of Males Unemployed in | | Per Cent of Females Unemployed in | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| | 1909. | 1890. | 1900. | 1890. |
| Livery stable keepers..... | 3.1 | 2.7 | .... | .... |
| Merchants and dealers (except wholesale) | 3.0 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 1.8 |
| Hotel keepers | 2.9 | 2.4 | 2.8 | 1.6 |
| Lawyers | 2.6 | 1.8 | .... | .... |
| Saloon keepers | 2.6 | 2.3 | 1.7 | 0.9 |
| Soldiers, sailors and marines (U. S.)..... | 2.5 | 2.4 | .... | .... |
| Officials of banks and companies. | 2.4 | 3.7 | .... | .... |
| Physicians and surgeons | 1.9 | 1.4 | 4.2 | 6.7 |

Census, 1900, Vol. "Occupations," p. ccxxxii.

THE UNEMPLOYED

Number of persons in each main class of occupations unemployed during any portion of the census year compared with the total number so occupied, 1890 and 1900:

| Census Years and Classes of Occupations. | Persons 10 Yrs. of Age and over engaged in gainful occupations. | | |
|---|---|-------------|--------|
| | Total. | Unemployed. | |
| | | Number. | P. Ct. |
| 1900. | | | |
| All occupations | 29,073,233 | 6,468,964 | 22.3 |
| Agricultural pursuits | 10,381,765 | 2,144,689 | 20.7 |
| Professional service | 1,258,538 | 330,566 | 26.3 |
| Domestic and personal service... | 5,580,657 | 1,568,121 | 28.1 |
| Trade and transportation..... | 4,766,964 | 500,185 | 10.5 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits | 7,085,309 | 1,925,403 | 27.2 |
| 1890. | | | |
| All occupations | 23,318,183 | 3,523,730 | 15.1 |
| Agricultural pursuits | 9,148,448 | 1,020,205 | 11.2 |
| Professional service | 944,333 | 142,574 | 15.1 |
| Domestic and personal service... | 4,220,812 | 799,272 | 18.9 |
| Trade and transportation | 3,326,122 | 262,871 | 7.9 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits | 5,678,468 | 1,298,808 | 22.9 |

A comparison of occupations in the same.

Census,

Each of these, therefore, and it is a census of proportion are reasonable reflecting those of 18

Continued.

| Per Cent of Females Unemployed in | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|
| 1900. | 1890. |
| | |
| 2.7 | 1.8 |
| 2.8 | 1.6 |
| | |
| 1.7 | 0.9 |
| | |
| | |
| 4.2 | 6.7 |

A comparison shows that the apparent increase in the proportion of the unemployed comprehends all the main classes of occupations, and both sexes. Pursuing the analysis to occupations in detail it will be observed that the result remains the same.

Census, 1900, Vol. "Occupations," p. cxxviii.

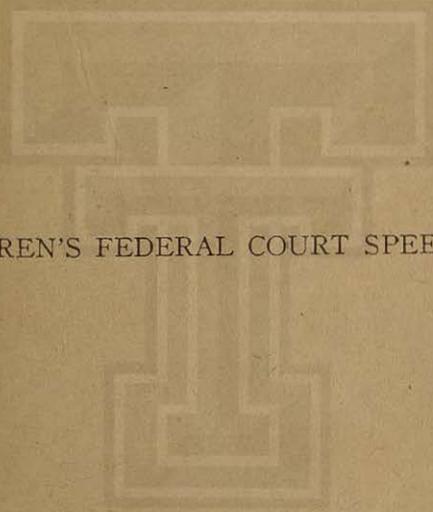
Each of these two census years was a period of prosperity; therefore, the economic conditions to some extent were similar, and it is reasonable to suppose that accurate returns at the census of 1890 and 1900 would indicate little variation in the proportion of the unemployed in many callings at least. There are reasons for accepting the figures of 1900 as more correctly reflecting the actual proportions of unemployment than did those of 1890.—Census Report, Vol. "Occupations," page cccxvi.

Occupations unem- compared with

f Age and over al occupations.

Unemployed.

| Number. | P. Ct. |
|---------|--------|
| 68,964 | 22.2 |
| 44,689 | 20.7 |
| 30,566 | 26.3 |
| 68,121 | 28.1 |
| 100,185 | 10.5 |
| 25,403 | 27.2 |
| 23,730 | 15.1 |
| 20,205 | 11.2 |
| 42,574 | 15.1 |
| 99,272 | 18.9 |
| 62,871 | 7.9 |
| 98,808 | 22.9 |



WARREN'S FEDERAL COURT SPEECH.

FRED D. WARREN'S SPEECH BEFORE THE
FEDERAL COURT AT FORT SCOTT,
KANSAS.

Yes, your honor, there are some reasons why sentence of the court should not be pronounced.

I wish to call the attention of the court to the fact that this case is the outgrowth of the kidnaping of three workmen by the agents of the great mining corporations, with the connivance of the State officials of Idaho and Colorado. The kidnaping of these workmen was acquiesced in by the President and sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In referring to the manner in which these workmen were taken from their homes as kidnaping I wish it understood that no less distinguished a personage than Justice McKenna of the Supreme Court of the United States used this term in dissenting from the opinion of his associates. Justice McKenna, after reviewing the facts laid before the Supreme Court, said:

In the case at bar, the States, through their officers, are the offenders. They, by an illegal exertion of power, deprived the accused of a constitutional right. . . . Kidnaping is a crime, pure and simple. . . . All of the officers of the law are supposed to be on guard against this. . . . But how is it when the law becomes the kidnaper? When the officers of the law, using the forms and exerting its power, become abductors? This is not a distinction without a difference—another form of the crime of kidnaping, distinguished only from that committed by an individual by circumstances. If a State may say to one within her borders and upon whom her process is served, "I will not inquire how you came here; I must execute my laws and remit you to proceedings against those who have wronged you," may she so plead against her offenses? May she claim that by mere physical presence within her borders, an accused person is, within her jurisdiction, denuded of his constitutional rights, though he has been brought there by her violence? And constitutional rights the accused (the three working men I have alluded to) in this case certainly did have and valuable ones.

Justice McKenna voiced my views and the views of every law abiding citizen on this important matter touching the rights of the individual. But the Supreme Court declared otherwise and refused to grant the relief asked for by these workingmen and guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States and by every consideration of fair play and justice.

It was during the heat of this struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the wealthy Mine Owners' Association of the west that I conceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, protected from the service of requisition by the governor of Indiana, whose position was endorsed by Governor Roosevelt, of New York, and every prominent Republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

Would the Supreme Court hold to its opinion that kidnaping was not a crime if the victim was a member of the Republican party and a representative of the capitalist class? I did not believe that the \$1,000 I offered by the Appeal would induce any man to undertake the abduction of Mr. Taylor, as for seven years the state of Kentucky had a standing reward of \$100,000 for the capture of the murderers of Governor Goebel, for which crime Taylor had been indicted by the Franklin county grand jury in January, 1900.

But I did expect that the offer of this reward in the manner and with the language used would attract public attention to the kidnaping decision of the Supreme Court. I felt that if this decision, sanctioning the kidnaping of poor and defenseless workingmen by rich and powerful capitalists, was understood by the American people a wave of protest would sweep the country and force the Supreme Court to recede from its position as had been done before, notably in the famous Dred Scott decision, and will undoubtedly be done again.

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This Taylor reward was circulated through the mails in a manner in daily use by banks, private detective agencies, Anti-Horse Thief Associations, sheriffs and marshals. I have here three postal cards mailed by national and state banks offering rewards for the arrest of men whom these banks allege to have committed crime. The card which I offer for the inspection of the court, it will be noted, bears upon the back or outside of the card in large letters, figures and characters the following language: "B. B. Bond, produce dealer, wanted for issuing forged Bills of Lading. \$250 rewards will be paid by the First National Bank, Nashville, Tenn., for his arrest and delivery to Nashville authorities."

It will be observed that this language, to quote this court's decision on our demurrer to the indictment, "is calculated to impress the readers of the language with the thought that Bond was guilty of the commission of some crime for which he would be prosecuted by the Tennessee authorities if captured and returned to them." It can further be said, following the court's line of reasoning, that this language was obviously intended by the First National Bank to reflect injuriously upon the character of B. B. Bond, and from its terms, the manner and style in which it was displayed on the postal card is calculated to have that effect.

The other cards contain similar language and display. This is characteristic of thousands of cards which daily pass through the mails of the United States, and yet in not a single instance has any effort been made by the government to rid the mails of this objectionable matter and protect those of its citizens who are fugitives from justice.

My arrest and conviction is the first instance on record where a man was prosecuted for attempting to bring to the bar of justice an indicted fugitive charged with the crime of murder.

There must be some reason why I alone, of the thousands of men who, according to the rule of this court and the opinion of the district attorney and his

assistant, have committed substantially the same act, should be singled out and marked for prosecution.

The reason is not hard to find. Society to-day is divided into two classes. On the one side we find the work people—men, women and children, who have no means of obtaining a livelihood but by their hard labor. On the other hand we find a relatively small group of men who own the land and the tools which these people must have access to if they are to live. It is the primary if not the sole purpose of the men who own this productive property to obtain as large profits as possible, while on the other hand the work people strive constantly to increase their wages. This creates class conflict.

This conflict began with civilization and has come down under varying forms to this day and will continue with increasing intensity so long as a small group of rich men are permitted to lay upon the masses, to quote Pope Leo, "A yoke little better than slavery." Discussing the ever present problem of labor and its compensation, John Adams, in 1776, observed:

It is of no consequence by what name you call your people—whether by that of free men or slaves. In some countries the laboring poor men were called free men; in others slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm give them annually as much as will buy the necessities of life, or gives them those necessaries at first hand?

Coming down to the civil war period we find that the Charlestown Baptist Association in presenting a memorial to the Georgia legislature in 1835, discussing this ever-with-us problem of labor, gave expression to the following conclusion:

It amounts in effect to this, whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold and themselves become property, as in this State, or whether they shall become hirelings and their labor only become property, as in some other States.

It will be reflecting the periods, the 1865 Karl summed up sentence:

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It will be seen from these two quotations, clearly reflecting the opinion of the revolutionary and civil war periods, that the master class recognized no difference between the chattel slave and the wage hireling. In 1865 Karl Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism, summed up the labor problem in the following striking sentence:

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or work shop six hours daily for himself and six hours daily for his employer, it comes to the same thing.

This surplus value over and above that which is required by the slave, the serf and the wage worker to maintain his physical existence is the portion which the master, the feudal lord, and the capitalist have taken by force of arms in the first case, by ownership of land in the second and by ownership of tools and cunningly devised laws and court decisions in the last instance.

The slave master built up a civil and political system which protected his right of property in the bodies of his slaves and the wealth they produced. One does not have to go very far back in the history of this country to find confirmation of this statement. Prior to 1860 the laws enacted by Congress and by most of the several states, backed by the decisions of federal and state courts, had for their object the protection of the slave master in his right of ownership of men, women and children. The man who dared raise his voice in protest against the exploitation of the black man was branded as a traitor to his country; if he attempted to speak he was thrown in jail; and if he attempted to print a newspaper voicing his sentiments his press was destroyed and he was mobbed or murdered.

What was true in the two revolutionary periods which marked the disappearance of a political system based on kingcraft and a political system based on chattel slavery is true to-day.

The men and the newspapers that have espoused the cause of men, women and children who work in the fields, factories and mines of this nation are marked for persecution as were the revolutionary and abolition editors before them. For ten years as editor of the Appeal to Reason I have been in constant conflict with the ruling class, and the men who hope to pick up the crumbs which drop from the tables of the great captains of industry, on whose will employment depends not alone in the industries but in the government and municipal service.

The postoffice department was first employed to hamper and harass the Appeal to Reason in its work of education and enlightenment. The most absurd rules and regulations were specially formulated to apply, as Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden wired to the Girard postmaster, "to the Appeal to Reason." In every instance where our right to the mails was questioned the Appeal won a signal victory, because we strictly obeyed the spirit and the letter of the law.

Then the aid of the courts was invoked to accomplish what the postoffice department had failed to do. The courts to-day, as prior to 1860, are with the owning and ruling class. Daily this fact is becoming more apparent. One has only to refer to the long list of decisions in which the interests of labor and capital are opposed to verify this statement. The black-list has been legalized and the boycott outlawed. The injunction has been used with telling effect in labor controversies to terrorize and crush the men who work, while it has proven ineffective and of no avail when directed against great capitalist interests, as President Roosevelt pointed out when he was engaged in his battle with the great packing industries.

The people of Missouri in their capacity as sovereign voters recently elected a governor and legislature on a platform demanding relief from railroad extortion. A two-cent fare bill was enacted into law. This law was upheld by the state Supreme Court.

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The railroads went to the federal courts, who, with the stroke of a pen, nullified the will of three millions of people. So closely allied has become the federal judiciary of this country to the great corporations that even now there is pending in Congress a resolution demanding an investigation of the acts and conduct of the federal judges who have prostituted their high office to the profit of these corporations, three-fourths of which, according to a statement made by Governor Hadley, are either illegally organized or unlawfully conducted.

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging, almost single handed, a fight against the oppressive and intolerable industrial and political conditions which confront this country. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth and it is because of this that I face this court to-day a convicted felon in the eyes of thousands of men and women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the department of justice at the instance of the President of the United States, had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kansas. I do not know the Journal's source of information, but am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prosecution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the attorney general's office at Washington.

When the Pierson envelope, on which this action is based, was sent to the postoffice inspector of this district from Los Angeles, that gentleman turned it over to the district attorney. The district attorney returned the envelope to the postoffice inspector with the opinion that there was no ground for action. The inspector in making report to the department at Washington marked the case "closed." He later explained to me that this meant that so far as the district of

Kansas was concerned no further action would be taken. But soon thereafter word was received from Washington, so the assistant district attorney announced in the presence of this court, that there had been a violation of the law and that the case must be re-opened and vigorously prosecuted.

The district attorney's office at Topeka, however, revised its decision, after hearing from Washington, that there was no ground for action against me. One of my attorneys journeyed to Washington and laid before the department thousands of reward cards, similar to the Taylor reward, which had been mailed from nearly every city in the Union. When my attorney inquired why the Appeal was singled out for prosecution on this flimsy charge while all the senders of these other cards who were equally culpable were not molested, the representative of the government opened a drawer in his desk and produced an armload of marked copies of the Appeal.

Blue pencil marks designating certain articles in the Appeal indicated that this paper is pretty closely read by high government officials. The government official shrugged his shoulders in reply to Darrow's question and remarked, "We are after the Appeal."

This case has dragged its weary way through this court for over two years, continued from time to time at the instance of the government. I submit from these facts that I am not prosecuted for having violated any federal law but purely because of my political opinions and my work in behalf of the working class of this Union.

This prosecution is not unexpected to us. As plainly stated by the government official to whom our attorney talked in Washington it is evident that secret service agents of the government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for 10, these many years.

Is it not pretty conclusive evidence that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ten years

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Personally I feel proud of this record. I feel no sense of guilt nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are known.

The government's witnesses testified here on the stand that I submitted to them copy of the matter I expected to mail and asked whether in the postmaster's judgment it constituted a violation of the federal law. That official after looking the matter up said it did not, and I want to say here that during the ten years of my connection with the Appeal to Reason I have had frequent occasion to consult with the postmaster at Girard on matters relating to the postal laws and in no instance was his judgment ever at fault. He assured me that in his judgment the matter I proposed mailing was identical in character with the thousands of postal cards mailed at his office by the sheriff, the marshal and the officers of the Anti-Horse Thief Association.

In submitting to this court these postal cards mailed by bankers it is not my intention that the government should proceed against these men on the evidence furnished by me. I know these gentlemen are immune from prosecution because they represent the dominant class in society to-day. The rewards which they offer are for men who have committed crimes against property and in the prevailing social system the property of the rich is of vastly more consequence than the life and liberty of the poor.

On the other hand the editor who has espoused the cause of the wage slave to-day, has, in the eyes of the ruling class, committed a crime against existing institutions for daring to offer a reward for the apprehension of an influential member of the dominant political party.

I have also dared to criticize a decision of the highest judicial tribunal of the United States. Judge West, the assistant district attorney who assisted in my prosecution, in his argument a year ago last No-

vember, after presenting his reasons why the demurrer in this action should be overruled, closed his argument in a burst of passion with the statement that, "As a matter of fact this literature was sent out for the purpose of bringing into contempt and discredit the Supreme Court of the United States." Is criticism a crime? And is it for this I am being prosecuted?

Smarting under the vicious attempt of the English king to prevent the circulation of revolutionary newspapers during the period preceding the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the first amendment to the new Constitution was made to provide for a free press and free speech, always and everywhere recognized as the sustaining pillars of free institutions.

Our colonist forefathers, imbued with the high ideals embodied in their immortal declaration, shouldered their guns and shot to death the divine right of kings; and then the cunning enemies of democracy raised in its stead the Supreme Court with its many federal arms reaching out into all the states of the Union.

The Supreme Court has become in fact the reigning monarch of the American people. No measure of relief demanded by the voters of this nation, enacted into law by their elected representatives and signed by the President, may become operative without their judicial sanction. At the command of the Lords of Privilege any obnoxious law is promptly declared unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court of the United States has to-day more real power over the people than is vested in any monarch of the old world.

The late Senator Hanna boasted that the courts are maintained to buttress property rights. Ex-President Roosevelt denounced a federal judge for his interpretation of the law in the government's prosecution of the beef trust. President Taft, in his Hot Springs, Va., speech, expressed a decided opinion upon the same question in referring to the inability of

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the poor to cope in the courts with men of wealth. With expressions like these from men of prominence, do you wonder that there is a growing distrust on the part of the poor people of this nation that the courts are against them?

In the western district of New York of thirty cases decided in favor of injured employes, twenty-eight were reversed in favor of the master class by the higher courts. United States District Attorney Sims of Chicago was waging a vigorous fight against the white slave drivers and when victory was almost in his grasp, his hand was paralyzed by a decision of the Supreme Court, which virtually put an end to the prosecution of that unspeakable infamy. There are property interests involved in the wholesale debauchery of young girls and these property interests must be safeguarded at whatever cost. As for the girls they are the daughters of the working class and in point of value are not to be compared to property.

Our modern system of jurisprudence is a survival of medieval times when judges presided by right of ownership of lands and castles and it will require another political revolution similar to that of 1776 and that of 1860 to abolish this bulwark of special privilege and capitalist exploitation.

I was convicted by a jury composed of partisan Republicans. It was shown by competent evidence introduced in this court to-day that two of the jurors had expressed hostile and prejudicial sentiments against me. Affidavits herewith filed show that one of the jurors, Mr. Nelson, became deathly sick in the jury room and he affirms that it was because of this sickness and his fear of death unless medical attention could be secured that he was forced into voting for a conviction. Again it is shown by competent evidence introduced at this hearing that the principal witness for the government, ex-Governor Taylor, made statements which were untrue. He stated that at the time the reward which I offered was circulated through the mails he was not a fugitive

from justice nor was there any charge pending against him of a criminal nature in Kentucky. Affidavits, state records and letters signed by Taylor himself, all on file in this court, show that Taylor had been indicted and that for seven years prior to the offer of our reward he had been a fugitive from justice with a price on his head. It is the common practice in all courts that where the defendant can show that a juror in qualifying perjures himself a new trial is granted. Perjured testimony on the part of the prosecuting witness is also ground for a new trial in ordinary cases. Of course I understand that this is not an ordinary case. The whole history of these proceedings shows conclusively that it is not an attempt to secure the ends of justice, but an effort to punish me because of my political views.

In conclusion, permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out, then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class?

In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords, in chattle slavery they protected the slave owners and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

Whoever protests for the sake of justice or in the name of the future is an enemy of society and is persecuted or put to death.

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history, Charles Sumner, tracing the march of the centuries, pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race

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This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown, but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenthralled, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

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By N. A. RICHARDSON

THIS new book will, we believe, prove the best and most effective popular text-book of socialism ever written. The old story of how the earnings of the laborer are taken from him by the capitalist is retold in a vivid way that will hold the attention of even a careless reader.

The author shows that each productive laborer in the United States creates daily about \$10.00 worth of goods, figured at their retail selling prices. The laborer gets about \$2.00 as his wages. What becomes of the \$8.00 worth? This the author shows in the course of the book, and the laborer who follows his argument will pretty certainly want to struggle in the most effective way for the right to keep that \$8.00 worth for himself.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Jack London delivered this address before the students of Yale University in 1905. One of the great illustrated weeklies in New York accepted the manuscript, and even put it in type. But they never published it. It tells too much truth about the new-found strength of the working class to suit the "business interests" that control the great publishing houses.

A leading review in London published "Revolution" a year or so after its delivery, but Americans had to wait for the full text of the address until the **International Socialist Review**, owned by our co-operative publishing house of 2,000 working people, grew big enough to use it. We published it by special arrangement with Jack London in August, 1909. He consents to its republication in booklet form, and as he asks no royalty we have plac'd the price in quantities at a figure that barely covers the necessary expenses of printing and advertising.

We think it is the best contribution yet made to the propaganda of American Socialism. If you agree, help us scatter it.

Charles H. Kerr & Company.

October, 1909.

REVOLUTION

I received a letter the other day. It was from a man in Arizona. It began "Dear Comrade." It ended "Yours for the Revolution." I replied to the letter, and my letter began "Dear Comrade." It ended "Yours for the Revolution." In the United States there are 400,000 men, of men and women nearly 1,000,000, who begin their letters "Dear Comrade," and end them "Yours for the Revolution." In Germany there are 3,000,000 men who begin their letters "Dear Comrade" and end them "Yours for the Revolution;" in France, 1,000,000 men; in Austria, 800,000 men; in Belgium, 300,000 men; in Italy, 250,000 men; in England, 100,000 men; in Switzerland, 100,000 men; in Denmark, 55,000 men; in Sweden, 50,000 men; in Holland, 40,000 men; in Spain, 30,000 men—comrades all, and revolutionists.

These are numbers which dwarf the grand armies of Napoleon and Xerxes. But they are numbers, not of conquest and maintenance of the established order, but of conquest and revolution. They compose, when the roll is called, an army of 7,000,000 men, who, in accordance with the conditions of today, are

fighting with all their might for the conquest of the wealth of the world and for the complete overthrow of existing society.

There has never been anything like this revolution in the history of the world. There is nothing analogous between it and the American Revolution or the French Revolution. It is unique, colossal. Other revolutions compare with it as asteroids compare with the sun. It is alone of its kind, the first world-revolution in a world whose history is replete with revolutions. And not only this, for it is the first organized movement of men to become a world-movement, limited only by the limits of the planet.

This revolution is unlike all other revolutions in many respects. It is not sporadic. It is not a flame of popular discontent, arising in a day and dying down in a day. It is older than the present generation. It has a history and traditions, and a martyr-roll only less extensive possibly than the martyr-roll of Christianity. It has also a literature a myriad times more imposing, scientific and scholarly than the literature of any previous revolution.

They call themselves "comrades," these men, comrades in the socialist revolution. Nor is the word empty and meaningless, coined of mere lip service. It knits men together as brothers, as men should be knit together who stand shoulder to shoulder under the red banner of revolt. This red banner,

by the way, symbolizes the brotherhood of man, and does not symbolize the incendiarism that instantly connects itself with the red banner in the affrighted bourgeois mind. The comradeship of the revolutionists is alive and warm. It passes over geographical lines, transcends race prejudice, and has even proved itself mightier than the Fourth of July, spread-eagle Americanism of our forefathers. The French socialist workingmen and the German socialist workingmen forget Alsace and Lorraine, and, when war threatens, pass resolutions declaring that as workingmen and comrades they have no quarrel with each other. Only the other day, when Japan and Russia sprang at each other's throats, the revolutionists of Japan addressed the following message to the revolutionists of Russia: "Dear Comrades—Your government and ours have recently plunged into war to carry out their imperialistic tendencies, but for us socialists there are no boundaries, race, country, or nationality. We are comrades, brothers and sisters, and have no reason to fight. Your enemies are not the Japanese people, but our militarism and so-called patriotism. Patriotism and militarism are our mutual enemies."

In January, 1905, throughout the United States the socialists held mass meetings to express their sympathy for their struggling comrades, the revolutionists of Russia, and,

more to the point, to furnish the sinews of war by collecting money and cabling it to the Russian leaders.

The fact of this call for money, and the ready response, and the very wording of the call, make a striking and practical demonstration of the international solidarity of this world revolution: "Whatever may be the immediate results of the present revolt in Russia, the socialist propaganda in that country has received from it an impetus unparalleled in the history of modern class wars. The heroic battle for freedom is being fought almost exclusively by the Russian working class under the intellectual leadership of Russian socialists, thus once more demonstrating the fact that the class-conscious workingmen have become the vanguard of all liberating movements of modern times."

Here are 7,000,000 comrades in an organized, international, world-wide revolutionary movement. Here is a tremendous human force. It must be reckoned with. Here is power. And here is romance—romance so colossal as to be quite beyond the ken of ordinary mortals. These revolutionists are swayed by a great passion. They have a keen sense of personal right, much of reverence for humanity, but little reverence, if any at all, for the rule of the dead. They refuse to be ruled by the dead. To the bourgeois mind, their unbelief in the dominant conventions of

the established order is startling. They laugh to scorn the sweet ideals and dear moralities of bourgeois society. They intend to destroy bourgeois society with most of its sweet ideals and dear moralities, and chiefest among these are those that group themselves under such heads as private ownership of capital, survival of the fittest, and patriotism—even patriotism.

Such an army of revolution, 7,000,000 strong, is a thing to make rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. The cry of this army is, "No quarter! We want all that you possess. We will be content with nothing less than all that you possess. We want in our hands the reins of power and the destiny of mankind. Here are our hands. They are strong hands. We are going to take your governments, your palaces, and all your purpled ease away from you, and in that day you shall work for your bread even as the peasant in the field or the starved and runty clerk in your metropolises. Here are our hands. They are strong hands."

Well may rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. This is revolution. And further, these 7,000,000 men are not an army on paper. Their fighting strength in the field is 7,000,000. Today they cast 7,000,000 votes in the civilized countries of the world.

Yesterday they were not so strong. Tomorrow they will be still stronger. And they

socialism was introduced. Socialism marched into the Philippines shoulder to shoulder with the American soldiers. The echoes of the last gun had scarcely died away when socialist locals were forming in Cuba and Porto Rico. Vastly more significant is the fact that of all the countries the revolution has fastened upon, on not one has it relaxed its grip. On the contrary, on every country its grip closes tighter year by year. As an active movement it began obscurely over a generation ago. In 1867, its voting strength in the world was 30,000. By 1871, its vote had increased to 100,000. Not till 1884 did it pass the half-million point. By 1889, it had passed the million point. It had then gained momentum. In 1892 the socialist vote of the world was 1,798,391; in 1893, 2,585,898; in 1895, 3,033,718; in 1898, 4,515,591; in 1902, 5,253,054; in 1903, 6,285,374; and in the year of Our Lord, 1905, it passed the seven million mark.

Nor has this flame of revolution left the United States untouched. In 1888, there were only 2,068 socialist votes. In 1902, there were 127,713 socialist votes. And in 1904, 435,040 socialist votes were cast. What fanned this flame? Not hard times. The first four years of the twentieth century were considered prosperous years, yet in that time more than 300,000 men added themselves to the ranks of the revolutionists, flinging their defiance in the teeth of bourgeois society and taking their

stand under the blood-red banner. In the State of the writer, California, one man in ten is an avowed and registered revolutionist.

One thing must be clearly understood. This is no spontaneous and vague uprising of a large mass of discontented and miserable people—a blind and instinctive recoil from hurt. On the contrary, the propaganda is intellectual, the movement is based upon economic necessity and is in line with social evolution; while the miserable people have not yet revolted. The revolutionist is no starved and diseased slave in the shambles at the bottom of the social pit, but is, in the main, a hearty, well-fed workingman, who sees the shambles waiting for him and his children and declines to descend. The very miserable people are too helpless to help themselves. But they are being helped, and the day is not far distant when their numbers will go to swell the ranks of the revolutionists.

Another thing must be clearly understood. In spite of the fact that middle-class men and professional men are interested in the movement, it is nevertheless a distinctly working-class revolt. The world over, it is a working-class revolt. The workers of the world, as a class, are fighting the capitalists of the world, as a class. The so-called great middle class is a growing anomaly in the social struggle. It is a perishing class (wily statisticians to the contrary), and its historic mission of buffer

between the capitalist and working classes has just about been fulfilled. Little remains for it but to wail as it passes into oblivion, as it has already begun to wail in accents Populistic and Jeffersonian-Democratic. The fight is on. The revolution is here now, and it is the world's workers that are in revolt.

Naturally the question arises; Why is this so? No mere whim of the spirit can give rise to a world-revolution. Whim does not conduce to unanimity. There must be a deep-seated cause to make 7,000,000 men of the one mind, to make them cast off allegiance to the bourgeois gods and lose faith in so fine a thing as patriotism. There are many counts of the indictment which the revolutionists bring against the capitalist class, but for present need only one may be stated, and it is a count to which capital has never replied and can never reply.

The capitalist class has managed society, and its management has failed. And not only has it failed in its management, but it has failed deplorably, ignobly, horribly. The capitalist class had an opportunity such as was vouchsafed no previous ruling class in the history of the world. It broke away from the rule of the old feudal aristocracy and made modern society. It mastered matter, organized the machinery of life, and made possible a wonderful era for mankind, wherein no creature should cry aloud because it had not

enough to eat, and wherein for every child there would be opportunity for education, for intellectual and spiritual uplift. Matter being mastered, and the machinery of life organized, all this was possible. Here was the chance, God-given, and the capitalist class failed. It was blind and greedy. It prattled sweet ideals and dear moralities, rubbed its eyes not once, nor ceased one whit in its greediness, and smashed down in a failure as tremendous only as was the opportunity it had ignored.

But all this is like so much cobwebs to the bourgeois mind. As it was blind in the past, it is blind now and can not see nor understand. Well, then, let the indictment be stated more definitely, in terms sharp and unmistakable. In the first place, consider the cave-man. He was a very simple creature. His head slanted back like an orang-outang's and he had but little more intelligence. He lived in a hostile environment, the prey of all manner of fierce life. He had no inventions nor artifices. His natural efficiency for food-getting was, say 1. He did not even till the soil. With his natural efficiency of 1, he fought off his carnivorous enemies and got himself food and shelter. He must have done all this, else he would not have multiplied and spread over the earth and sent his progeny down, generation by generation, to become even you and me.

The cave-man, with his natural efficiency of

I, got enough to eat most of the time, and no cave-man ever went hungry all the time. Also, he lived a healthy, open-air life, loafed and rested himself, and found plenty of time in which to exercise his imagination and invent gods. That is to say, he did not have to work all his waking moments in order to get enough to eat. The child of the cave-man (and this is true of the children of all savage peoples) had a childhood and by that is meant a happy childhood of play and development.

And now, how fares modern man? Consider the United States, the most prosperous and most enlightened country of the world. In the United States there are 10,000,000 people living in poverty. By poverty is meant that condition in life in which, through lack of food and adequate shelter, the mere standard of working efficiency can not be maintained. In the United States there are 10,000,000 people who have not enough to eat. In the United States, because they have not enough to eat, there are 10,000,000 people who can not keep the ordinary measure of strength in their bodies. This means that these 10,000,000 people are perishing, are dying, body and soul, slowly, because they have not enough to eat. All over this broad, prosperous, enlightened land, are men, women and children, who are living miserably. In all the great cities, where they are segregated in

slum-ghettos by hundreds of thousands and by millions, their misery becomes beastliness. No cave-man ever starved, as chronically as they starve, ever slept as vilely as they sleep, ever festered with rottenness and disease as they fester, nor ever toiled as hard and for as long hours as they toil.

In Chicago there is a woman who toiled sixty hours per week. She was a garment worker. She sewed buttons on clothes. Among the Italian garment workers of Chicago, the average weekly wage of the dress-makers is 90 cents, but they work every week in the year. The average weekly wage of the pants finishers is \$1.31, and the average number of weeks employed in the year is 27.85. The average yearly earnings of the dress-makers is \$37.00; of the pants finishers, \$42.41. Such wages means no childhood for the children, beastliness of living, and starvation for all.

Unlike the cave-man, modern man can not get food and shelter by working for it. Modern man has first to find the work, and in this he is often unsuccessful. The misery becomes acute. This acute misery is chronicled daily in the newspapers. Let several of the countless instances be cited.

In New York city lived a woman, Mary Mead. She had three children: Mary, one year old; Johanna, two years old; Alice, four years old. Her husband could find no work.

They starved. They were evicted from their shelter at 160 Steuben street. Mary Mead strangled her baby, Mary, one year old; strangled Alice, four years old; failed to strangle Johanna, two years old, and then herself took poison. Said the father to the police: "Constant poverty had driven my wife insane. We lived at No. 160 Steuben street until a week ago, when we were dispossessed. I could get no work. I could not even make enough to put food into our mouths. The babies grew ill and weak. My wife cried nearly all the time."

"So overwhelmed is the Department of Charities with tens of thousands of applications from men out of work that it finds itself unable to cope with the situation,"—New York Commercial, January 11, 1905.

In a daily paper, because he can not get work in order to get something to eat, modern man advertises as follows:

"Young man, good education, unable to obtain employment, will sell to physician and bacteriologist for experimental purposes all right and title to his body. Address for price, box 3466, Examiner."

"Frank A. Mallin went to the central police station Wednesday night and asked to be locked up on a charge of vagrancy. He said he had been conducting an unsuccessful search for work for so long that he was sure he must be a vagrant. In any event, he was so hungry he must be fed. Police Judge Graham sentenced him to ninety days imprisonment."—San Francisco Examiner.

In a room at the Soto House, 32 Fourth street, San Francisco, was found the body of W. G. Robbins. He had turned on the gas. Also was found his diary, from which the following extracts are made:

"March 3.—No chance of getting anything here. What will I do?"

"March 7.—Can not find anything yet.

"March 8.—Am living on doughnuts at five cents a day.

"March 9.—My last quarter gone for room rent.

"March 10.—God help me. Have only five cents left. Can get nothing to do. What next? Starvation or —? I have spent my last nickel tonight. What shall I do? Shall it be steal, beg or die? I have never stolen, begged or starved in all my fifty years of life, but now I am on the brink—death seems the only refuge.

"March 11.—Sick all day—burning fever this afternoon. Had nothing to eat today or since yesterday noon. My head, my head. Good-by, all."

How fares the child of modern man in this most prosperous of lands? In the city of New York 50,000 children go hungry to school every morning. From the same city on January 12, a press dispatch was sent out over the country of a case reported by Dr. A. E. Daniel, of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. The case was that of a babe, eighteen months old, who earned by its labor, fifty cents per week in a tenement sweat-shop.

"On a pile of rags in a room bare of furniture and freezing cold, Mrs. Mary Gallin, dead from starvation, with an emaciated baby four months old crying at her breast, was found this morning at 513 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, by Policeman McCannon of the Flushing Avenue Station. Huddled together for warmth in another part of the room were the father, James Gallin, and three children ranging from two to eight years of age. The children gazed at the policeman much as ravenous animals might have done. They were famished, and there was not a vestige of food in their comfortless home."—New York Journal, January 2, 1902.

In the United States 80,000 children are toiling out their lives in the textile mills alone. In the South they work twelve-hour shifts. They never see the day. Those on the night-shift are asleep when the sun pours its life and warmth over the world, while those on the day-shift are at the machines before dawn and return to their miserable dens, called "homes," after dark. Many receive no more than ten cents a day. There are babies who work for five and six cents a day. Those who work on the night-shift are often kept awake by having cold water dashed in their faces. There are children six years of age who have already to their credit eleven months' work on the night-shift. When they become sick, and are unable to rise from their beds to go to work, there are men employed to go on horseback, from house to house, and

cajole and bully them into arising and going to work. Ten per cent of them contract active consumption. All are puny wrecks, distorted, stunted mind and body. Elbert Hubbard says of the child-laborers of the Southern cotton-mills:

"I thought to lift one of the little toilers to ascertain his weight. Straight away through his thirty-five pounds of skin and bone there ran a tremor of fear, and he struggled forward to tie a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch, and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so furrowed, tightly drawn, and full of pain it was. He did not reach for the money—he did not know what it was. There were dozens of such children in this particular mill. A physician who was with me said that they would all be dead probably in two years, and their places filled by others—there were plenty more. Pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes there is no rebound—no response. Medicine simply does not act—nature is whipped, beaten, discouraged, and the child sinks into a stupor and dies."

So fares modern man and the child of modern man in the United States, most prosperous and enlightened of all countries on earth. It must be remembered that the instances given are instances only, but that they can be multiplied myriads of times. It must also be remembered that what is true of the United States is true of all the civilized world.

Such misery was not true of the cave-man. Then what has happened? Has the hostile environment of the cave-man grown more hostile for his descendants? Has the cave-man's natural efficiency of 1 for food-getting and shelter-getting diminished in modern man to one-half or one-quarter?

On the contrary, the hostile environment of the cave-man has been destroyed. For modern man it no longer exists. All carnivorous enemies, the daily menace of the younger world, have been killed off. Many of the species of prey have become extinct. Here and there, in secluded portions of the world, still linger a few of man's fiercer enemies. But they are far from being a menace to mankind. Modern man, when he wants recreation and change, goes to the secluded portions of the world for a hunt. Also, in idle moments, he wails regretfully at the passing of the "big game," which he knows in the not distant future will disappear from the earth.

Nor since the day of the cave-man has man's efficiency for food-getting and shelter-getting diminished. It has increased a thousand fold. Since the day of the cave-man, matter has been mastered. The secrets of matter have been discovered. Its laws have been formulated. Wonderful artifices have been made, and marvelous inventions, all tending to increase tremendously man's natural efficiency of 1 in every food-getting, shelter-

getting exertion, in farming, mining, manufacturing, transportation, and communication.

From the cave-man to the hand-workers of three generations ago, the increase in efficiency for food-and-shelter-getting has been very great. But in this day, by machinery, the efficiency of the hand-worker of three generations ago has in turn been increased many times. Formerly it required 200 hours of human labor to place 100 tons of ore on a railroad car. Today, aided by machinery, but two hours of human labor are required to do the same task. The United States Bureau of Labor is responsible for the following table, showing the comparatively recent increase in man's food-and-shelter-getting efficiency:

| | Machine Hours. | Hand Hours. |
|--|-------------------|----------------|
| Barley (100 bushels)..... | 9 | 211 |
| Corn (50 bushels shelled, stalks, husks and blades cut into fodder) | 34 | 228 |
| Oats (160 bushels) | 28 | 265 |
| Wheat (50 bushels)..... | 7 | 160 |
| Loading ore (loading 100 tons iron ore on cars)..... | 2 | 200 |
| Unloading coal (transferring 200 tons from canal boats to bins 400 feet distant) | 20 | 240 |
| Pitchforks (50 pitchforks, 12- inch tines) | 12 | 200 |
| Plow (one landside plow, oak beams and handles) | 3 | 118 |

According to the same authority, under the

best conditions for organization in farming, labor can produce 20 bushels of wheat for 66 cents, or 1 bushel for 3 1-3 cents. This was done on a bonanza farm of 10,000 acres in California, and was the average cost of the whole product of the farm. Mr. Carroll D. Wright says today 4,500,000 men, aided by machinery, turn out a product that would require the labor of 40,000,000 men if produced by hand. Prof. Herzog, of Austria, says that 5,000,000 people with the machinery of today, employed at socially useful labor, would be able to supply a population of 20,000,000 people with all the necessaries and small luxuries of life by working 1½ hours per day.

This being so, matter being mastered, man's efficiency for food-and-shelter-getting being increased a thousand-fold over the efficiency of the cave-man, then why is it that millions of modern men live more miserably than lived the cave-man? This is the question the revolutionist asks, and he asks it of the managing class, the capitalist class. The capitalist class does not answer it. The capitalist class can not answer it.

If modern man's food-and-shelter-getting efficiency is a thousand-fold greater than that of the cave-man, why, then, are there 10,000,000 people in the United States today who are not properly sheltered and properly fed? If the child of the cave-man did not have to work, why, then, today, in the United States, are 80,000 children working out their lives in the textile factories alone? If the child of the cave-man did not have to work, why, then, today, in the United States, are there 1,752,187 child-laborers?

It is a true count in the indictment. The capitalist class has mismanaged, is today mis-

managing. In New York city 50,000 children go hungry to school, and in New York city there are 1,320 millionaires. The point, however, is not that the mass of mankind is miserable because of the wealth the capitalist class has taken to itself. Far from it. The point really is that the mass of mankind is miserable, not for want of the wealth taken by the capitalist class, but for want of the wealth that was never created. This wealth was never created because the capitalist class managed too wastefully and irrationally. The capitalist class, blind and greedy, grasping madly, has not only not made the best of its management, but made the worst of it. It is a management prodigiously wasteful. This point can not be emphasized too strongly.

In face of the facts that modern man lives more wretchedly than the cave-man, and that modern man's food-and-shelter-getting efficiency is a thousand-fold greater than the cave-man's, no other solution is possible than that the management is prodigiously wasteful.

With the natural resources of the world, the machinery already invented, a rational organization of production and distribution, and an equally rational elimination of waste, the able-bodied workers would not have to labor more than two or three hours per day to feed everybody, clothe everybody, house everybody, educate everybody and give a fair measure of little luxuries to everybody. There would be no more material want and wretchedness, no more children toiling out their lives, no more men and women and babes living like beasts and dying like beasts. Not only would matter be mastered, but the machine would be mastered. In such a day incentive would be finer and nobler than the

incentive of today, which is the incentive of the stomach. No man, woman, or child would be impelled to action by an empty stomach. On the contrary, they would be impelled to action as a child in a spelling match is impelled to action, as boys and girls at games, as scientists formulating law, as inventors applying law, as artists and sculptors painting canvases and shaping clay, as poets and statesmen serving humanity by singing and by state-craft. The spiritual, intellectual, and artistic uplift consequent upon such a condition of society would be tremendous. All the human world would surge upward in a mighty wave.

This was the opportunity vouchsafed the capitalist class. Less blindness on its part, less greediness and a rational management were all that was necessary. A wonderful era was possible for the human race. But the capitalist class failed. It made a shambles of civilization. Nor can the capitalist class plead not guilty. It knew of the opportunity. Its wise men told it of the opportunity, its scholars and its scientists told it of the opportunity. All that they said is there today in the books, just so much damning evidence against it. It would not listen. It was too greedy. It rose up (as it rises up today), shamelessly, in our legislative halls, and declared that profits were impossible without the toil of children and babes. It lulled its conscience to sleep with prattle of sweet ideals and dear moralities, and allowed the suffering and misery of mankind to continue and to increase. In short, the capitalist class failed to take advantage of the opportunity.

But the opportunity is still here. The capitalist class has been tried and found want-

ing. Remains the working class to see what it can do with the opportunity. "But the working class is incapable," says the capitalist class. "What do you know about it?" the working class replies. "Because you have failed is no reason that we shall fail. Furthermore, we are going to have a try at it anyway. Seven millions of us say so. And what have you to say to that?"

And what can the capitalist class say? Grant the incapacity of the working class. Grant that the indictment and the argument of the revolutionists are all wrong. The 7,000,000 revolutionists remain. Their existence is a fact. Their belief in their capacity, and in their indictment and their argument, is a fact. Their constant growth is a fact. Their intention to destroy present-day society is a fact, as is also their intention to take possession of the world with all its wealth and machinery and governments. Moreover, it is a fact that the working class is vastly larger than the capitalist class.

The revolution is a revolution of the working class. How can the capitalist class, in the minority, stem this tide of revolution? What has it to offer? What does it offer? Employers' associations, injunctions, civil suits for plundering of the treasuries of the labor unions, clamor and combination for the open shop, bitter and shameless opposition to the eight-hour day, strong efforts to defeat all reform child-labor bills, graft in every municipal council, strong lobbies and bribery in every legislature for the purchase of capitalist legislation, bayonets, machine-guns, policemen's clubs, professional strike-breakers, and armed Pinkertons—these are the things the capitalist class is dumping in front of the tide

of revolution, as though, forsooth, to hold it back.

The capitalist class is as blind today to the menace of the revolution as it was blind in the past to its God-given opportunity. It cannot see how precarious is its position, can not comprehend the power and the portent of the revolution. It goes on its placid way, prattling sweet ideals and dear moralities, and scrambling sordidly for material benefits.

No overthrown ruler or class in the past ever considered the revolution that overthrew it, and so with the capitalist class of today. Instead of compromising, instead of lengthening its lease of life by conciliation and by removal of some of the harsher oppressions of the working class, it antagonizes the working class, drives the working class into revolution. Every broken strike in recent years, every legally plundered trade-union treasury, every closed shop made into an open shop, has driven the members of the working class directly hurt over to socialism by hundreds and thousands. Show a workingman that his union fails, and he becomes a revolutionist. Break a strike with an injunction or bankrupt a union with a civil suit, and the workingmen hurt thereby listen to the siren song of the socialist and are lost forever to the **political capitalist parties**.

Antagonism never lulled revolution, and antagonism is about all the capitalist class offers. It is true, it offers some few antiquated notions which were very efficacious in the past, but which are no longer efficacious. Fourth-of-July liberty in terms of the Declaration of Independence and of the French Encyclopedists is scarcely apposite today. It does not appeal to the workingman who has

had his head broken by a policemen's club, his union treasury bankrupted by a court decision, or his job taken away from him by a labor-saving invention. Nor does the Constitution of the United States appear so glorious and constitutional to the workingman who has experienced a bull-pen or been unconstitutionally deported from Colorado. Nor are this particular workingman's hurt feelings soothed by reading in the newspapers that both the bull-pen and the deportation were pre-eminently just, legal and constitutional. "To hell, then, with the constitution!" says he, and another revolutionist has been made—by the capitalist class.

In short, so blind is the capitalist class that it does nothing to lengthen its lease of life, while it does everything to shorten it. The capitalist class offers nothing that is clean, noble and alive. The revolutionists offer everything that is clean, noble and alive. They offer service, unselfishness, sacrifice, martyrdom—the things that sting awake the imagination of the people, touching their hearts with the fervor that arises out of the impulse toward good and which is essentially religious in its nature.

But the revolutionists blow hot and blow cold. They offer facts and statistics, economics and scientific arguments. If the workingmen be merely selfish, revolutionists show him, mathematically demonstrate to him that his welfare will be bettered by the revolution. If the workingman be the higher type, moved by impulses toward right conduct, if he have soul and spirit, the revolutionists offer him the things of the soul and the spirit, the tremendous things that can not be measured by dollars and cents, nor be held down by

dollars and cents. The revolutionist cries out upon wrong and injustice, and preaches righteousness. And, most potent of all, he sings the eternal song of human freedom—a song of all lands and all tongues and all time.

Few members of the capitalist class see the revolution. Most of them are too ignorant, and many are too afraid to see it. It is the same old story of every perishing ruling class in the world's history. Fat with power and possession, drunken with success, and made soft and mushy by surfeit and by cessation of struggle, they are like the drones clustered about the honey-vats when the worker-bees spring upon them to end their rotund existence.

President Roosevelt vaguely sees the revolution, is frightened by it and recoils from seeing it. As he says: "Above all, we need to remember that any kind of class animosity in the political world is, if possible, even more wicked, even more destructive to national welfare, than sectional, race, or religious animosity."

Class animosity in the political world, President Roosevelt maintains, is wicked. But class animosity in the political world is the preachment of the revolutionists. "Let the class wars in the industrial world continue," they say, "but extend the class war to the political world." As their leader, Eugene V. Debs, says: "So far as this struggle is concerned, there is no good capitalist and no bad workingman. Every capitalist is your enemy and every workingman is your friend."

Here is class animosity in the political world with a vengeance. And here is revolution. In 1888 there were only 2,000 revolutionists of this type in the United States; in

1900 there were 127,000 revolutionists; in 1904, 435,000 revolutionists. Wickedness of the President Roosevelt definition evidently flourishes and increases in the United States. Quite so, for it is the revolution that flourishes and increases.

Here and there a member of the capitalist class catches a clear glimpse of the revolution, and raises a warning cry. But his class does not heed. President Eliot of Harvard raised such a cry: "I am forced to believe there is a present danger of socialism never before so imminent in America in so dangerous a form, because never before imminent in so well organized a form. The danger lies in the obtaining control of the trades unions by the socialists." And the capitalist employers, instead of giving heed to the warnings, are perfecting their strike-breaking organization and combining more strongly than ever for a general assault upon that dearest of all things to the trades unions, the closed shop. Insofar as this assault succeeds, by just that much will the capitalist class shorten its lease of life. It is the old, old story, over again, and over again. **The drunken drones still cluster greedily about the honey-vats.**

Possibly one of the most amusing spectacles of today is the attitude of the American press toward the revolution. It is also a pathetic spectacle. It compels the onlooker to be aware of a distinct loss of pride in his species. Dogmatic utterance from the mouth of ignorance may make gods laugh, but it should make men weep. And the American editors (in the general instance) are so impressive about it! The old "divide-up," "men-are-not-born-free-and-equal" propositions are enunciated gravely and sagely, as things white-hot

and new from the forge of human wisdom. Their feeble vapping show no more than a schoolboy's comprehension of the nature of the revolution. Parasites themselves on the capitalist class, serving the capitalist class by molding public opinion, they, too, cluster drunkenly about the honey-vats.

Of course, this is true only of the large majority of American editors. To say that it is true of all of them would be to cast too great obloquy upon the human race. Also, it would be untrue, for here and there an occasional editor does see clearly—and in his case, ruled by stomach-incentive, is usually afraid to say what he thinks about it. So far as the science and the sociology of the revolution are concerned, the average editor is a generation or so behind the facts. He is intellectually slothful, accepts no facts until they are accepted by the majority, and prides himself upon his conservatism. He is an instinctive optimist, prone to believe that what ought to be, is. The revolutionist gave this up long ago, and believes not that what ought to be, is, but what is, is, and that it may not be what it ought to be at all.

Now and then, rubbing his eyes vigorously, an editor catches a sudden glimpse of the revolution and breaks out in naive volubility, as, for instance, the one who wrote the following in the "Chicago Chronicle", "American socialists are revolutionists. They know that they are revolutionists. It is high time that other people should appreciate the fact."—A white-hot, brand-new discovery, and he proceeded to shout it out from the house-tops that we, forsooth, were revolutionists. Why, it was just what we have been doing all these years—shouting it out from the house-tops

that we are revolutionists, and stop us who can.

The time should be past for the mental attitude: "Revolution is atrocious. Sir, there is no revolution." Likewise should the time be past for that other familiar attitude: "Socialism is slavery. Sir, it will never be." It is no longer a question of dialectics, theories, and dreams. There is no question about it. The revolution is a fact. It is here now. Seven million revolutionists, organized, working day and night, are preaching the revolution—that passionate gospel, the Brotherhood of Man. Not only is it a cold-blooded economic propaganda, but it is in essence a religious propaganda with a fervor in it of Paul and Christ. The capitalist class has been indicted. It has failed in its management and its management is to be taken away from it. Seven million men of the working class say that they are going to get the rest of the working class to join with them and take the management away. The revolution is here now. Stop it who can.

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