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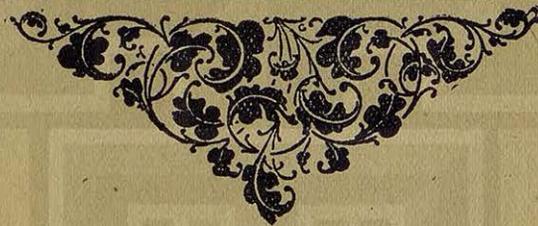
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CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY.
118 Kinzie Street, Chicago.

Theodore Roosevelt

THE POLITICAL DR. COOK



A CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF
THE POLITICAL LIFE OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PUBLISHED BY
T. A. HICKEY
ABILENE, TEXAS



Theodore Roosevelt

The Political Dr. Cook

A Chronological Review
of the Political Life of
Theodore Roosevelt

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Price 10 Cents

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Theodore Roosevelt

THE POLITICAL DR. COOK

A Chronological Review of the Political Life of
Theodore Roosevelt by T. A. Hickey.

WITH flaring flags and flying streamers, blaring bands and strenuous shouts an excited multitude that burned red fire, and showered confetti, moved, eddied and swirled in great streams of humanity in the lower end of New York City on the twelfth of last September. They had come to the gateway of the Atlantic to greet Dr. Cook on his safe return from the North Land.

A similar crowd with the same hysterical display will journey to the same spot in the near future to greet another explorer—Theodore Roosevelt. There is a striking similarity between both men and their receptions. As hunters, naturalists, explorers, literatures and superb advertisers they challenge international attention. Both were greeted by European kings and savants; wine and dined, feted and decorated. Both returned to find an expectant multitude at their feet.

Within four months from the day of landing Dr. Cook was in exile—exposed as a fraud. The flags were furled, the bands were silent while the multitude hissed out one word—“*stung*”

Just as the geographers and scientists generally delved into the crooked record and thus destroyed the doctor so shall we now look into the record of the Political Dr. Cook with the same end in view, viz.—the exposure of a fraud.

Chronological—1883.

Theodore Roosevelt was elected to the legislature from New York, the city of his birth, by the grace of Tom Platt, he of express company and concubine infamy, known even at that time as the most corrupt politician in America.

Roosevelt voted with the Platt-Conkling machine and was known as a safe man, whose assistance could always be secured to kill every Knights of Labor or any other labor measure that was introduced from time to time.

1884.

Continued to be used by the machine as the young man of good birth who made capitalist politics respectful. He was the original good young man in politics. Tammany hall has since played that game with splendid success, mixing up their sweet scented Fifth avenue grandees and fine ladies with their Bowery thugs, white slavers and courtesans.

1886.

This year found organized labor united as never before. The Knights of Labor, organized in 1867, had grown to over one and a half million members. So great was the desire to organize that the national office had to stop issuing charters for a period of six weeks in the spring of this year. The A. F. of L., then five years old, was thriving splendidly. These organized workers decided that they must use their political power to help them in their economic struggles; hence the organization of the United Labor party in New York City in the summer of 1886.

Their candidate for mayor was Henry George, then at the zenith of his fame as the author of Progress and Poverty. Tammany nominated Abram S. Hewitt, the son-in-law of the great greenbacker, Peter Cooper. Then Wall street lined up as never before behind their "clean young aristocrat," Theodore Roosevelt. It was figured that he would pull enough votes away from Henry George to elect the ticket of Tammany hall. The scheme was successful, and, although George got sixty-eight thousand votes, he was counted out by the Roosevelt-Tammany crowd. That Roosevelt was last in the race was small comfort to the workers whose candidate Roosevelt had helped to defeat.

1887-1893.

These years found Roosevelt acting as civil service commissioner for a short time and writing, hunting, plotting and

planning his future political career, with never a word or thought of labor.

1894.

This year found Roosevelt re-entering politics. He was appointed one of the four police commissioners of New York City. In his absence from the political field he had developed a good grasp of the psychology of the American people. Even more than the French they loved the spectacular. Everything abnormal, from white elephants to Teddy Bears, goes. Calcium light effect gets results. Red fire is argument—Rah, Rah, Rah! So acted Roosevelt in his new job. He prowled the city at all hours. Slid into Water Front saloons by the back door at 2 a. m. Woke up astounded blue coats, who were taking naps on ash barrels in the gray of the morning.

This stunt was always good for a two-column, front-page display.

It was at this stage of his career that he gave the first evidence of his wonderful press agent ability that has since developed to the point where Barnum, Tony Hamilton, Ringling Brothers, Lydia Pinkham and all great advertisers have been put in the shade.

His real character cropped out well at this time. An inventor came to him with a new police club more murderous than the cestus of ancient Rome. This club had a spring in the end of it; press the spring and presto! sixteen steel spikes sprang out; each spike two and a quarter inches long and sharpened to a fine point. Grab the innocent looking club, the spring would be pressed and your hand was torn off; one blow, a sickening crash and your skull was smashed like an egg-shell. This weapon in the hands of New York policemen would be singularly efficacious for a strike picket, reasoned the simple-life Roosevelt.

But what strange chances upset our plans on this mundane sphere!

The patentee applied to the patent office and patent was refused on the remarkable grounds that the spiked club was a weapon contrary to the interest of humanity. Just because the club flew in the face of civilization the big stick had to discard the big club.

1895.

This year found Roosevelt displaying his love for labor by passing favorably upon the examination papers of inspector

McAvoy because he recommended that in the event of a labor disturbance on the east side (the workers' quarters in New York City) that cannon be planted on Chatham square and the seven intersecting streets be raked with grape shot and cannister.

1896.

This year found Roosevelt off the police board and tied up with Mark Hanna and J. P. Morgan. (I will show later that his alliance with Morgan has not been broken up to date.)

He stumped the western states in that ever memorable campaign, at the request of Mark Hanna, and returned to New York on election day happy in the defeat of Bryan.

1897.

For his services against the radical democrats and pops Mark Hanna used his influence with McKinley to have Roosevelt appointed assistant secretary of the navy. Roosevelt, because of his years-long intimacy with Parsons, Shepherd and Havemeyer of the sugar trust, knew that war with Spain was inevitable and trained his mind on every passing event that would assist him upwards in his political climbing.

One of these events proved to be of immense advantage to him. Col. W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) had been watching Roosevelt since he was police commissioner. With the genius of a great circus man he selected him as the one individual that could help him (Buffalo Bill) to put through a brilliant scheme that would make all former showmen, from Jimmie Robinson to P. T. Barnum, turn over in their graves with envy. This scheme was none other than the organization of a great regiment of western frontiersmen, cowboys, rangers and sheriffs, all long-legged, raw-boned men, who rode the western range.

The man who put that scheme through in war time might have a mortgage on the country from East St. Louis to Cape Cod. Oh! for the khaki, the leggings, the quirts and the chapps! Roosevelt heard Buffalo Bill and went wild about the scheme at once. He was Dee-Lighted.

But alas, for Buffalo Bill! Roosevelt double-crossed him, went to work and organized The Rough Riders, with Buffalo Bill with drooping mustache standing mournfully outside the circus tent.

It was small satisfaction to Buffalo Bill to know that he had made a president and in doing so had made a big fool of himself.

1898.

Too well known are the Spanish-American war incidents to use up much space on them here. From the start it was one prolonged scandal, with scarce a trace of honor to our flag. Our soldiers were murdered by the thousands by the beef trust's embalmed beef.

Rotting hulks were sold by "patriotic capitalists" to the government for ten times their value. Corruption stalked rampant. And even among the gentlemen of the navy we saw Sampson try to steal Schley's honors.

In the midst of all this rottenness our American sense of humor causes us to turn with relief to the one bright, beautiful, comic opera spot in the whole works. It was where the terrific Teddy stood under the spotlight at the bottom of San Juan hill—the hill that he never climbed.

A green policeman in the vortex of a race riot is a thing of repose beside our hero. Through his stupidity the Spaniards had him and his merry men corralled. As rattled as a boy with a bee on his back the terrible Ted ran around like a whirling Dervish giving contradictory orders. Fortunately for all concerned the negro infantry came upon the double quick, and Roosevelt heaved a prodigious sigh of relief as he gazed at the backs of the negroes as they climbed San Juan hill. Shafter, with his hammock and his mule, was a figure of martial dignity alongside the toothful terror from New York. But Roosevelt, if he didn't know how to fight, knew how to advertise. If the negroes saved him from the clicking of the mausers wasn't Richard Harding Davis there to attend to the clicking of the cameras? When the negroes had repulsed the Spaniards Roosevelt grabbed a flag and went to the front. The band played Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight and Roosevelt's Rough Riders came home to a delighted people in the glorious blaze of red ink, colored supplements and four-column cuts. The colonel gleefully told the reporters how he had shot a Spaniard in the back.

Tom Platt needed a spectacular candidate for governor, and invited a conference to discuss the subject in the Fifth Avenue hotel. Elihu Root, the biggest attorney in Wall street, was the chief man assigned for the discussion. When the republican chiefs had decided upon Roosevelt, some disgruntled republican sub-chiefs threw a bomb into the meeting by pointing out that Roosevelt was not a citizen of New York and hence could not run for governor because some months earlier he had sworn he was a resident of Washington, D. C., this for the purpose of dodging his taxes in New York. This

then was Roosevelt's dilemma: If he stood for governor he stood for it as a perjurer.

Tom Platt tells us in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* this year that Roosevelt went white to the lips and shook with mortal fear, and that Platt, trying to put backbone into the weakling, slapped him on the back and said: "Is this our brave Roosevelt, the leader of The Rough Riders?" Root assisted Platt in regaining Roosevelt's composure; the conference broke up for the night and Root promised to do his best to straighten the perjurer out. A few days later the republican state convention was held.

Root took the management of the situation in one of the most masterful speeches ever delivered in a state convention from a viewpoint of legal word-twisting. Root, the greatest legal mind in Wall street, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that black was white, white was no color at all, perjury was truth, and Roosevelt was nominated, and elected over Van Wyck, governor of the empire state of New York.

1899.

Behind Root in the struggle to elect Roosevelt stood the masterful figure of Edward H. Harriman.

Not only did he deploy Root to the front, but he threw fifty thousand dollars to the campaign in the closing weeks of the fight and turned the tide of victory Roosevelt's way. This debt had to be paid. Roosevelt paid it by signing the Alton Steal bill, which enabled Harriman to loot the Chicago and Alton railway out of sixty-one million dollars, which has been abundantly proved by the Appeal to Reason.

His old-time hostility to labor was shown by his sending the national guard to Croton Dam, New York, to shoot down the workers who were struggling to enforce the eight-hour law of the state.

The republican party nominated Roosevelt for vice president in the national convention at Philadelphia, and he was elected vice president the following November.

1901.

On September 7th, this year, the infamous Czolgoz assassinated the benign McKinley and the Spike Club Roosevelt stepped into the white house. Surely no more horrible lesson than this were needed to show the frightful results of the

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THE POLITICAL DR. COOK.

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"propaganda of the deed" anarchist in a country like this where we have the ballot to use as we will.

Roosevelt swore to carry out the McKinley politics; but where and what they were is buried in the limbo of the dead gone past!

1902.

With the calcium light working overtime and the press agents working all the time, this year finds Roosevelt posing in a new role—The Apostle of the Apparent; the Discoverer of the Obvious; The Triturator of All That Is Trite.

Every copybook lesson is revamped. Every Sunday school phrase that has done duty for two generations is cried out from clenched teeth with all the dignity of a Delphic oracle.

The people looked on with wild-eyed amazement and delight. Great is the truly good, Roosevelt is the prophet, soothsayer, discoverer and all-round prognosticator of the ever glorious, grand and truly beautiful, simple, war-like life—Selah! Go to! Hurrah!

1903.

Something has to be done right now, for the people are restless over the growing power of the trusts, and Mark Hanna threatened, up to the day of his death, to climb into Roosevelt's seat at the expiration of the term. "Destroy the trusts by publicity" is the new cry that comes from white house, and again the tired press agents are lashed on to their typewriters like galley slaves to their oars. Direful and awful things are sure to happen the trust magnates. "Malefactors of great wealth" tremble, for the terrible one will get you if you don't watch out. Lay on, McDuff, to the "criminal rich." Hard is the lot of the trust magnate! Again the people yell with joy as they hear these fearsome sounds, and while gazing delightedly up at Mr. Roosevelt the aforesaid "criminals" go through their pockets and take the last dollar bill.

1904.

So well have the trust magnates been squelched that they nominate Roosevelt on the republican ticket, Parker on the democratic ticket and lie back contented to watch the sham battle. Roosevelt's campaign manager, Cortelyou, visits Wall street and carries the Roosevelt campaign coin away in four-wheel trucks.

Roosevelt is elected, but there is a fly in the ointment. The Socialist runs its genuinely first national campaign. Debs

gets over four hundred thousand votes. A large number of people have caught on to Roosevelt the fraud.

It is the first faint glimmering of the dawn.

1905.

Seated in the saddle for four years more the people manifest much interest in Roosevelt's new cabinet. To the disgust of a large number of people the trust lawyers are appointed to the chief positions; Root of the Ryan-Morgan interests; Knox of the steel-Morgan interests; and Taft, the father of the injunction, are the big three that are selected to sail the big ship of state. To offset this Trust Roosevelt bends to work of deception as never before. Like great power machines in the modern factory the carriages fly backward and forward in the typewriters and miles of dope are turned out daily to bamboozle the multitude. Fearful is the onslaught against the trusts and all the time as resistlessly as a moving avalanche the process of trustification sweeps majestically on.

The classical political economists are dazed at the process that Marx sketched with the hands of science before they left their mother's lap. The giant modern industry eats up the little fish like the *Itchosauius* devouring its young, while all through the process Roosevelt like a voodoo priest tears his hair and utters strange sounds. Never was the intellectual and moral poverty of the existing order so apparent.

1906.

Scarce six weeks of this year had passed until the western division of the plutocracy feeling secure in their control of the white house decided to destroy the Western Federation of Miners whose national officers they could neither buy nor coerce. True, in their anarchistic spirit the mine owners believed that by lopping off the head of the organization the body would shrivel and die. They had everything squared from the perjured Van Doyn, of Idaho, to Roosevelt and the supreme court. Splendidly did Roosevelt aid them in their murderous schemes. When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were shackled in their prison cells and standing in the shadow of the gallows Roosevelt reached up in the white house and struck down the outraged, helpless, kidnaped workingmen. He stole a phrase from one of Jack London's books—undesirable citizens—and hurled this at them in the interest of the vile beast whose hide Judge Lindsay, of Denver, has just peeled off and exposed to the gaze of the horrified people.

But all in vain did Roosevelt work. Debs sprang into the arena and electrified the nation with his historic article, **Arouse,**

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Ye Slaves! and his declaration, "If they hang Moyer and Haywood they will have to hang me."

The Appeal and the unionists backing Debs beat back the would-be murderers, and, fearing for their precious skins when an aroused people would demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, the conspirators collapsed and Roosevelt was left sulking in his tent.

1907.

Strange as it may appear, this off-year proved to be the most eventful year of Roosevelt's life. It witnessed the climax of his perfidy. He knew the feeling against a third term was so strong that he would be beaten were he to run. He had to find a successor. He had to face a panic and save his sugar trust friends from the penitentiary before the day died out of the sky on December 31st. First as to the sugar criminals: A keen-eyed inspector had noticed something wrong on the Brooklyn and Jersey wharves where the imported sugar belonging to the sugar trusts was weighed. A wire had been put into the delicate mechanism of the scales, where it could be pulled by one of the sugar trust weighers, causing it to weigh falsely. In this manner Uncle Sam had been robbed of twenty-five millions in duties and inasmuch as the government can reclaim a sum that is equal to five times as much as that of which it is defrauded, the sugar trust would have been hopelessly wrecked were even-handed justice done. But the sugar trust was in deeper than this. A Philadelphia Jew named Segal had induced the president of the Philadelphia Fidelity Trust company to back an independent sugar refinery in the city of Brotherly Love and street car grafters. The sugar trust bought in on the deal and by criminal frenzied financiering wrecked the independent plant, destroyed the Fidelity Trust company and thus caused President Hippelt to blow out his brains. A brilliant attorney in Philadelphia was appointed receiver for the wrecked property. He uncovered the sugar trust fraud and again it seemed as if the sugar magnates were headed for the pen. Roosevelt's attorney general, Boneparte, with the kingly name and the face of a French chef, visited Philadelphia and prepared for action. Roosevelt sprang into the breach, called Boneparte off and saved his sugar trust friends.

In the good old summer time Roosevelt decided upon Taft as the ideal man to carry out "my policies."

To secure Taft's nomination the first string to be pulled was the postoffice department. The jobs to be given away amounted to 150,000, postmasters and all.

So Hitchcock, assistant postmaster general, was told to pack his grip and go south; this for the reason that a southern vote counts as much in a national convention as a northern one, and in the south where the democratic party reigns supreme postmasters is about all there is of the republican party.

When Hitchcock moved on Roosevelt's campaign, carte blanche was given him to pull all live wires on his itinerary; after the postmasters, federal judges, district attorneys, government inspectors, capitalists seeking special privileges under public domain, in short, everything in sight was to be grabbed to fasten the cogs and wheels and bearings and parts that would make the steam roller that would flatten out all opposition to Taft at the coming national convention.

After visiting the south, Hitchcock passed through Arizona to California, where one of the chief cogs of the Southern Pacific machine, United States Attorney Lawler, of Los Angeles, was pushed on the band wagon. This Lawler was the man who kept the Mexican patriots, Magon, Villarreal and Rivera, in jail for seventeen months without a trial.

Down to the coast to Seattle sped Hitchcock, where the most important meeting of the tour was held. Seattle, he it remembered, is the gateway to Alaska. Billions of dollars of public property was in sight. In fact, Benjamin Hampton, owner of Hampton Magazine, says in his April number that competent experts estimate the value of District of Alaska in trillions. One mountain of anthracite coal in the public domain has six thousand million tons in sight, every pound of which belongs to the American people, and every ounce of this was to be stolen through the connivance of Hitchcock, Taft and Roosevelt; so the plotters plotted in the night at Seattle in October, 1907. This conspiracy was conducted by what was known as the Morganheim agents, otherwise Messrs. Morgan and Guggenheim. The chief demand of the Morganheim agents was that they should be allowed to appoint the secretary of the interior in person of Ballinger, and Taft should drive through congress and sign the bill that the lawyers of Morgan and Guggenheim would frame. In return for this service the Morgan-Guggenheim agents agreed to deliver a Taft delegation to the national convention in all the Rocky Mountain states, then put up a campaign fund sufficiently large to elect Taft in these states. After events have shown that everything has moved up to date as planned, Taft got the delegation, the campaign fund was put up, the states were carried for the republican party, Ballinger was appointed, the Cunningham claims were rushed to patent by Ballinger, and the steal only stopped by the heroism of Glavis; Taft has fathered the Alaska bill that provides that nine commissioners

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appointed have the power to give away every franchise in Alaska, thus causing Governor Wickersham of Alaska to say before a congressional committee in answer to a question of Governor Clark of Arkansas—"the Taft bill virtually turns over every five dollars' worth of property in Alaska to the Morgan-Guggenheim interests." So much for the Hitchcock-Roosevelt move in 1907.

In this same October came the panic, sweeping like a tornado through the nation. Banks collapsed, factories closed, three million men are out of employment and the hearse of the suicide is seen in the city streets.

Morgan visits Roosevelt and the United States treasury is tapped for twenty-five million dollars, while the farmer cannot get one dollar to move his cotton. Morgan strides out in the breakers and pulls to his sheltered financial shore steamship lines, factories and other valuable propositions, and winds up his buccaneer cruise by ordering Roosevelt to smash the anti-trust law and enable him to steal the one genuine competitor of these United States Steel corporations, The Tennessee Coal and Iron company. Thus does the trust buster bust the trust.

1908.

In the republican convention held in June the Roosevelt steam roller made in 1907, as sketched above, worked to perfection in Chicago; Taft was overwhelmingly nominated; Roosevelt plunged into the campaign with characteristic vigor; all his old flub-dub running from full baby carriages, empty dinner pails, was dragged out. The flatulent Bryan was unmercifully whipped, Taft triumphantly elected and Morgan smiled joyously at the good work of the strenuous one. The Socialist party was the only third party that held its own in the storm, in spite of a million near Socialists that gave "one last vote for Bryan"—and the wholesale national counting out the Socialist party was the only third party that was not swept off the political field. With its square unbroken it faced Roosevelt and Morgan with the firmness of determined purpose in its poise.

The light was commencing to break in the skies.

1909.

The last congress over which Roosevelt held sway was as usual barren of any results to the people. Floods of special messages came from the white house, Tilman was excoriated. Congress was threatened with secret agents' reports. A rep-

representative from New York attacked Roosevelt savagely in a speech in the house, referring to him as the gargoyle of American politics, and so, on the fourth of March at noon, amidst a frightful snow storm, emblematic of the conditions of the people, Roosevelt walked out of the white house and turned over the reins of office to his successor, William Howard Taft. As he drove through the storm to the Pennsylvania depot he must have recast in his mind the seven swift years that lay behind them since the martyred McKinley gasped out his last breath at Buffalo. Two trusts were doing business to the one that was in operation when he stepped in the white house, the cost of living had enormously increased to the masses of the people and wages had not kept pace with the increase. Millions of unemployed were hungry in the land.

1910.

After a year spent indulging his passion for blood in the wilds, Roosevelt turns his face homeward. He has not forgotten his old spectacular tricks. Scarcely is he out of the jungle until he upholds the mailed fist of English capital and attacks the revolutionary party that is struggling for freedom within the shadow of pyramids.

The prow of his vessel will soon plow through the Narrows, and, like his explorer, double, Dr. Cook, he will be greeted by acclamation in New York. He will find a city captured by the Socialists in his absence. He will find a more sober and thoughtful people thinking as they never thought before. He may then realize his theatrical race is run and he will sink into oblivion, unwept—unhonored—and unsung.

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The Threat of Barbarism

BY GEORGE D. HERRON.

IT IS DIFFICULT to write of so dominant and delusive a personality as Theodore Roosevelt without in some measure using language that fits the subject. In both word and deed is Mr. Roosevelt himself so terribly personal that it is impossible to write about him in an impersonal way. To speak of him in any terms that at all characterize him is to lay one's self open to the charge of personal feeling. I confess I do feel deeply about Mr. Roosevelt, but it is because I believe him to be the most malign and menacing personal force in the political world of today. He is the embodiment of man's return to the brute—the living announcement that man will again seek relief from the sickness of society in the bonds of an imposing savagery. He is a sign, and one of the makers, of universal decay. He is the glorification of what is rotten and reactionary in our civilization. To speak calmly of one whose life and achievements are a threat and an insult to the holiest spirit of mankind, this is not easy for anyone who cares about mankind, or carries within himself the heartache of the generations. About other men one may write judicially, and leave something for inference. But one can only truly write about Mr. Roosevelt by telling the truth about him; and that means the use of plain and terrible words. That is the tragedy and terror of having to speak of him at all.

Quite recently I have been criticised for saying that Theodore Roosevelt is the most degrading influence in our American public life and history. I said this because it was true. It is what many thoughtful Americans know; it is also what no one with a reputation to lose will say. We are all afraid of him; we are afraid of him just as we are afraid of the plotted revenge, of the bludgeon from behind, of the knife in the back, of the thief in the dark. No one knows what this man will do, if one enters the lists against him; but whatever he does, it will be to avoid the question at issue, and to come at you unawares; to seize an advantage that only the dishonorable and the shameless accept. Whatever he does, he will never fight you fair; he will never strike a blow that is not foul. In some respects Mr. Roosevelt has the field to himself; the majority of men have still some rudimentary feelings about the truth; and if not this, then an ordinary sense of humor, as well as the lack of opportunity, saves them from any foolish attempt at competing with Mr. Roosevelt in the art of clothing flagrant falsehood with the garments

of moral pomp. It is notorious, too, that no man will now contend with Mr. Roosevelt, because no man will so bemean himself as to fight upon Mr. Roosevelt's terms. It is also notorious that Mr. Roosevelt will avail himself of this fact, as he did in his controversy with Mr. Edward H. Harriman; as he did in his amazing and disgraceful articles against Socialism; as he did when he condemned, for the sake of his own popularity with a capitalist press, the labor leaders, Moyer and Haywood, while these men were still on trial for their lives. He knows that his most bitter opponent will observe some of the decencies of combat. Observing none of these himself, he has all the choice of weapons; and he chooses without reference to the weapons of his opponent. Indeed, no white man would be found with the controversial weapons of Theodore Roosevelt upon his person. And no white man has had, or would wish to have, Mr. Roosevelt's opportunity for investing the most skulking personal revenges with the air of a champion of the public good.

But it is not against a mere individual that I protest. I object to Mr. Roosevelt from the fact that he voices and incarnates the fundamental social immorality—the doctrine that might makes right; that no righteousness is worth the having except that which is enforced by brute words, or brute laws, or brute fists, or brute armies. Mr. Roosevelt stands for a life that belongs to the lower barbarian and to the jungle. He has set before the youth of the nation the glory of the beast instead of the glory of the soul. The nation has been hypnotized and saturated with his horrible ideals, as well as by his possessional and intimidating personality. Of course, the nation is itself to blame, and in this reveals its own decadence; for the heroes we worship, and the ideals we cherish, are the revelations of ourselves. Yet it is this one man, more than all others, who has awakened the instinct to kill and to conquer, and all the sleeping savagery of the people. It is he who has put the blood-cup to the lips of the nation, and who bids the nation drink. And one of the strangest ironies that ever issued from academic ignorance, and what will prove to be one of the historic stupidities, is the endowment of this naked militarist with the Nobel Peace Prize; and this because, in the interests of the great bankers and of his own military policy, he was instrumental in depriving Japan of the full fruits of her victory.

Theodore Roosevelt leads a recession in the life of the world. He betokens the enfeeblement of mankind, its lack of a living faith. He is the ominous star of the new New Dark Ages—wherein the faithless soul of man will seek forgetfulness and excitement in military murder and political bestiality. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt has imposed upon the world an impression of strength; but he is essentially a weakling, an anthropological problem, a case for the pathologist. His psychology is that of the savage at one time, and of the hysteric at another. Intellectually, he is an atavism, the recrudescence of

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an antique type; he belongs with the rulers of the Roman degeneracy, or with the lesser Oriental despots.

And Mr. Roosevelt is the last man whose name should be spoken of in connection with democracy. He does not believe in democracy at all; nor in freedom at all. He is no more of a democrat than Genghis Khan or Louis XI. He likes liberty less than Cromwell did; and Cromwell liked liberty less, by far, than did Charles I. Only these are big names to put beside the name of a man so morally small, so ignorant of essential excellence, so ruthlessly inconsiderate of his fellows, as Theodore Roosevelt.

But supposing Mr. Roosevelt were one of the soul's gentlemen, supposing he politically meant to do social good, it is by methods that belong to the darkest phases of human history—the methods of the tyrant who believes his own will to be the only righteousness, and all opposition to that will to be the one unrighteousness; and who proceeds to stamp its opposers with what he means to be an indelible infamy, or to kill if he can. As the best example of this sort, Cromwell tyrannized over a nation, and over the souls of men, for their own salvation and for the glory of God. And this is the method by which every tyranny or tyrant seeks justification. It is the only method Mr. Roosevelt cares for or believes in.

Yet no man ever ruled other men for their own good; no man was ever rightly the master of the minds or bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything except for their undoing, and for his own brutalization. The possession of power over others is inherently destructive—both to the possessor of the power and to those over whom it is exercised. *And the great man of the future, in distinction from the great man of the past, is he who will seek to create power in the peoples, and not gain power over them.* The great man of the future is he who will refuse to be great at all, in the historic sense; he is the man who will literally lose himself, who will altogether diffuse himself, in the life of humanity. All that any man can do for a people, all that any man can do for another man, is to set the man or the people free. Our work, whensoever and wheresoever we would do good, is to open to men the gates of life—to lift up the heavenly doors of opportunity.

This applies to society as well as to the individual man. If the collective man will release the individual man and let him go, then the individual will at last give himself gloriously, in the fulness of his strength, unto the society that sets the gates and the highways of opportunity before him. Give men opportunity, and opportunity will give you men; for opportunity is God, and freedom to embrace opportunity is the glory of God.

Yet, having said all this, I venture to prophesy that Mr. Roosevelt has not yet reached the high noon of his day. And the day is Roosevelt's, you may be sure of that. It will be a long day, too,

and a dark day, before it is done. He will return to the American nation and rule it, as he means to do. It is not merely that the nation is obsessed with Theodore Roosevelt; it is that a situation is arriving in which he will be the psychological necessity. He himself foresees this necessity; the nation is instinct with it. He knew what he was doing when he made Taft president. Roosevelt made Taft president because he knew that Taft would make Roosevelt necessary. He knew that Taft would be a failure; that he would further confound the confusion toward which the nation is drifting.

But drifting is hardly the word. With awful swiftness we are moving toward long crisis and abysmal disaster—crisis and disaster in which the rest of the world will be involved. It is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system that the workers of the world will become too poor to buy the things they make. We are already in sight of that culmination in America. We must hence reach the last accessible man and compel him to buy, we must sell to the uttermost man on the outermost edge of the earth, or our economic world-machine will fall in upon itself. We Americans must have the market of China; else there will come a sudden day when twenty millions of men will be in the streets without work. And twenty millions of men will not go down to starvation without bringing down the national structure with them.

Now capitalism knows that Mr. Roosevelt is the only man that can be depended upon to get for it the Chinese market. It also knows perfectly well that labor has not in the world a more ruthless enemy than Mr. Roosevelt. At heart he holds the working class in contempt. He despises the dream of equality. He hates the whole modern effort of the soul toward freedom—freedom of labor, freedom spiritual, freedom social. Notwithstanding his bluster about the trusts, and his determination to control to some extent the course of industrial operation, it is in the interest of absolutism, and against Socialism, that he has worked. Intelligent capitalism knows that Roosevelt can be trusted, as no other man can be trusted, to see it through. It is, therefore, to Roosevelt that capitalism will turn to conquer its new worlds for it; to Roosevelt that capitalism will turn to finally crush the resistance of labor. It is to Roosevelt that all the vested interests of the present civilization will turn, in the time of their danger or dissolution. The Cæsars arose as the necessary chief of police of the Roman propertied or plundering class. So will Roosevelt and his successors arise; they will arise to police the world in the interests of its possessors.

There could only be one alternative to Roosevelt, in the dreadful years that are coming to America; a thoroughly organized Socialist movement of the highest order; a Socialist movement that would be profoundly revolutionary, resolutely reaching to the roots of things, refusing any longer to tinker or compromise with the present evil world; yet a Socialist movement with its pattern in the Mount

—a Socialist movement led by the glowing vision, and charged with the highest idealism as to ultimate freedoms and values. It is for such a revolution the whole world waits; a revolution that shall be a synthesis of the life of man; a revolution wherein men shall mightily and decisively make their own world; a revolution that shall make all material facts and forces to be the medium and music of the free human spirit; a revolution that shall make the world's civilization an invitation to the soul of every man to express itself and rejoice. Yet there is not such a Socialist movement in the world now, and the last place to look for its coming is in America. No where else has individualism borne such deadly fruit; nowhere else is there such intellectual and moral servility; nowhere else is there such actual ignorance of the new world that is besetting the old. We have never had a republic in anything but name. We have always and only had the administration of society in the interests of the dominant financial bureaucracy. And it is well known, now, that our whole system of government has long since broken down. America is practically being governed without law. There is absolutely no constitutional method of social reform. There will be a long time of darkness and suffering, of hypocrisy and compromise, and of depthless disaster, before there will be any real social awakening in America, or any effective spiritual fund upon which to draw for a revolution. It is for this reason Mr. Roosevelt will become the nation's psychological necessity. There is nothing for it but the strong man—the man who will govern us without law. Mr. Roosevelt knows this; and he has known it for many years; and all his life he has been getting ready for it. And not only America, perhaps Great Britain as well, will turn to Roosevelt as the only force relentless and purposeful enough to carry it through the beginnings of the New Dark Ages. And, as I have already said, it is when the world is enfeebled and faithless that it turns to the strong man.

Upon such a crisis the nations are turning now. We are approaching one of those times when the world returns to brute force; when civilization is resolved back into its primal elements; when the tyrant seems to be the only savior. And Mr. Roosevelt is the man for this approaching time. And this approaching time is working out the day and the hour of the fulfillment of Mr. Roosevelt's ambitions.

So I make my prophecy: Roosevelt will return to America, and he will rule it. He carries the nation in the hollow of his hand. He will be elected president. There will be war with Japan for the market of China. There will be glutted markets, underconsumption of economic goods, universal unemployment, and the sudden standstill of industry, and the paralysis of even the semblance of government. Roosevelt will seem the only salvation from anarchy. When he returns to Washington he will return to stay, as he means to stay. He is by nature a man utterly lawless, and the nation is now practically lawless. He has been all his life getting ready for

this one goal, and the decadent nation is rapidly preparing the goal for him. The monthly magazine-reformers and Mr. Pierpont Morgan are alike turning to Mr. Roosevelt as the nation's hope. All things are preparing his way. The times and he are joining themselves together perfectly. Theodore Roosevelt has had his dawn; he will now have his day; and it will be one of the harshest and bitterest days in the still-continuing pilgrimage of mankind through the wilderness.

Now having made my prophecy, let me be judged by it ten years hence—not now. And ever, while I live, shall I pray that my prophecy may prove false. For the sake of man, and for the joy of my own soul, may it be that this word of the future may not come true. Rather let it be that some sudden awakening as to what is really true and good and beautiful, some sudden precipitation of the yet unevolved spirit of man, may deliver us from the engulfing misery of the New Dark Ages which the coming of Roosevelt betokens.

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“The Threat of Barbarism” --- The Answer.

Geo. D. Herron's deeply Philosophic article, in 760 of the Appeal may well strike terror in the minds of all thinking Americans.

His prophecy of the dark ages coming upon our country is the most fearsome note that has been struck in the music of our life since Wilkes Booth's shot rang out in Ford's theater in 1865. He prays that his prophecy may not come true and wishes to be judged by the results ten years hence. It were well that he put in that proviso because although ten years from now may find us with primitive barricades on the street fighting with blood and rude weapons the centuries old battle, still, out of that conflict there will come a redeemed America pushing onward to the goal of the race, the universal brotherhood of man.

George Herron may stress on the individualistic spirit of our country with its accompanying lack of ideals, its glorification of power in the hands of the individual and its lack of a soul-lifting movement. But after all is this not a necessary phase in our sociologic development? Just as we could not jump from feudalism into Socialism, so we could not escape this individualistic horror.

If my friend Herron will ponder deeply over the fact that Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Payne never heard the whistle of a locomotive, the tinkle of a telephone bell and the churning screws of a side wheel steamer and will remember that in 1839 just 70 years ago Ft. Dearborn on which the city of Chicago stands, was an Indian trading post, Wisconsin had 5,000 souls within its border, Minnesota was a wilderness, Nebraska was a political district and westward beyond that was the Indian and Vista he will then realize that the Spirit of America had to be the pioneer spirit of the man in the prairie schooner who pushed on to the west with the leather lines in his hand, the rifle across his knees and his wife and babies behind him.

Viewing events in this way I have no fear for the future of fair Columbia; The Star Spangled Banner will continue to wave

while our people clean out a bunch of Roosevelt vermin that is hidden in its folds.

I do not think of Roosevelt as my good friend Herron does, and the reason is that each time I hear of the "man on horseback," I pull myself away from the stress of the day and take down my eighteenth *Brumaire* and read again the most wonderful monograph on history ever written, Marx's greatest contribution to the sociologic science of our day. Listen to what he says:

"History repeats itself, once as tragedy, again as farce. The tragedy of the great Napoleon, the farce of LaPetite Napoleon" (the little Napoleon).

And so with our Roosevelt as a star of the moment and his part in the history of our times. We have the tragedy of the great Lincoln and his immortal Gettysburg address with its "Government of the people by the people and for the people will never perish from the earth." These words in our history were not the idle words of a passing hour but they were carved in the granite of our nation's life as portrayed for a moment on that historic field and gloriously lit up by the sheen of the sword in hands of George Pickett as with his gallant men he sought to scale the heights of Cemetery Hill.

The Parallel between Lincoln and Roosevelt is just as correct in our day as between Roosevelt and Dr. Cook, and Napoleon the Great and Napoleon the Little. Where is the hill that Roosevelt climbed? It exists not in this world and the only recollection we have of it is that the gentleman himself standing at the base of San Juan Hill while the negroes climbed the heights.

And so I have the Faith within me that the Socialist party will march on carrying the torch of Knowledge and with its footsteps lighted by the lamps of science will climb the obstacles of ignorance that beset the race today and will lead us, through the orderly processes of autonomous work, as laid down by the Jeffersons and Paynes, into the haven of the Socialist republic where all things collectively used will be collectively owned and all things privately used will be privately owned and the stars of a social democracy will light all the homes of the earth as each passing day dies out of the sky.

T. A. HICKEY.

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Socialist Party Platform--1908

*Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention Assembled at
Chicago, May 10, 1908.*

Declaration of Principles.

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

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

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

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

of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever

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

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

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

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

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

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

PLATFORM FOR 1908.

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

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those indus-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity or of

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restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

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

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

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

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

PROGRAM.

General Demands.

1.—The immediate government relief of the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such work shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other meas-

ures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

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

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

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

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

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

Industrial Demands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Demands.

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

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and

we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

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

12—The abolition of the senate.

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

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

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

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

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

18—The free administration of justice.

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

SOCIALISM THE LONE FOE OF WAR

By Allan L. Benson

(Copyright, 1914.)

(This pamphlet is a chapter from "The Truth About Socialism," a book of 188 pages, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.)

ASK the first man you meet if he is in favor of war and he will tell you he is not. Mr. Wilson is opposed to war. The Czar of Russia is opposed to war. The Emperor of Austria is opposed to war. The King of England and the Emperor of Germany are opposed to war. Every king and emperor in the world is opposed to war. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Taft—everybody, everywhere, is opposed to war.

Yet, Mr. Taft, not so many years ago, flung an army in the face of Mexico, and dispatched powerful warships to the coast of Cuba. The King of Italy, not so many years ago, by land and sea attacked the people of Turkey. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt, a little longer ago, enlisted in the war against Spain. The banking house of Morgan, only a few years ago, helped to furnish the sinews of war with which Japan fought Russia. Mr. Wilson, only last spring, attacked Mexico. And, at this moment, Europe is in a death grapple that constitutes the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the human race. The Emperor of Austria hated war—but he declared war against Servia and Russia. The Emperor of Germany hated war—but he declared war against Russia, France and Great Britain.

Plainly, here is something mystifying—a world that wants to stop fighting and cannot. Why cannot it stop fighting? Mr. Wilson cannot tell you. Mr. Morgan will not tell you. Mr. Roosevelt has not told you. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Carnegie seem not to know. No one who should know seems to know. Yet, they must know. Common sense says so. The men who make wars know why they make them. Wars do not happen—they are made. Somebody says: "Bring out the guns." Somebody says: "Begin shooting." Somebody knows what the shooting is about.

What is it about? Be careful, now. Don't answer too quickly. Don't say "the flag" has been insulted. Don't say "the national honor" has been impugned. These are old reasons, but they may not be true reasons. We Socialists are willing to stake everything on the statement that they are not true reasons. If we are right, we are worth listening to. War is hell. During the 132 years that we have been a nation, we have had war hell at average intervals of 22 years. We are already preparing for our next war. We are arming to the teeth. It may not last so long as the Civil War, but it will be bloodier. We have all of the most improved machinery for making it bloodier.

On the sea we are armed as Farragut never was armed. Any of our dreadnoughts could sink all of the ships, for which and against which, Farragut ever fought. And, on land, we are armed as Grant never was armed. Grant drummed out his victories with muzzle-loading rifles. No rifle could be fired rapidly. No bullet could kill more than one man, nor any man unless that man were near. But the modern rifle can be fired 25 times a minute, and it will kill at four miles. More than that, a single bullet from a modern rifle will kill every man in its path. It will shoot through 60 inches of pine. It will string men like a needle stringing beads. It will literally make a sieve of a soldier. Seventy bullet holes and more were found in the body of many a man who fell on the plains of Manchuria.

Toward such a war—or worse—we are speeding. Indeed, it will be hell. But it will not be hell for the men who make it. It will be hell for the men who fight it. The men who make it will stay at home. Their blood will drench no battlefield. Their bones will lie in the mire with no sunken ship. But the blood of the workers will drench every battlefield, and their skeletons will march with the tides on the floor of the sea.

Good Christian gentlemen who abhor war hold out no hope that war will soon cease. Good Christian gentlemen who abhor war pretend not to know why, in a world that is weary of war, war still persists. Or, if they do pretend to know, they account for the persistence of war by slandering the human race. They say the race is bad. Its brain is full of greed. Its heart is full of murder.

The mind of the race is not, nor ever has been filled with the greed that kills.

The heart of the race is not, nor ever has been, filled with the black blood of murder.

It is only a few whose minds and hearts have been thus poisoned by greed for gain or lust for power. Probably we should all have been thus poisoned if we had been similarly circumstanced—if we had been great capitalists. But most of us, lacking the capitalist's instinct for profits, never chanced to see the easy loot and the waiting dagger lying side by side. The gentlemen who have seen them have made our wars. And the gentlemen who do see them are making our wars today and preparing others for the future.

We Socialists make this charge flatly. We smear the monstrous crime of war over the face of the capitalist class. We mince no words. We say to the capitalist class:

"Your pockets are filled with gold, but your hands are covered with blood. You kill men to get money. You don't kill them, yourselves. As a class, you are too careful of your sleek bodies. You might be killed if you were less careful. But you cause other men to kill.

"And you do it in the meanest way. You do it by appealing to their patriotism.

"You say: 'It is sweet to die for one's country.'

"You don't dare say: 'It is sweet to die for Havemeyer,' as many Americans died during the Sugar Trust war to 'free Cuba.'

"You don't say: 'It is sweet to die for Guggenheim or Morgan,' as many Americans would have died if Taft's army had crossed the Rio Grande.

"You don't say: 'It is sweet to die for the Tobacco and other trusts,' as many Americans died during the war with the Philippines.

"You don't dare say any of these things, because you know, if you did, you would not get a recruit. You know you would be more likely to get the boot."

We Socialists, who make these charges, know they are serious. They are as serious as we know how to make them. If they lack any of the seriousness they should have, it is because we lack some of the vocabulary we should have. The facts upon which the charges are made are serious enough to justify the full use of any vocabulary ever made. The facts are the facts of colossal murder for gain. And they are as old as history.

The small rich class that lives in luxury from the labor of the great poor class has a reason for clinging to the control of govern-

ment. That reason is not far to seek. Without the control of government, the small, rich class would not be rich. Government, in the hands of the rich, is a sort of two-handed claw with which golden chestnuts are pulled out of the fire. One claw is the governmental power to make and enforce laws. The other claw is the power to grab by force that which cannot be grabbed by laws.

One nation cannot make laws for another nation. But the capitalists of one nation may possess property that is wanted by the capitalists of another nation. Or the capitalists of one nation may see a great opportunity for personal profit in transferring to their own nation the sovereignty that another nation holds over a certain territory. That was why Great Britain made war against the Boers. Certain rich English gentlemen believed they could make more money if the British flag waved over the diamond and gold fields of the Transvaal. For no more nearly valid reason, the capitalist class of Japan made war against the capitalist class of Russia. Russia had stolen Korea and Japan wanted it. Korea belonged to the Koreans, but that made no difference. Two thieves struggled for it and one of them has it.

The moment that the capitalist class of one nation determines to rob the capitalist class of another nation, the machinery for inflaming the public mind is set in motion. This machinery consists of tongues and printing presses. Tongues and printing presses immediately begin to foment hatred. Every man in each country is made to feel that every man in the other country is his personal enemy. But that is stating it too mildly. Every man in each country is made to feel that every man in the other country is as much worse than a personal enemy as a nation is greater than an individual. Fervent appeals are made to "patriotism." "The flag" is waved. It is not "sweet to die" for Cecil Rhodes, for Rothschild or any one else—"It is sweet to die for one's country." And thousands of men take the bait.

They bid farewell to their homes. They embark upon transports. They sail strange seas. They disembark upon strange shores. They see strange men. Men against whom they have no possible sort of grudge. Men who never harmed them. Men whom they never harmed. Common workingmen, like themselves.

But they shoot these men and are shot by these men. They spill each other's blood. They break each other's bones. They break the hearts of each other's families. And, when one army or the other has been crippled beyond further fighting there is peace.

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The peace of the sword? The peace of death! The peace that leaves the working classes of both countries poorer and the capitalist class of only one country richer.

Was it not a great victory? Yes.

It was a great victory for the capitalists of the world who lent money to both belligerents. (But it was not a great victory for the workingmen of both countries, who, through weary, weary years, will be shorn of part of their earnings to pay the interest upon the war bonds.)

It was a great victory for the capitalist group who plunged for plunder and got it. (But it was not a great victory for the capitalist group that lost its plunder.)

It was a great victory for the generals, who, from a safe distance, directed the fighting. (But it was not a great victory for the workingmen who, at close quarters, fell before the guns and were buried where they fell.)

It was no sort of a victory for the working class of either country. At least, any victory that came to the working class of either country was merely incidental. Great Britain whipped the Boers, but the British people did not get the gold mines and the diamond mines. The Japanese whipped the Russians, but the Japanese workingmen did not get any of the plunder for which the war was fought. The Japanese capitalists got all of the plunder. The common people of Japan were so poor, after they had fought a "successful" war against Russia, that, within six months of the termination of the war, the Mikado urged the sternest self-denial upon them as the only means of saving the country from bankruptcy. And, notwithstanding the victory of the British over the Boers, the common people of England were never before so poor as they are today.

What is the use of blinking these facts? They are facts. Nobody can disprove them. They stand. They stand ever in the face of the further fact that some wars have helped the working class. The American Revolution helped the working class of America. But the American working class would not have been in need of help if the English land-owning class who ruled the British government had not been using the government to plunder and oppress the people of America.

But that is only one side of the story. Let us look at the American side. The common people of America gained something from the war. They slipped from the clutches of the English graft-

ers. But they did not get what they were promised. Read the Declaration of Independence and see what they were promised. Read the Constitution of the United States and see what they were given. Between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States there is all the difference that exists between blazing sunlight and pale moonlight. No finer spirit was ever breathed into words than that which appears in the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson wrote it, and he wrote splendidly, though the Declaration, as it stands, is not as he first wrote it. Jefferson was so afire with the idea of liberty that his associates upon the committee that drafted the Declaration shrank from the light. They compelled him to tone down his words. But the Declaration as it stands spells Liberty with a big "L." And, Liberty with a big "L" can be nothing but a republic in which the people, through their representatives, absolutely rule.

The people, through their representatives, have never ruled this country and do not rule it today. The Constitution of the United States will not let them. It will not let them vote directly for President. In the beginning, the people did not even choose the electors who elected the President. State Legislatures chose them. No man except a legislator ever voted for the electors who chose Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison and some others. To this day the Constitution denies the right of the people to choose United States Senators and Justices of the United States Supreme Court. In the few states where the people practically choose United States Senators they do so only by "going around the end" of the Constitution. They exact a promise from legislative candidates to elect the senators for whom the people have expressed a preference. But this is wholly extra-constitutional. If the legislators were to break their promises, the United States Supreme Court would be compelled to sustain them in their constitutional right to do so.

Now, here is the point. Granted that the American Revolution was of value to the American working class. Granted that the ills that followed from American rule were not so grievous as the ills inflicted by the ruling class of English. Grant all this and more. Still, is it not true that if it had not been for the ruling class of England, there would have been no occasion for a war? Is it not true that the English people, if they had been in control of their own government, never would have harmed the people of America? When did the English people, or any other people, ever harm any-

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body? When did a thievish, murderous ruling class neglect to harm any people whose plunder seemed possible and profitable?

The idea that the people of one country, if left to themselves, would ever become embittered against the people of another country, is absurd. Test this statement by your own feelings. Are you so angry at some Japanese peasant who is now patiently toiling upon his little hillside in Japan, that you would like to go to Japan and kill him? Is there any person in Germany whom you never saw that you want to kill?

Of course not. But if you are a "patriotic" American citizen, you may some day cross a sea to kill somebody. If you believe in "following the flag," the flag may some day lead you into the hell of war. If you believe "it is sweet to die for one's country," you may some day be shot to pieces. But if so, you will not die for your country. Your country wants you to live. You will die for the ruling class of your country. If you should expire from gunshot wounds in Mexico, you might die for Mr. Guggenheim, or some other noble citizen who will be far from the firing line. Wherever you may die from war-wounds, you will die to put more money into somebody else's pockets.

It has always been so. Why did we go to war against England in 1812? Because the English people had wronged us? The English people, left to themselves, never wronged anybody. We went to war with England in 1812 because the ruling class of England, then deep in the Napoleonic wars, were holding up American ships upon the high seas to take off alleged British subjects and jam them into the British Navy.

Such action, of course, was harmful to American pride, but really it did not deeply concern the American working class. Most of the workers lived and died without ever having seen a ship. Nevertheless, the American working class was summoned to the slaughter. My paternal great-grandfather, a humble farmer in the Hudson River Valley, was drafted into the ranks, and to this day I honor him because he would not go without being drafted. And, when the war was ended, the working class of America was worse off than it was before.

So was the working class of England. Some were dead. Some were shattered in health. The living lived less well because they had to pay the cost of hell. The impressment of alleged British subjects upon the high seas ceased only because Great Britain chose to end it. The treaty of peace contained no stipulation that she

should end it. Thus ceased this criminally stupid war, which never would have begun if the people of England, instead of a small ruling class, had ruled their own country.

The war with Mexico was so monstrous that General Grant, who fought in it, denounced it in the strongest language at his command. In the second chapter of the first volume of his "Memoirs," after characterizing the Mexican War as "unholy," he says:

"The occupation, separation and annexation" (of Texas) "were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American Union. Even if the annexation itself could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico cannot The Southern Rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican War."

Do you get that? Two wars caused by slavery. Seven hundred thousand men killed. Twenty billion dollars' worth of wealth either destroyed outright, or consumed for interest upon the public debt, or paid for subsequent pensions.

And for what?

To settle the question of slavery.

To settle the question of slavery that the men who framed the national Constitution, most of whom were slaveholders, permitted to exist.

To settle the question of slavery, which, never for one moment, during all of those intervening years, was anything but a curse even to the white working class.

And, what is chattel slavery? Merely a method of appropriating the products of the labor of others. Who were interested in maintaining it? Certainly not the working class, no member of which ever owned a slave. The capitalist class of the South was interested in it, because its holdings were agricultural, and slave-labor was well adapted to agricultural undertakings. The capitalist class of the North was not interested in maintaining chattel slavery, because the investments of Northern capitalists were chiefly in industrial undertakings, for which black slave labor was not well suited. Yet, the North never seriously objected to slavery, as such. Men like Wendell Phillips, who did object to slavery, as such, were mobbed in the North. If the North, like the South, had been, so far as the great capitalists were concerned, an agricultural country, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the North would not have been in favor of chattel slavery. What the North

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most objected to was the effort of the South to extend slavery into new states, as they were admitted. The Southern aristocracy, in this manner, sought to prevent the loss of its hold upon the government. The Northern capitalists also desired to gain control of the government. When the addition of new free states stripped the South of its political supremacy, the South went to war. The North resisted the attack to save the Union.

Remember, that is why the North went to war—to save the Union, which had been attacked. It was not to free the slaves and end slavery. We have this upon the authority of no less a man than Lincoln. Lincoln once sent word to the South that if it would permit him to put one word into a peace-treaty, he would let the South put in all the others. The one word that Lincoln said he wanted to put in was "union." Lincoln was opposed to slavery, but he was not so much opposed to it that he wanted to fight about it. It was only after the South had fought Lincoln almost to a standstill that he rose above the Constitution and destroyed an institution that was not even mentioned in the Constitution—much less prohibited by it.

That is what the Civil War was about—chattel slavery.

Something that would not have existed if men had not first existed who wished to ride upon the backs of others.

Something that would not have existed if the representatives of the ruling class who drafted the Constitution had not been eager that it should persist.

Something that never for a moment benefited the working class.

Yet, the working class fought the war—on one side to preserve slavery for the benefit of others; on the other side to maintain a union under which white men and black men alike are always upon the brink of poverty.

Seven hundred thousand men followed the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars—to bloody graves. Not one of them would have been killed in war if the common people of each section had ruled each section. The common people never owned slaves. They did well if they owned themselves.

And now we come to the Spanish-American War. We believe it was fought to "free Cuba." We believe it was fought to "avenge the Maine." Don't take too much for granted. Even Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, declared in the United States Senate in 1912 his belief that the war with Spain was fomented by Ameri-

cans who held large interests in Cuba. He also declared his belief that the Sugar Trust was trying to foment another revolution for the purpose of bringing about annexation and thus ridding itself of the 80 per cent. tariff that is now levied upon American sugar.

But there is more to the story. To this day, there is no proof that the *Maine* was destroyed by Spaniards, Cubans, or anyone outside of her. For fourteen years the government of the United States did not seem to want to know. The *Maine*, with the bones of 200 or 300 workmen aboard her, was permitted to lie in the mud of Havana harbor where she sank. And, when the wreck was tardily raised, nobody was able to say that the ship was not destroyed by the explosion of her own magazines. Now, the hull of the old ship is down far in the ocean, with no hope that the facts will be known.

But the interests that wanted war had no doubt of the facts in 1898. Their newspapers thundered their theory every day. The *Maine* had been destroyed by Spaniards! We must "Remember the *Maine*." We did remember the *Maine*, but we forgot ourselves. We forgot to be sure we were right. And, even if we were right, we forgot that the killing of a few thousands of Spanish workmen would be no fit punishment for the crime of the Spanish ruling class that wrecked the *Maine*.

We also forgot to watch what Wall Street was doing at the time. Read some paragraphs from the *New York Tribune* of April 1, 6, 9 and 20, 1898:

"Mr. Guerra, of the Cuban Junta, was asked about the Spanish-Cuban bonds against the revenues of the island. He replied that he did not know their amount, which report fixed at \$400,000,000. . . ."

"These bonds are payable in gold, at 6 per cent. interest, ten years after the war with Spain had ended. . . ."

"The disposition of the bonds of the Cuban Republic has been a question discussed in certain quarters during the last few days, and the grave charge has been made that the bonds have been given away indiscriminately in the United States to people of influence who would therefore become interested in seeing the Republic of Cuba on such terms with the United States as would make the bonds valuable pieces of property." (Kindly note that the bonds would be worth nothing unless Spain were driven out of Cuba.) "Men of business, newspaper, and even public officials, have been mentioned as having received these bonds as a gift. . . ."

"A congressman said in the house on Monday that he had \$10,000 worth of Cuban bonds in his pocket, while H. H. Kohlsaat, in an editorial in one of the Chicago papers, charges the Junta with offering a bribe

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of \$2,000,000 of Cuban bonds to a Chicago man to use his influence with the administration for the recognition of the Cuban government."

"Mr. Guerra made the somewhat startling statement that a man representing certain individuals at Washington has sought to coerce the Junta into selling \$10,000,000 worth of bonds at 20 cents on the dollar. "This man practically threatened us that unless we let him have the bonds at the price quoted, Cuba would never receive recognition. He said he was prepared to pay on the spot \$2,000,000 in American money for \$10,000,000 of Cuban bonds, but his offer was refused."

You probably do not remember these items. Perhaps, at that time, like many other citizens, you were too busy "remembering the Maine." If so, what do you think of these items now? Do they mean anything to you? Do they offer any explanation as to why this government, after having paid little or no attention to six rebellions in Cuba during a 50-year period, suddenly determined to "free Cuba"?

In any event, remember that whatever Spain did to Cuba was done by the ruling class and not by the people of Spain. The ruling class was bent upon the robbery of the Cubans. The people of Spain did not profit from the robbery. Nor was the working class of the United States helped by the expulsion of Spain from Cuba. The Sugar Trust and some other great American interests were helped, but the American working class was not. The working class had only the pleasure of doing the fighting, the dying and the bill-paying.

The American working class profited no more from the war with the Philippines, which was fought solely to provide a new field for the dollar-activities of American capitalists. There is no American workingman who now finds it easier to make a living because of the generally improved conditions brought about by the war with the Philippines. General conditions have not been improved. They have been made worse to the extent that the cost of the war is a burden upon industry. If working-class interests had been consulted, the war never would have been waged. No working class interest was involved. The workers had everything to lose, including life, by going to the front, and nothing to gain. But they "followed the flag"—and some of them never came back. They stayed—six feet under ground—that the Tobacco Trust, the Timber Trust, and many other great capitalist interests might stay on the islands above the ground.

Look wherever you will, you cannot find a working class interest that should or could cause workingmen to slaughter each other. Nor is this situation new. It is as old as war itself. It is a

fact that men of sense and honesty have always recognized, Tacitus said:

“Gold and power are the chief causes of war.”

Dryden, the poet, said: “War seldom enters but where wealth allures.”

And Carlyle, in this striking fashion, showed the utter absence of working-class interest in war:

“To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain ‘natural enemies’ of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say, thirty able-bodied men. Dumrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them. She has not, without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood and even trained them up to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under some thirty stone, avoirdupois.

“Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected, all dressed in red and shipped away, at public expense, some two thousand miles, or, say, only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted.

“And now, to the same spot in the South of Spain, are sent thirty similar French artisans—in like manner wending their ways, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition, and thirty stand facing thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the order ‘Fire!’ is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and, in the place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury and anew shed tears for.

“Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them.

“How, then?

“Simpleton! Their governors had fallen out, and, instead of shooting one another, had these poor blockheads shoot.”

That is the cause of war between nations—“the governors fall out.” And who are the governors? Nobody but the representatives of the ruling class, who clash in their race for plunder and deceive workingmen into doing their fighting for them.

Now, let us go back a bit. You may recall that I said that the ruling capitalist class uses government as a two-handed claw with which to pull golden chestnuts out of the fire. One hand to this claw is the power to make and enforce laws. The other hand—the power to wage war—is used to grab what cannot be grabbed with

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laws. Wars between nations illustrate one form of effort to get what laws cannot give. Here is another:

The United States is dotted with forts, arsenals and armories. Far in the interior, where, by the widest stretch of the imagination, no foreign army could come, we see these grim reminders and prognosticators of war. Under the Dick Military Law, the President of the United States, without further legislation, can compel every man in the United States, between the ages of 18 and 45 years, to enlist in the militia of his state and serve under the orders of the President of the United States. The President, therefore, has it in his power at any time to raise an army of about 12,000,000 men and place them in the field.

What for? To fight a foreign foe? Not much. The Constitution of the United States forbids the President to make war against a foreign nation without the explicit authorization of Congress. But the Dick Law authorizes the President to raise this enormous army and to command it.

Here is the question. At whom is this enormous potential army aimed? Why is the land strewn with arsenals and armories that could be of little or no service in a foreign war?

To quote a word from Carlyle, "Simpleton," do you not know that all of these arrangements are made to shoot you if the capitalist class should ever decide that you should be shot? Nor, have you never noticed against whom the state militia is invariably used?

If you have noticed none of these things, perhaps it would be well for you to wake up. The militia of the states is practically never used except to beat down workingmen who have revolted against the outrageous wrongs heaped upon them by their employers. American workingmen do not readily revolt. Nowhere are they any too prosperous. Millions believe from the bottoms of their hearts that they are being robbed. Yet, they keep on. Only when they are ground into the dust, as they were by the Woolen Trust at Lawrence, or by the Coal Trust in Pennsylvania, do they rebel.

Please, therefore, note this monstrous situation:

Under the laws of the land, the capitalists have a right to grind their employees as deeply into the dust as they can grind them.

While this process is going on the national and state troops are quite still. But when human nature, unable to bear up longer, explodes and a few window panes are broken, the troops come scurrying to the scene. Soldiers fill the streets, citizens are ordered this way and that, guns are fired recklessly, perhaps a man or two or a woman or two are killed; the soldiers deny the killing and charge it to the strikers themselves, and eventually the strike is broken.

Can you recall when the militia of a state was recently used for anything else?

Now, we Socialists do not believe in violence, even by strikers. We are supposed to be greedy for blood, but we are not. We do believe, however, the best way to end violence caused by robbery is to end the robbery. We believe it is contemptible for a government to be blind to robbery so long as it proceeds without an outcry from the victim. We believe it is criminal for the government to shoot the victim simply because, in his distress, he breaks a pane of glass in the factory or mill in which he was robbed. We can understand why such crimes are committed, because we know that the same capitalist interests that control industry also control government. But, understanding the offense does not make us approve it. We are against the great crime of war, whether it be practiced upon a huge scale abroad, or upon a small scale at home.

But the President is also opposed to war, the Czar of Russia is also opposed to war, and the German Emperor is also opposed to war. No Socialist can outdo any of these gentlemen in deploring war. The smallest Socialist, however, outdoes any of these gentlemen in making good upon his declaration. Socialists will not go to war. They will not join the army, the militia, or the navy. All over the world this is true. They preach against war in season and out of season. They preach against anything that tends toward war. They preach against dressing little boys as soldiers and calling them "scouts." And wherever Socialists hold seats in national legislative bodies, their attitude is "No men; no money." They will vote for no bill that seeks to draw another man or another dollar into the horrible game of war.

Those who do not understand us, or who do not want us to be understood, charge us with lack of patriotism. If blood-letting for

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dollars be the test of patriotism, we certainly are not patriotic. We refuse to kill men for money, either for ourselves or for any one else. Nor do we believe that Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans or any others are less our brothers than are Americans. We regard all nationalities and races as members of the great human family. We want this family to live in peace. We preach peace. We live peace.

But how can there be peace when great groups of capitalists are contending for profits? How can there be peace when great groups of capitalists controlling their respective governments, build great fleets and muster great armies to struggle for trade and profits? How can there be peace when these same capitalists, through their control of government, teach even school children that the warrior's trade is glorious and that the citizen's duty is to "stand by the flag"? Our flag has often stood where it had no moral right to stand. It has stood for the wrongs of capitalism when it should have stood for the rights of the people. Our flag will always stand for the wrongs of capitalism, so long as capitalism controls the government.

In such circumstances, there can be no assured peace. Peace tribunals, like that of The Hague, may be established until their sponsors are black in the face, but still there will be no peace. There can be no peace. Profits prevent. The gentlemen who attach themselves to these tribunals want peace—if. Peace if it can be maintained without hurting profits. Peace if it can be maintained without restraining capitalistic brigands who wish to descend upon the property of others. Peace if it can be had without price.

So war continues in a world that is weary of war. Heavier and heavier becomes the burden of armaments. The workingman staggers under the weight of the fourteen-inch gun. The workingman may go hungry. The gun must be fed.

"Whether your shell hits the target or not,
Your cost is six hundred dollars a shot.
You thing of noise and flame and power,
We feed you a hundred barrels of flour
Each time you roar. Your flame is fed
With twenty thousand loaves of bread.
Silence! A million hungry men
Seek bread to fill their mouths again."

Only one machine can smash this gun, and that is the printing press. The greatest gun can shoot only twenty miles or so. The Socialist press can shoot and is shooting around the world. When the working class controls its printing presses, war will end.

Do you really want war to end, or is a string attached to your wish? If you mean business, you can help end it. But if you want the privilege of aiding in this great work for humanity, you will have to vote the Socialist ticket. It is the only ticket that always and everywhere is sternly against war, as the Socialist party is the only party opposed to the profit system that makes wars.

I cannot close this chapter without calling the attention of readers to a book entitled "War—What For?" by Mr. George R. Kirkpatrick. It can be obtained from the national office of the Socialist Party for one dollar. Between darkness and daylight, one night, I read it all. I can never forget it. If all the world had read it, there would be no more war.

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

BOOKS BY ALLAN L. BENSON

After reading this pamphlet you will no doubt want to read Mr. Benson's other writings. Here they are:

"The Truth About Socialism," 25 cents per copy.

Victor Berger has said of this book that it is the best statement of Socialism for non-Socialists he ever read. "Socialism, the Lone Foe of War" is taken from this book.

"Our Dishonest Constitution," 25 cents per copy.

If you want to know the truth about the United States constitution told in simple and forceful language, read this book.

"The Usurped Power of the Courts," 10 cents per copy.

A terrific indictment of the United States Supreme Courts. You can get all three for 50 cents in coin or stamps.

Socialist Party National Office

893 W. Madison Street

CHICAGO, ILL.



Socialism

What It Is
and How
To Get It

TELL ME WHOSE
TOOLS YOU
USE AND I'LL
TELL YOU WHOSE
SLAVE YOU ARE



TELL ME WHOSE
BREAD YOU
EAT AND I'LL
TELL YOU WHOSE
SONG YOU SING



OSCAR AMERINGER

SOCIALISTS WANT THE EARTH

**Tell me whose tools you use and
I'll tell you whose slave you are**

As long as one class owns the means by which another class gets its living, so long will mankind be divided into masters and slaves.

The private ownership of the means of life, gives wealth, freedom and culture to the few, and poverty, toil and ignorance to the many.

The Republican Insurgents and the Democratic Reformers vainly seek to improve the life of the slave under slavery. Their ideal is the generous highwayman, the chivalrous burglar and the modest street-walker.

Socialism seeks to destroy the source of slavery by making capital the handmaid of labor.

THAT IS THE REAL ISSUE.

—OSCAR AMERINGER

**Tell me whose bread you eat and
I'll tell you whose song you sing**



SOCIALISM

What It Is and

How to Get It

PRICE, 10 CENTS

BY

OSCAR AMERINGER

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MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN



OSCAR AMERINGER
OKLAHOMA

SOCIALISM

What It Is and How to Get It

THE PARABLE OF THE HUNTER.

Once upon a time there lived in the Land of Stars and Stripes, a mighty hunter, by the name of Eagle-eye. This man could hit the left hind leg of a flying mosquito four hundred yards off. But, alas, he had no gun. Whereupon he hiked himself to "Old Man" Bateye, who was blind and lame, but who owned many guns. And Eagle-eye spake unto Bateye also: "Lord! I am a hunter without a gun; wherefore the wife of my bosom is cleansing the soiled garments of your wife's, and my children cry papers in the wilderness of Chicago, while my stomach is empty as the House of the Lord in summer time. Therefore I beseech thee, let me have one of your guns that I may follow my vocation, which is that of a hunter of quails; so that I, too, may eat, drink and be merry."

Then up spake Bateye and said: "Gladly will I lend you a gun, for I, too, crave hot birds, cold bottles and warm babies, but for the use of my capital (as guns are called in the lingo of the chosen few), thou must give unto me four quails out of every five you shoot."

This looked fair and reasonable to the hunter, for he was sorely pressed and up a

stump, from which he could not descend. Therefore he accepted the terms of Bateye and fetched to him four quails out of every five, but the fifth one he ate himself.

This lone bird filled but a small part of his inners and he was hungry most of the time, and then Bateye would slap him on the back and say: "I'd give a million quails to have your appetite," but he never did.

Sometimes when he was weary, wet and worried, Eagle-eye would bemoan his lot and curse fate for having been born. At such times Holyman, the soothsayer, who ate at the table of Bateye, would come to him with incantations and promises of mansions on the other side of the silver lining. He also spake much of golden harps.

Eagle-eye thought these good things to eat and was made happy again.

Thus he worked for many years, until his eyes became too dull and his legs too wobbly to shoot birds. But his appetite was as good as ever, when Bateye gave the gun to a younger hunter with clear eyes and steady legs. Thereupon Eagle-eye, who had eaten less every year as he grew older, quit eating altogether and gave up his ghost.

Holyman preached the funeral sermon and spake much of Providence, dust and being called home to the mansion above the clouds; whereupon a crazy man laughed and said: "If Eagle-eye had a gun of his own, he could have kept all the birds he shot and he would now be still among the living, sporting a red nose and a shining bald spot and sitting in the front row at the Gayety." But all the people called this man loony and scoffed him, and laughed

him to scorn and said he was a dreamer, for even a fool knoweth that guns are made for some to own and for others to use.

A miner without a mine, a shoemaker without a shoe factory, a farmer without land, are in the same predicament as is the hunter without a gun. They cannot follow their vocations unless they receive the use of capital or land belonging to the other fellow.

The heart and soul of capitalism is the separation of ownership and labor and the resultant division of mankind in two classes, one of which owns the means of life and does not use them, the other that uses the means of life and does not own them.

This arrangement allows a few people to live without work and forces the many to work without getting a living.

The aim of Socialism is to bring about a union between ownership and labor by making the means of production the common property of all the people.

The principal means of life are controlled by great aggregations of capital, commonly called trusts. These giant combinations, by forcing the wages of labor down to the very minimum of subsistence and by charging for their products all that the traffic will bear, have become a serious menace to the well being of the American people, and all kinds of remedies are advocated against the evils of monopoly.

Regulation.

A large portion of the Republican Party has declared itself in favor of trust regulation. This, we are told, is to be accomplished through the federal government. But even if we grant

to the state the right to interfere with the private business of its citizens, we seriously doubt its ability to do so, for those who own the principal wealth of a nation usually own the government too. If there is one thing surer than death and taxes, it is that this beloved government of ours belongs hair and hide, body and soul, to the trusts.

We don't expect our own bull-pup to bite us in the hind leg, but we expect him to bite the other fellow; and when thrifty gentlemen like Rockefeller, Morgan and Carnegie, spend their hard earned cash to acquire a government after their own heart, this institution cannot be utilized against its rightful owners.

The fact is, we have two governments in the United States, a little one with its headquarters in Washington and a big one with its headquarters in Wall Street and its hindquarters all over the country. This government owns all the mines, water powers, forests, railroads, factories, colleges, banks and life insurance companies.

It determines what kind of clothes we wear, what sort of houses we live in, what kind of grub we eat, whether our children go to school or to the factory and whether little Mary plays piano or slings dishes in a hash joint.

The little affair in Washington is only the errand boy or, at the most, the policeman of the real thing in Wall Street. We cannot control the master with his servant, and a government belonging to the trust has neither the power nor the inclination to regulate the trusts. All attempts in this direction have been miserable failures. That the advocates of regulation are still taken seriously by some folks,

is a clear indication that the American people have lost their sense of humor.

Trust Busting.

The Democrats, on the other side, propose that the trusts be busted, and they invite us to return to competition and the good old days of Jackson and Jefferson. There is but one objection to this plan. Somehow mankind has a habit of traveling forwards instead of backwards, and wherever a people have followed the advice of democracy and returned to the ways of their fathers, as happened in the case of the Egyptians, their posterity had to hire a German professor to decipher the inscription on their tombstone.

The trust, after all, is not an invention of the devil, as some "statesmen" believe, but the product of industrial evolution. Competition may be the life of trade, but it is also the mother of monopoly. In the competitive struggle, only the fit survive. The fit in this case are those who succeed in getting the most value for the least expenditure. This is usually accomplished through the reduction of wages, the employment of children, adulteration, mis-representation, state paternalism as exemplified in the high tariff policy, freight rate manipulation, rebating, stock watering and the installation of more and bigger machinery than the competitor is able to command.

The trust was born when Brown and Smith, competitors in the same territory, got sick of hammering each other and formed a partnership to hammer the dear public. No one should blame them for trying to make money. Soon Brown and Smith came in competition with the firm of Mueller and Jones, and know-

ing a few things about the blessings of competition, they merged the two concerns into a stock company.

The Brown-Smith Mfg. Co. soon discovered that Harry Dick and Co. were selling the same goods in the same market for less money. Consolidation followed as the only means to protect profits. Partnerships, Stock Companies, Corporations, Syndicates, Holding Companies and Trusts, have but one aim, the elimination of competition. Those who had sense enough to combine, survived; those who didn't were left behind. To go back to competition would be as rational as sitting on an oak tree in the hope of squeezing it back into the acorn, or of coaxing a rooster to return into the egg.

During the Democratic convention in Denver, proceedings dragged along until Friday morning at three o'clock, when the time arrived to nominate a candidate for president. As everybody knows, Friday is an unlucky day. Democracy should not jeopardize its brilliant prospects by nominating a candidate on Friday. Whereupon the cunning gentlemen turned the clock in the convention hall from Friday morning at 3 o'clock back to Thursday night at 11 o'clock. But while the Democratic Party may be able to turn back the hands of a helpless clock, it is still unable to turn back the wheels of progress.

Social Ownership.

Trust control having failed, returning to competition and to the happy days of Jackson and Jefferson, being an impossibility, what other solution is there then for the trust question? Socialists say, the trust is a good thing and a bad thing. It is a good thing for all the

fellows on the inside and a bad thing for all the people on the outside. If we should ask Rockefeller what he thinks of the trust, he would tell us candidly that it is the best money making machine he ever tumbled into, but the people who buy the products of that money machine, hold an entirely different opinion.

A trust is like an automobile. To chase down the pike and to see some old farmer climb a barbed wire fence behind a pair of runaway mules, is very funny to the fellow on the inside of the automobile. Running ahead of the buggies and carriages, and giving the people the dust of the road and the stink of the gasoline, is highly amusing to the fellow on the inside of the automobile. Chasing through the streets of a city at the rate of thirty miles an hour, blowing the honk, honk, which means for us common people the jump, jump, is the funniest thing that ever happened, to the fellow on the inside of the automobile.

But the old gentleman who climbed the barbed wire fence behind a pair of bob-tailed mules, the people who swallowed the dust of the road, and inhaled the stink of the gasoline, and all those who do the jump, jump, when they hear the honk, honk, join in one grand and glorious chorus, saying: "Damn the automobile. That machine should be busted. Those people ought to be sent to the penitentiary. Why don't you shoot them, Jim?" etc., etc.

And yet every mother's son and every father's daughter, just as soon as he or she gets on the inside of an automobile, acts just exactly as the people have acted who were in there before. So we see that the only way we

ever can become reconciled to the automobile, is by getting on the inside of it. And since we find that all the people on the inside of the trust, are well pleased with the trust, the only remedy and the only way we ever will become reconciled to the trust, is by all of us getting on the inside of the trust. And that is the proposition made by the Socialists.

Confiscation.

The question now arises, how will the Socialists take possession of the trusts. There are a great many ways of getting hold of the other fellow's property. One way is by confiscation, which means to swipe, to hook, to take the other fellow's property without saying "Thank you," or "Please Mam," and without batting an eye. And we Socialists have the reputation of being the first confiscators that ever came down the pike. If it were not for the grand old Republican Party that stands like a rock on the shore, throwing back the waves of confiscation and repudiation, the Socialists would have swiped John D. Rockefeller's grease business long ago.

Certainly the Republican Party never confiscated anybody else's property. But let us refreshen the memory of our Republican friends. About 1863, when that party was still young, it confiscated five million chattel slaves, valued at one billion dollars, and belonging to the Southern people. Here was property, private property, holy, sanctified private property, recognized as such by the constitution of the United States, and upheld by every decision of the Soo-preme Court of the United States, yet our Republican friends went down to Dixie, hooked and swiped all that property, and never

paid a counterfeit nickel with a hole in it to the rightful, legitimate owners. The men who defended private property in 1863, were called rebels and traitors, and our Republican friends even used to sing a cruel song about hanging Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree, and yet the only crime committed by Jefferson Davis and his crowd was, that they defended private property in black men.

Certainly, our Democratic friends would never do such a thing. But about three years ago, in the State of Oklahoma, that party had 40,000 majority. It was then that these good Democrats voted for prohibition. By doing so, they confiscated every booze joint, saloon and brewery in the State. Anheuser-Busch of St. Louis had invested a million dollars of hard earned money in a brand new brewery in Oklahoma City, invested a million dollars earned in the sweat of their brow, the fruit of their thrift and frugality, the reward of their abstinence, in a legitimate industry, and our good Democrats destroyed all that value, wiped out the whole industry with the scratch of a lead pencil and never offered a wooden nickel as an indemnity to the rightful owners. These good Democrats would not even allow Anheuser-Busch to take their movable property out of the state, for down in the bowels of that brewery were 30,000 barrels of lager beer—c-o-l-d, f-o-a-m-i-n-g l-a-g-e-r beer.

Friends, you may appreciate the feelings of a German, like myself, when he writes on a painful subject like that. These Democrats would not allow Anheuser-Busch to take that lager beer up to Kansas, to sell it to the Prohibitionists of that state, but on a hot summer

day, they poured that precious liquid in the gutters of Oklahoma City, and the crawdads and the fish were drunk for two weeks afterwards. This is confiscation with a vengeance. This is swiping the other fellow's business and rubbing it into him. And if the time ever should come when we Socialists have to go in the confiscating business, we shall be only too glad to turn the job over to the Republicans and Democrats, for we believe they are past masters in the gentle art of confiscation.

Another Way.

Confiscation is one way of acquiring other people's property, but it may not be the best way. Slavery was abolished in the colonies of England, Portugal and Spain, by paying an indemnity to the slave owners. In the long run, this was cheaper than the American way, for the freedom of these five million chattel slaves, valued at one billion dollars in 1861, has cost the American people by this time about ten billion dollars in money, hundreds of thousands of valuable young lives, seas of blood and rivers of tears. After all, the price was too big to pay.

Up to 1789, the soil of France belonged to the clergy and the nobility. About that time the French people raised a disturbance. During the excitement, some of the nobles and clericals lost their heads and ran off to Germany; still others lost their heads by remaining at home, and their land was inherited by the French peasantry. It looks like a cheap way of acquiring land, and yet the French revolution, followed by the Napoleonic war, cost more money, lives and blood, than the soil of France is worth even today. A similar con-

dition to that in France, in regard to land ownership, existed in Prussia until 1815. In that year the Stein laws were enacted, which allowed the serfs to purchase land of their former masters on the installment plan. It required many years to do this, but in the end, it was a cheaper way than the one taken by the people of France. We Socialists who understand history, are not pledged to confiscation, and for the sake of expediency, we are perfectly willing to pay the trust owners for their property in their own coin.

Acquiring Standard Oil.

The question now arises, how will the Socialists do this? Let us take for illustration the Standard Oil Company. This concern, a perfect monopoly, is capitalized at \$100,000,000. It makes a yearly profit of about \$50,000,000. Now let us suppose that we have a majority of Socialists in Congress, and these men decide that the Standard Oil Company shall become the property of Uncle Sam, and shall be run like the postal department, not for the profit of the few, but to serve the many. They will send Uncle Sam to John D. Rockefeller and he will say:

"Rocky, the boys down in Congress have decided to buy out your grease business." "What's that for?" says Rockefeller. "Oh," says Uncle Sam, "the boys say that at one time you were all right; you organized the grease business, you eliminated the foolish waste, strife and competition. But of late, you have become the durndest nuisance we have in this country, for, instead of sticking strictly to the grease business, you have gone into the government business also. Your

right hand bower, Archibold, runs a regular correspondence school with senators and congressmen. When the people of Ohio elected that grand old patriot, Joe Foraker, a man who bled and died for his country, to the United States Senate, to serve them, you came around and greased his palm, and instead of serving the people of his state, he became your hired hand. The people of Texas sent that brilliant and eloquent young Democrat, Joe Bailey, to tie a knot in the tail of the octopus, and you dipped Joe in coal oil all over and he has done your dirty work ever since."

"The boys say it's got to stop. You have got to go out of the government business, and the only way we can put you out of the government business, is by putting you out of the grease business, for you are only in the government business to protect your grease business." "Well," says Rockefeller, "an all-wise providence has entrusted me with the running of the oil industry. I cannot relinquish this sacred trust." "Well," says Uncle Sam, "the boys in Washington say, that if you don't sell out peaceably, they will pass a prohibition law, prohibiting you and everybody else from manufacturing and selling coal oil and gasoline, and they say if we do that, we could buy your grease business as cheap then as we can now buy the Anheuser-Busch Brewery in Oklahoma City."

John D. is one of those long-headed business men we read about in the Sunday school books, and before Rocky goes out of business without getting a cent, as Anheuser-Busch did in Oklahoma, he will say: "Uncle, I think I'll take that hundred million."

Where Are You Going to Get the Money?

Now comes our Republican and Democrat doubting Thomas, and says: "Well and good, but where are you going to get the money from?" Well, boys, I'll tell you. Uncle Sam runs a great money-factory in the City of Washington, where he makes all kinds of money—green-backs, yellow-backs, and gray-backs, and as long as he puts his name to it, it is good money. The boys in that great money-shop work by the day and not by the piece, and they don't care a continental how many ciphers they put behind a figure. They'd just as soon make a thousand dollar bill as a one dollar bill.

Uncle Sam steps into the shop some afternoon and says: "Boys, I have just bought the Standard Oil Company from Rockefeller. I want a hundred million dollars of those new two per cent gold bonds, the kind you made when we bought the Panama Canal property. It's half past three now. We quit at five o'clock. Now be sure and have that hundred million in bonds ready before quitting time, and don't you spend more than 75 cents' worth of paper on the old geezer." Well, five o'clock comes. Uncle Sam turns the hundred million of bonds over to Rockefeller, and the boys go home for supper. Rockefeller has the money and Uncle Sam has the grease business.

How Are You Going to Run It?

"Well," says our opponent, "you have got it all right enough, but how will you run it?" The answer of the Socialist is: "We'll run it with the same people who run it now." For in the Standard Oil Company as in every mod-

ern industry, the separation between ownership and labor is perfect. Those who own the business do not run it, and those who run the business, do not own it. It is immaterial to the 12,000 employes of the Standard Oil Company whether they work for Uncle Sam or for John D. Rockefeller. They may not know all of Uncle Sam's nephews and nieces, but neither do they know the stockholders of the Standard Oil Company. From the manager and superintendent, expert accountant and auditor, chemist and salesman, clear down to the tank wagon driver, they are all hired hands. All they want is a good job and regular pay. Uncle Sam has always been a better boss, paid higher wages and gave better working conditions than any other boss in this country.

Uncle Sam will call all these working people together and say: "Boys, I have bought Rockefeller's grease business. From now on you are working for me. I ask you to work for the same wages and the same hours as you did before for a while. I would like to raise your wages, but can't do it just now, because I owe that old skinflint \$100,000,000, and the money has got to come out of the business." And then he will turn around to the consumer and say: "You have been in the habit of paying ten to twenty cents for a gallon of coal oil or gasoline. We are going to cut down that price by and by, but not until Rockefeller is paid."

Well, do you think that the boys would run away from their job, just because we got Socialism in the grease business? Do you believe that the Republicans and the Democrats, who voted against it, would run away from

the job? Have you ever heard of a Republican or a Democrat who ever ran away from a government job? Is it not a fact that they are running their legs off, clear up to the second knuckle, just to get a government job? And so it will be perfectly safe to assume they will hang on to their positions, and give to Uncle Sam the same faithful service that they formerly gave to Rocky.

Now, if the same people who worked for the Standard will work for the government for the same wages and the same number of hours, and if the product is sold for the same price to the consumer, then it follows, as day follows night, that the profits at the end of the year will be the same as before, and since these yearly profits just about equal one-half the value of the Standard Oil Company, we are able to give to Mr. Rockefeller the hundred million dollars at the end of the second year and he returns our bonds.

From now on we have Socialism in the grease business proper. Dividends and interests are abolished. Every one of the 12,000 employes of the Standard created a surplus for the stockholders of about \$4,000 a year. But there are no more stockholders to be paid, no more melons to be cut. The profit will be divided among the producers and the consumers. Uncle Sam could take \$2,000 out of that \$4,000 to increase the wage of each worker, giving him \$2,500 a year instead of \$500, and he will still be able to distribute 12,000 times two thousand dollars among the consumers in the form of cheaper coal oil, gasoline and axle grease.

The Dreadful Results.

Now, what do you suppose would happen? Understand, we have Socialism in the grease business. Imagine one of those poor working-men coming home on pay-night, with \$50.00 instead of the usual ten-spot, in his pay envelope. The first thing he would do, would be to give his wife a black eye, kick the children out of the house, smash the dishes, and break the furniture. You see, he is mad, mad all over. He is furious because they raised his wages. That's enough to make anybody mad. The next Sunday morning, he will go to church for the last time, and when the preacher comes around for a little contribution, he tells him to go to the devil. That man had his wages raised from \$10 to \$50. That's enough to cause anybody to lose his religion. And on Monday morning, he refuses point blank to go back to work, for what incentive has a man to work for \$50 a week for the government, as long as he can get a \$10 job on the outside?

Isn't that about the sum total of all the objections that they bring against Socialism? Don't they come around to you and say, "Socialism would break up the family, destroy religion, and rob men of all incentive to labor"? Well, I had my wages raised once or twice in my life, never from \$10 to \$50; that delicate constitution of mine wouldn't have stood the shock; so they broke the news to me gradually by raising my salary about 50 cents at a time. And, if I am able to judge the feeling of a man who gets a \$40 raise, by the emotion that used to surge through my heart when I got a 50-cent raise, that fellow is going to act alto-

gether different than the opponents of Socialism are trying to make us believe.

Breaking Up the Home.

I'll tell you how that fellow will act. He'll come home all out of breath, throw the dinner pail as far as he can throw it, and shout at the top of his voice: "Hurray, old lady, come out here. Uncle Sam raised my wages from \$10 to \$50. Put on your glad rags, and dress up the kids. Let's go down town and take in every dog-gone picture show on the white way." Then he throws in a couple of hugs and smacks and kisses that can't be expressed in words.

Destroying Religion.

But would he still go to church? Oh I guess he would. In fact I am pretty sure he would, because he bought himself a new suit of clothes on Saturday night. His old girl got a merry widow hat, and all the kids have new shoes. You couldn't keep that family out of church with an ox team. And there they'll be, bright and early Sunday morning, all togged up in their new fineries, but instead of standing up in the Amen corner, kind of humble like, they'll walk right up to the front, and take a seat; because from now on they can pay the pew rent, and don't have to stand up along the walls. And when the preacher comes around for a little money to pay for the new carpet or to buy a pipe organ, in place of that old wheezy, asthmatic reed organ, instead of giving the preacher a lead slug or a counterfeit quarter, or a beer check from Kansas City, when he lives in Cincinnati, he goes down in his new pants' pocket, and he yanks out a roll

of dollar bills with a five spot wrapped around the outside. He peels off the aforesaid five-spot, forks it over to the preacher, and says: "Here, Parson, take this V; go and buy yourself a square meal. You never had one under capitalism anyhow, and if that ain't enough, come around for more."

The Loss of Incentive.

But how about that incentive? Wouldn't he lose his ambition to work? Did you ever see a mule that had an incentive for anything? Now if you want to give an incentive to a mule, tie a stick to his neck, and hang a bundle of alfalfa hay about two feet from his nose. The first thing that mule does is to stretch his neck. In all your life, did you ever see such a stretching as that mule is doing now? You see he never had an incentive to stretch his neck like that before. Unable to reach the hay, he takes a step forward and then another, and still another, and by and by he falls into a trot, and before long he runs with all his might and main, and if he is big enough of a mule, he will run until he falls down exhausted. You see, as long as the mule can't get the hay, he has an incentive to run after it. Now, if the mule should get a little horse sense, break the stick and eat the hay, he would lose his incentive to run.

The great question for the philosophers and political economists to decide is, Is the mule after the hay, or does he want incentive? Most mules of my acquaintance don't seem to care much about the incentive. All they want is the hay. But I have met a great many two-legged mules, who don't seem to care for the hay, but are hell bound to have the run. We

Socialists don't belong to that kind. We want the hay, and if the other fellow wants the run without the hay, bless his little heart, let him have it.

A Lie, a Lie, a Horrible Lie.

Some people may not believe that Rockefeller doesn't run the Standard Oil Company, but we will let the old gentleman speak for himself.

A few years ago, when he was in Judge Landis' Court in Chicago, where he was fined \$29,000,000 for disorderly conduct, every cent of which he paid, NIT! he testified under oath—and mind you, Rocky is 70 years old and a Baptist deacon besides, so he surely wouldn't lie: "For nine years I haven't been on the inside of an office belonging to the Standard Oil Company."

Why, the old gentleman even didn't know that the Oil Company of Indiana belonged to him and he had forgotten that the Water-Pierce Oil Company of Texas was his property. Now when a man overlooks such small details as two concerns capitalized at over \$20,000,000, he had better get out of business, and let the fellow run it who runs it right now.

Then there are still other doubting Thomases who don't believe that the profits of the Standard are quite as big as stated above, and again we call on Mr. Rockefeller to testify in our behalf. Some years ago Frank Monnett, the attorney general of Ohio, brought "ouster proceedings" against the Standard. He proved by expert testimony that it only cost one cent to manufacture a gallon of coal oil or gasoline. This got Rockefeller excited, and he asked to be put on the stand once more, where he swore

that it was a lie, a lie, a horrible lie, that it cost two cents.

Now to a man up a tree, it looks that the difference between two cents and ten or twenty cents leaves a fairly good margin.

I realize that a hundred million dollars isn't very much money nowadays. I found that out in my own experience. At the present price of meat and flour, vegetables and house rent, a hundred million dollars doesn't go very far, and if it were anybody but Rockefeller, I'd say let's give him more; but fortunately the old gentleman lost his stomach chasing dollars, and he can't eat anything richer than crackers or drink anything stronger than skimmed milk. A hundred million dollars will buy him a rocky mountain range of crackers and an ocean of skimmed milk. All the Rockies of the future never will be able to eat all the crackers or drink all the skimmed milk that the hundred million dollars will buy, and there will be a little money left over for monkey dinners, dog parties, cat weddings, butterfly balls and diamond dog collars and all such other necessities of life as our rich folks must have nowadays.

As to the Means of Transportation.

The transportation trust ought to be taken over by the people also. The railroads carry the products of the field from the farms to the city, and the products of the factory from the city to the country. Now, let us suppose there is a river. On one side of the river are all the people who make food stuff and raw material. On the other side are the people who make shoes, clothing, furniture, books and cottage organs. The people on one side of the river,

who make clothing and furniture, cannot live without food and those on the other side of the river, who raise food, cannot live without clothing and furniture. They are really working for each other, but between the two there is a bridge, and all the food that goes to the city has to go over that bridge, and all the furniture, clothing, etc., that goes to the country will have to go over it. Now this bridge belongs to a fat capitalist, who buys the food for as little as he can from the country folks and sells it for as much as he can to the city people, and he buys the clothing from the city people as cheap as he can and sells it for as much as he can to the people in the country. In this manner, he gets them going and coming. And while the workers on both sides of the river are hungry and go in rags, he grow sleek and fat. The private ownership of railroad works a good deal in the same way.

How Railroads Were Built.

In most countries the railroads were built by the capitalists and now belong to the people. In this country the railroads were built by the people and belong now to the capitalists. All in all, the government of the United States presented the railroad promoters with 266,000,000 acres of land. That is as much land as there is in Germany and France, two countries which support 100,000,000 people. Up to 1896, the land grants of the government to the railroad companies amounted to 9,600 acres of land for every mile of track built in the United States. If the railroad promoters sold this land at an average of \$2.00 an acre, they got more money from the government

than it cost them to build the railroads. Besides the land grants, our paternal government gave to railroad companies in many cases a cash bonus. The Central Pacific Railroad, for instance, received from Congress every alternate section in a strip of land 40 miles wide and a cash bonus of \$16,000 for every mile of railroad built on level ground, \$26,000 for every mile of railroad built in hilly country and \$46,000 for every mile of railroad built in mountain country. It is said that this company even moved the rocky mountain range fifty miles farther west to get the latter bonus. Then the railroads received land grants for roads they never built. About 115,000,000 acres passed into the hands of the promoters for railroads that never advanced beyond the prospectus stage. This process is called obtaining money under false pretense, and the guilty party, provided the amount is small enough, is usually sent to the penitentiary.

How Shall the Railroads be Acquired?

Knowing all this, how much should the American people pay to the railroad owners for property acquired in the above manner? It is safe to say that the railroads of the United States never have cost their original owners one single cent. How much, then, should we pay for them? There never yet was a Yankee who would pay for something he could get for nothing, and by the time the American people have learned in what manner the railroads were built, they will give to their owners all that is coming to them, and some of these gentlemen, so-called widows and orphans, innocent investors, etc., may thank their Lord if they escape the penitentiary besides.

But, should we decide not to restore to the people what justly belongs to them, without paying an indemnity to the present owners, we may buy them. In this manner the German government acquired the privately owned railroads of that country. Between 1873 and 1878 the government issued bonds and used the profits of the roads to retire the bonds. In 1898 the Swiss government started to nationalize the railroads. It bought the controlling interest in some of the leading lines, levied a heavy inheritance tax on large fortunes, and in this manner confiscated the property of the dead capitalists in order to pay the live ones. This is a very sensible method, inasmuch as dead capitalists never kick, no matter how hard we pull their leg. Mr. Andy Carnegie, in a magazine article a few years ago, gave us a useful hint on how to acquire such property, when he said over his own signature, "Why do the people persist in preventing us working bees from gathering honey. Why don't they keep hands off, and then take the honey from us when we are dead?" Millionaires die all the time, but the government has many years to live. It may act in the capacity of the smiling heir.

Still another method would be to build our own railroads. In opposition to this, it is urged that it would be too expensive, yet, when we take in consideration that the American railroads are capitalized on an average of \$63,000 a mile, and that the people have to pay interest and dividends on this investment, and knowing further that it costs only \$20,000 to build and to equip a mile of modern railroad, then it can easily be seen, that even if the

government has to borrow every cent of this money, it only would have to pay interest on \$20,000 per mile instead of \$63,000 per mile, as the American people do now. Besides the railroads would be new and would belong to us.

How Would We Operate the Railroads?

The next question then is, How would we operate the railroads after we acquired them? Well, what's the matter with Uncle Sam? Hasn't he been working at this job for many years? Every time the capitalist runs a railroad in the ground, they appeal to the government to have a receiver appointed. This functionary is nothing but a manager, responsible to the courts. If Uncle Sam can run bankrupt railroads and place them on a paying basis for a capitalist, he ought to have sense enough to run railroads that pay already, for the people. The trouble is that the government belongs to the railroads and is bound to work for them. Some day when the people capture the government, the same institution can be used in the interest of the masses.

There are still other people who maintain that if the government owned the railroads, politics would creep in. The two million railroad employes would use their political power to elect men to represent their interest, and this would lead to the sorry predicament of the railroaders running the railroads.

What a fearful calamity! Just imagine, gentle reader, the railroaders would run the railroads!

There are a great many people who claim that the railroads are run by their owners. This is not the case. We have two hundred thousand stockholders and bondholders, who

claim to be part owners of our railroad systems. The stockholder's share in the management and operations consists in sending his proxy to a corporation lawyer, who votes for the board of directors. The Board of Directors then hire a manager, whose sole duty it is to make the wheels go around in the dividend machine, and to furnish juicy slices of melon for the stockholders. The bond holders, on the other hand, don't even know where their property is located, and they only exercise their managing faculties long enough to clip coupons. It is exceedingly doubtful whether even 5 per cent of the stock and bond holders of our railroads could tell the difference between a coupling-pin and a caboose.

Most of these people live over in Europe, where they find more congenial society among the bankrupt nobility and the royal has-beens. They would not associate with such ordinary truck as Americans. Their daughters are married to the European counts and no-accounts, the dukes and ducks, the Boni Castelaines and Prince De Sagans, the Washlawinskis, Tcherniewichicoff and Stinkiwitz. No, no, dear reader, these people don't run railroads. They only run through the money made on the railroads.

If the whole precious lot, with their monkey dinners, dog parties, cat funerals, butterfly balls, diamond dog collars, French poodles, actresses, automobiles, steam yachts, counts and no-accounts, with their mothers-in-law thrown in, would go to the bottom of the seas tonight, there would not be a single railroad train five seconds late in all the United States

of America tomorrow morning, on account of the sad departure.

Separation Between Ownership and Labor.

In the railroad industry, the separation between ownership and labor is perfect. Those who own the roads do not run them and those who run the roads do not own them. The operating personnel from the managers, superintendents, traffic and passenger agents, accountants, civil engineers, locomotive engineers, firemen, switchmen, clear down to the cheapest Greek section hand, are all hired hands. They hold no ownership in the properties which they operate. It is immaterial to them whether they work for Uncle Sam or the Princess De Sagan.

The Socialists do not ask to change the operating force, but to change the ownership, so that the dividends may go to the people who run and use the roads, instead of to the innocent bystanders at Monte Carlo. Since the owners perform no useful function whatsoever, they can be dispensed with. They are nothing but pure and unadulterated parasites and about as useful to mankind as fleas are useful to the dog.

Friendship of Fleas for Dogs, and Vice Versa.

Did you ever see a dog without fleas? If you did, you saw a happy, cheerful dog; a dog that lies in the shade of the old apple tree, dreaming of pork chops, jack rabbits and dog fights. Now, if we give this contented dog a handful of fleas, his dog nature will change immediately. Instead of dreaming about juicy pork chops, or how he would lick that brindle pup across the pike, or what he would do to the hind legs of that rabbit, running

through the underbrush, he sits up and notices things. Pointing a cold melancholy nose toward heaven, he stretches his neck and starts that peculiar up and down stroke, characteristic to all flea-bitten dogs. He has found a job now; he has found useful employment; he has something to scratch for. Now, suppose the flea would sit up on the nose of that dog and say: "Lo and behold me, the benefactor. I have given work to this poor pup. Without me this doggie would have no job. Without me he would have no incentive to scratch." Wouldn't it be funny if the flea would make such an argument. And suppose the dog would vote for the flea on the strength of it, wouldn't that be still funnier? Yet this is exactly what the working people have done for many, many years.

Typical Arguments.

There are lots of people who still insist that we cannot do without the capitalist. I have seen many a poor devil who was a working man from his eyebrows down, and a capitalist from his eyebrows up, standing on a street corner, and by vigorously working his jaw, produce the following noise:

"What would the poor people do without the rich folks? Supposing there wasn't some people to take the money that we poor people make, and spend it, thereby giving us work, how would we poor folks ever find something to do?"

Then there is another lantern-jawed slab-sided, hungry looking individual, usually called a renter, and he says: "What would people do without landlords? Don't the landlord furnish the land for the renters? Nowa-

days a poor devil what ain't got any land, can always go to the landlord and get some. Under Socialism, when no man can hold land who doesn't work land, from whom would the renter rent land?"

Anybody with a grain of sense knows that the landlord furnishes the land. If the landlord had never been born, there wouldn't be any land, and if the landlord dies and goes to heaven, he takes the land down with him, and where that nice farm used to be, there is a big square hole in the ground, through which you can see the sun rise.

Conclusion.

To rid the body politic of the useless parasite and to relieve the working class of the bloodsuckers and exploiters, is the main aim of the great Socialist movement. We have social production and co-operative labor in all our great industries. Without the brains and the muscles of the workers, all the wheels would stop. The stockholder, bondholder, the silent partner and the sleeping partner, furnish the capital, but we have learned that this function of providing the capital can be assumed very readily by society. It takes capital to run the post department, but it does not require the capitalist to take a rake-off. It takes capital to run the school system, but no capitalist is needed to make dividends out of our educational institutions. It takes capital to build roads and bridges, but we have dispensed with the capitalist who formerly collected the toll. If Uncle Sam can carry mail, there is no reason why he shouldn't carry male and female also. Many cities furnish water to their citizens, others supply them with gas, electricity and

transportation. A number of European municipalities operate banks, dairies, slaughter houses and a great many other industries. All we have to do is to broaden and to extend the system of municipal and state ownership.

But municipal and state ownership is not Socialism. State owned railroads and state monopolies are even today used as a means to exploit the working people for the benefit of the capitalist taxpayers. In order to give to the masses the full benefit of social ownership, it is necessary that the state itself belong to the people. We therefore demand that the class state be transformed into a government of the people, by the people and for the people. This can easily be accomplished through the extension of Democracy.

Socialism then is the ownership of the trust by the government, and the ownership of the government by the people, by means of universal suffrage, the initiative, the referendum and the recall.

In conclusion, I want to say that all those who haven't intelligence enough to understand the explanation of Socialism given in this little book, will have their money refunded, if they will make affidavit of their shortcomings before any Notary Public.

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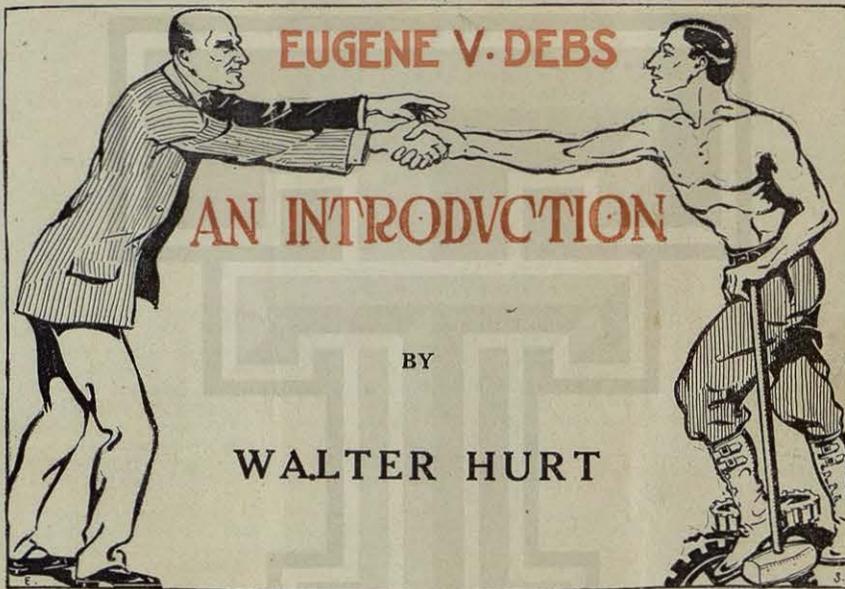
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"There are persons so radiant, so genial, so kind, so pleasure-bearing, that you instinctively feel in their presence that they do you good, whose coming into a room is like the bringing of a lamp there."—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

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He sings the joys of love and the charm of nature with a sweet felicity.—*John G. Whittier.*

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He is Master of the Muse. No stronger or finer work has been done by any American poet.—*Gen. Lew Wallace.*

Few poets are so honored, but, indeed, few deserve it as he does. There are poets and poets—he is of the elect.—*Maurice Thompson.*

The more highly the people esteem Matthews, the more they honor themselves. The more he is read, the more shall I respect the reading public.—*"Bill" Nye.*

His productions are not only true to nature, but true alike to the highest poetic art. I regard him as one of our greatest poets.—*Ex-Gov. Will Cumback, of Indiana.*

The Muse of Matthews is heard in the heart. The after-tones are long and sweet. The notes of this prairie harp tremble across the sunlit champaign, gather the fragrance of wild roses, and mingle with the myth of the grass.—*John Clark Ridpath.*

Matthews is the mouth-piece of the gods. * * * His voice is cadenced to a universal purity of spirit, tenderness, sweetness, and all else that must have marked "The Singer of Old, who in his time had done delicious things."—*James Whitcomb Riley.*

His poems go trippingly in diaphanous wear, fitting the fair form, spun of brook-mist for warp and spider-gossamer for weft, with white arms bare and palms uplifted in the sun with perfect abandon. * * * His wage shall be the love of the common people, and higher fame than this there is none.—*Bishop Robert McIntyre.*

Matthews' songs arrest the attention like the singing of a child by the wayside; they sing themselves, and in the idlest or busiest moment make us pause to listen. He loves men and things; life to him is not a problem to be puzzled over, but a pilgrimage to be enjoyed, a task to be wrought, and he enters into all its ties and partings, its friendships, fears, its loves and hopes.—*Robert J. Burdette.*

His genius is as great as his soul was gentle. His life was a consecration, and he died a martyr to humanity. I would like to see his book in the hands of every comrade.—*Eugene V. Debs.*

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EUGENE V. DEBS:

AN INTRODUCTION

BY

WALTER HURT

"The full-rigged man who stands four-square to every blast that blows,
For him the hour is ripe, indeed, in earth's dark battle-throes.
The puny ships are well enough for pastime and for play,
But, oh, how splendid when the great full-rigger cuts the spray!

* * * * *

"The full-rigged man, whose stately life of use and strength and will
Goes down as ships do on the sea beyond the last low hill—
Hail and revere and welcome him, and four-squared with him toil
To lift Society above all graft and greed and spoil!"

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DEBS OF THE HOSPITABLE HEART.

HAIL TO THE REVOLUTION!

AT the dawn of every day my hearty hail goes out to all the workers of the world. They are my comrades, and I covet no higher honor than to share their lot and no greater wealth than to have their respect and love.

And I include them all, on equal terms, regardless of race or creed or sex; and my loving greeting goes out to them all as it follows the sunrise around the world.

For centuries and centuries these workers, these doers and makers of all things, these living and breathing foundation-stones of the social fabric, have been loaded with fetters and bowed to the earth; but at last—at last!—touched by the magic of their common misery and inspired by the genius of solidarity, their latent power is beginning to pulse in their veins, they are learning to stand erect, and as they lift their eyes they behold that a new sun has risen in their somber skies.

In their long travail their unpolluted hearts kept time, and now they beat in unison as the one great heart of the human race. With the love-light in their eyes and their hands outstretched they greet each other as "Comrade," while in their united heart-throbs may be heard the drum-beats of the Proletarian Revolution.

All hail the sons and daughters of this glorified international host, with whom I proudly march to Victory or Death!

EUGENE V. DEBS.

to Scholl

THEM FLOWERS

(To My Good Friend, Eugene V. Debs)

Take a feller 'ats sick and laid up on the shelf,
All shaky, and ga'nted, and pore—
Jes' all so knocked out he can't handle hisself
With a stiff upper-lip any more;
Shet him up all alone in the gloom of a room
As dark as the tomb, and as grim,
And then take and send him some roses in bloom,
And you kin have fun out o' him!

You've ketched him, 'fore now—when his liver was sound
And his appetite notched like a saw—
A-mockin' you, mebbe, fer romancin' round
With a big posey-bunch in yer paw;
But you ketch him, say, when his health is away,
And he's flat on his back in distress,
And *then* you kin trot out your little bokay
And not be insulted, I guess!

You see, it's like this, what his weaknesses is,—
Them flowers makes him think of the days
Of his innocent youth, and that mother o' his,
And the roses that *she* us't to raise:—
So here, all alone with the roses you send—
Bein' sick and all trimbly and faint,—
My eyes is—my eyes is—my eyes is—old friend—
Is a-leakin'—I'm blamed ef they ain't!

—JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

EUGENE V. DEBS: AN INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE DEMOCRACY OF DEBS.

A Man is passing. Nay, no demi-god,
But a plain man, close to the common sod
Whence springs the grass of our humanity. Strong
Is he, but human, therefore sometimes wrong.

—Edmund Vance Cooke.

IN writing of Debs, it is difficult for his friends to exercise a reasonable restraint; in writing of him, it is impossible for his opponents to do him justice. His personality, made up of magnitudes, is such as invariably to invite the superlatives of speech.

Debs has been the subject of extravagant expression, ranging from the extremes of abuse and praise. Either side has exhausted the resources of eulogy and of execration. Seldom has his character been sketched with any approach to a proper perspective.

The present writer will attempt the difficult by endeavoring to avoid that prodigal praise which is symptomatic of what Lord Macaulay (whose methods proved for him an efficacious biographical prophylactic) sneeringly diagnosed as "the disease of admiration."

Debs is not a demi-god.

Thank heaven for that!

He is a man, with all a strong man's weaknesses.

Thank heaven for *that!*

He is blessed with enough of human frailties to make him humanly loveable.

Otherwise he would not be the Debs of Destiny.

Because of these excellent weaknesses he can understand and sympathize with the weaknesses of the rest of us.

Upon these fortunate weaknesses does his usefulness depend.

Even Jesus, we are told, in order to help humanity had to take on human attributes. And to be human is to be weak as well as strong. Sympathy is something a matter of experience as well as of temperament.

So it is that Debs is informed with the vicarious spirit.



It is the habit of humankind before asking of a man "What has he done?" to inquire what he is.

The world is not yet willing that a man should describe himself in deeds. - Origin still is accounted of more importance than Destiny.

Debs is not an aristocrat. He is too fine-fibered for that. He is a *thorough-bred* proletaire. There is no aristocracy of action. Aristocracy is synonymous with that idleness which spells degeneration. Debs is an exponent of the democracy of deeds.

The lineage of Labor is the most ancient of all ancestries.

"Long before Adam or Eden,
Long before Eve or the snake,
In the far land of Nod
They had carried the hod,
And the world was alive and awake."

It is ever the toilers—those who do the world's work, whether with hand or head—that are the "salt of the earth," the cream of creation. For—

"This is the Gospel of Labor—ring it, ye bells of the kirk—
The Lord of Love came down from above to live with the men who work."

And so Debs is a prince of the proletarian blood.

He has lived the life. When he goes among the workers he does not become one of them—he is one of them, and always has been. Even as Christ broke bread with sinners, so does Debs share the sweat-savored fare of the toilers in fullest fellowship. He feels all the yearning of the poet voiced in the following verse:

"I have eaten your bread and salt,
I have drunk your water and wine;
The deaths ye died I have watched beside,
And the lives that ye led were mine."

Debs knows men because he understands human nature. Which is to say he is sympathetic. For to comprehend human nature one must sympathize with it. None may know the motives of the human heart unless he knows its necessities. And it is not enough that we should witness the life of others—we must live it.

Debs doesn't observe from a distance. He communes at close quarters. He is not a spectator on the heights. He dwells with his brothers in the depths. He is not an onlooker but a participator.

The spirit of Debs is the essence of democracy. And the soul of democracy is good-fellowship.

Debs is such a democratic good fellow that he would reach across the Judgment Bar and shake hands with the Lord.



Excessive eulogy is not more kind than unmerited detraction. Both caricature and neither convinces. The justice of truth only is acceptable.

Having at the outset, to prove my impartiality as a Debs delineator, admitted that he has his faults, weaknesses and afflictions, it now is well to resolve this general statement to an analysis of parts.

Opposing partisans have described Debs respectively as a demagogue and a demi-god.

He is neither.

Debs is a man with strong weaknesses and admirable faults.

His many excellent errors have endeared him to the hearts of the multitude.

We who love him rejoice that he is not possessed of any intolerable perfections.

In his weaknesses his great strength doth lie.

His very virtues are his shortcomings.

He has the happy affliction of affectional myopia, which incapacitates him for misanthropy. Under this handicap he has failed utterly to inspire in his fellowmen any sentiments other than respect, confidence and LOVE.

Debs' strongest weakness is his excess of fidelity. He is overplussed with personal loyalty. He refuses to see any fault in a friend. To be his friend is to be of the elect; he exalts his friends, raises them to soul-royalty—places them, in fact, upon a plane with himself.

Virtue has a fixed standard of values. It is by a man's faults we must judge him if we would arrive at a correct estimate of his worth.

Anybody can appreciate our virtues. It is only the superior soul that can esteem our faults.

I have worked with Debs and lived with him his daily life—have eaten with him, slept with him, traveled with him—and am qualified to give intimate and accurate testimony to the character and worth of the man.

And I must say I never have met a man with finer faults. Like everything about him, they are large and loveable.



The most distinctive thing about Debs is his smile. It is spontaneous, sincere—and indescribable. It is animate sunlight, flashing the signal of his irradiant soul. I would not demean this smile by any trite comparison, but I never think upon it that I do not think also of these lines:

"The thing that goes the furthest toward making life worth while,
That costs the least and does the most, is just a pleasant smile.
The smile that bubbles from a heart that loves its fellowmen
Will drive away the cloud of gloom and coax the sun again.
It's full of worth and goodness, too, with manly kindness blent—
It's worth a million dollars, and doesn't cost a cent."

Debs verily smiles his way into the hearts of his fellowmen.
That smile is fashioned in the factory of his soul—and it's co-
operative.

"So cheerily he walks the common way,
So bravely faces fortune's meanest wile,
That all who greet him know a gladder day,
Warmed by the human kindness of his smile."

II.

THE BUGBEAR OF HERO-WORSHIP.

Show me the man you honor. I know by this symptom, better than any other, what kind of a man you yourself are. For you show me there what your ideal of manhood is, what kind of a man you long inexpressibly to be.—*Carlyle*.

IT is the fashion to decry hero-worship in the Socialist movement. Which is, perhaps, that strangest of all things—a righteous fashion. But this, like other fashions less worthy, may easily become extreme. And it chanced that these protests come mostly from men who are not in the slightest danger of ever being made the objects of such idolatry.

One unfortunate effect of this practice is to depreciate the popular estimate of the value of personality. The value to the Socialist movement of Debs' personality is inestimable. It is our chiefest propaganda asset. He is as full of magnetism as a Leyden jar. He is a loadstone of popularity that attracts to Socialism thousands whom its philosophy at first would repel.

Wherefore is it a grave tactical mistake, in an exaggerated zeal against individual eminence, to belittle the importance of this man's personality. Whoever meets Debs straightway becomes a Debs enthusiast. And from a Debs enthusiast to an enthusiastic Socialist is a trifling transition.

These persons say to themselves that there must be something in any movement that can command such devotion from such a man. Then they look to see what that something is, and are lost—or saved, as you will.

The important first thing in any propaganda is to attract. Debs' personality is the element of attraction. To popular sentiment and public interest it is as the magnet to metal. For continued attraction respect is essential, and Debs commands respect. Affection is necessary to that permanent attraction which means coalescence, and Debs inspires affection.

Any personality is important only to the extent that it represents a principle. Debs is so representative of the principle of social justice that he ceases to be simply a person and becomes a personifica-

tion. He is an incarnate Idea. Man is the expression of his environment. Debs dwells perpetually in the atmosphere of the Socialist ideal. He is the one Man Emancipate. In him we see exemplified the effect of Socialism on human character—he typifies the Coming Race.

It is only the narrow nature, envenomed with envy, that is ready to cry "Hero-worship!" whenever an appreciative person accords its just need to human merit. It is not necessary to be a hero-worshiper in order adequately to appreciate the military and administrative genius of the first Napoleon. The compelling Corsican, however, attached men to himself more by his achievements than by his personality. But Debs has genius of character as well as genius of mind.

Every generous soul is perforce a hero-worshiper, in the accepted sense of the term.

True hero-worship consists of a recognition and an appreciation of the superlative degree of whatever is wise or worthy—those superior qualities of mind and heart that make the world broader and better. It is the devotion we pay the divinity that dwells in man when made manifest by noble accomplishment.

Who be that righteously may cavil thereat?

I have observed that mostly men are either hero-worshipers or autolatrists.

Whoever worships himself thereby forfeits the homage of others.

I thank heaven I am a hero-worshiper, in that I yield the tribute of my admiration to whatever is admirable in man.

It is taken as a truth that "no man is a hero to his valet." This means that familiarity, intimacy, brings disillusionment to all idealization of human character. "Worship your heroes from afar," admonishes Mme. Necker; "contact withers them." The most tremendous tribute to the personality of Debs is the fact that the more his admirers see of him—the closer they get to him—the better they come to know him—the greater grows their hero-worship.

All this, however, is extraneous.

We exalt Debs to the heights of hero-homage because he expresses our conception of human excellence, because he is a reflection of the divinity of our desires.

But Debs is also intrinsically a hero.

None can be a hero or a martyr by design, any more than one can design one's own birth. And it is not necessary to die in order to be either. To insist otherwise were tantamount to declaring that death makes the poet. The fact is that heroism and martyrdom consist in the process of living, and death ends them just as it extinguishes genius. It is only that mostly the attributes of heroism, martyrdom or genius are not recognized until Death has stamped them with the Royal Seal. As I once wrote—

"For only through the gates of Death
Can Genius come into its own."

That which the imperceptive world pronounces heroism or martyrdom does not therefore consist in the act of dying, which itself is a termination of such, but in the memory of those splendid deeds that preceded death, just as the genius of the dead poet survives in the work he wrought in life.

It is a melancholy fact that the recognition of merit, intellectual or elsekind, is mostly retrospective.

As between such posthumous reward and contemporaneous hero-worship, the latter is largely preferable.

Humanity's heart has paid to the living Debs the tribute of its most exalted eulogy.

III.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FEELING.

Every action is measured by the depth of sentiment from which it proceeds.—*Emerson.*

IF every great movement it is said that this man or that is its "brains" or its "soul." Of none has it been said that he is the heart of any movement. Debs is the heart of the Social Revolution. He lacks neither mentality nor spirituality, but—he is the heart. There are many big brains and great souls in the movement—but Debs is its heart. It is a matter of proportion. Not that Debs' heart is disproportionate. It is simply that it is adequate. Which is almost to say that it is nearly infinite.

Debs is the heart. He thinks emotionally and feels intellectually.

Others reason. Debs loves. But there is reason in his love. You can win a man's heart quicker than you can convince his mind. Once you have his heart you hold the key that will open the doors of his intelligence.

Affection is more potent than argument. Too often argument begets antagonism. But naught can prevail against the logic of love.

Debs is loving the world into liberty.

This man is a master because he has learned the primary lesson of progress—the triumphant truth that love is the cement of cosmic cohesion. He knows it is love that in the end must save society—that must save you and me—even as it "saves the world and keeps it, like a star, swinging in the orbit of God's remembrance."

He is always sure of an audience and an understanding, for his personality appeals to the affections as irresistibly as his words appeal to the intelligence. He speaks simultaneously to the heart and to the mind, and his message needs no interpretation.

Debs represents the sentiment of Socialism. Some there be who insist that there is no sentiment in Socialism, that it is wholly philosophical; not knowing that sentiment is the truest philosophy.

Debs is a sentimental philosopher.

What is philosophy? And what is life? Love is the core of it, and philosophy the rind. Ah, ye deluded philosophers who deem yourselves profound! know that philosophy, as has been said of beauty, "is but skin deep." In the infinite depths is love only. And love needs no complement of philosophy. That which we call philosophy is only an antidote; it is the thing that neutralizes hate and makes existence at all endurable.

Feeling is the dynamic agent in every department of human endeavor. Divorced from this, its active principle, philosophy would be static. Emotion is the motive element of the rational faculties. It is, consequently, the propelling energy of all economic progress.

Regarding the relation of the emotions to philosophy, that eminent sociologist, Prof. Lester F. Ward, of Brown university, in his "Psychic Factors of Civilization," says:

Feeling is the basis of a philosophy of action, and whether viewed from the standpoint of achievement and progress or from the standpoint of ethics and happiness, it constitutes the only real foundation for a science of mind. Subjective psychology puts a heart and soul into philosophy, gives it life and meaning, makes it practical and utilitarian, furnishing a key alike to past history and future progress.

Thus viewed it can be seen what an important fact feeling is in the world and how worthy it is of all attention and honor. That maudlin sentimentality that would banish it from philosophy as unworthy a place by the side of its great-grandchild, the intellect, must be overcome if psychology is to become a science, and the equal dignity and nobility of the emotions *** must be recognized and their true position in the scheme of philosophy assigned them.

And our own Prof. George D. Herron rebukes the chill disciplinary doctrines of the social materialists when he says: "The Social Revolution will never come as a bald economic proposition. It must show forth its reason for being in the finest feelings of the soul of man." And again, in pointing out that the formative stage of Socialism is past: "The Socialist body had to be made before the breath of life could be breathed into it. But now the Social Revolution waits to have a living soul."

Wherefore the need of the vitalizing influence of the voltaic Debs.

IV.

THE GAUGE OF GREATNESS.

Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
His honour and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make NEW NATIONS.

—*Shakespeare.*

HERE are no great men. That is, no man is so very great. In the social aggregate the individual is inconsequential. This is because he necessarily is incidental to the general purpose. He is a means to an end, and his personal welfare is important only as an addition to the common benefit. His mind is merely a small quantity of fertilizer to fructify the social soil, and analogically without more intrinsic merit than has a decomposed carcass for enriching the farmer's field. Our accepted measurement is a matter of altitude. The men we account great are merely eminent.

So, there being no such thing as human greatness *per se*, I should not say that Debs is a great man. But he has a great purpose, which justifies his eminence. Says Rochefoucauld, "Great souls are not those which have less passion and more virtue than common souls, but only those which have greater designs."

Most eminent men have died of a broken heart. This is because they were self-seekers. They mourned unfulfilled ambitions, not great duties unperformed. They suffered from personal disappointment instead of from vicarious sorrow.

Debs will not die a disappointed man. He never has known a disappointment in his life, because he never has neglected a duty. Disappointment is the introspection of selfishness. Nepenthe is Debs' reward for self-forgetfulness. He seeks not anything. Capitalism has nothing that to him is desirable, and from Socialism he wishes nought except what is spontaneously proffered.

So Debs can never know disappointment. He can feel no pang of blasted ambition. This is because in place of ambition he has aspiration. He aspires to help make this world a better place in which to live. He realizes that his own labors, prodigious though they be, are but a contribution to the general effort. He is content with doing his best, knowing that others will complete whatever work he may leave unfinished.

Nor can he be disappointed in his fellowmen. Without question, he is the best beloved man in the world to-day. But should others cease to love him, he still would love them. And therein would be his happiness. He joys more in giving than in gaining. He is more of a transmitter than a receiver. His is

"A love that asks no answer, that can live
Moved by one burning, deathless force to give
Love, strength and courage—courage, strength and love—
The heroes of all time are built thereof."



No man is an epochal figure except he be the foremost factor in the tremendous process of some great social change. Napoleon was epochal; Lincoln was epochal; Debs is epochal.

Comparisons here are in order.

Napoleon and Debs.

The dynamic capacity of these two is about equal. The difference is of direction. Napoleon demolished; Debs constructs. Napoleon conquered; Debs liberates. Napoleon humbled the haughty; Debs exalts the lowly. Napoleon aspired to be feared; Debs desires to be loved. Napoleon wished to have men serve him; Debs wishes to serve his fellowmen. Napoleon craved personal power; Debs yearns for greater power to do good.

Lincoln and Debs.

Like Lincoln, Debs is elemental. He resembles Lincoln in more than this. He is indigenous to his time; he lives in response to the demands of his day, even as did Lincoln. But Debs is more than this. He is the concrete expression of the humanism of his era, which Lincoln was not. Men are measured by their missions—they are great or not according to the dimensions of their respective destinies. So Debs will loom larger in history than does Lincoln, in the same degree that the proportions of a limited chattel-slavery are exceeded by those of a universal wage-slavery. And by this standard must we estimate his present importance.

We find differences, too. The parallel is far from perfect. Lincoln lacked the cosmic perspective of Debs. In his great heart he doubted the expediency of the Emancipation Proclamation, and signed it only under irresistible political pressure. Debs never doubts; and "expediency" has been expurgated from his lexicon.

As I have said, greatness does not inhere in the individual. Men are merely agents, instruments. The Man of Destiny, therefore, appears great because of and in proportion to the greatness of the purpose to which he was born.

Lincoln was great; Debs is greater.

Lincoln proclaimed that the black man should be free. Debs proclaims that *all* men shall be free.

V.

A PRIEST OF PROGRESS.

For he, as Captain of the Common Good,
Has earned the right to be misunderstood.

—Edmund Vance Cooke.

TO the capitalist mind, Debs is the social puzzle. Himself the essence of simplicity and with a method undeviatingly direct, he still is a mystery to the master class.

This misunderstanding is consequent upon the point of survey. Plutocracy views Debs in distorted perspective. The angle of his attitude is so acutely divergent from their own understanding that the money-lords are quite unable to find the correct mental approach.

His incredible truth confounds them.

Personally consistent, Debs presents the strange illusion of environmental contradiction. Compassed by social complexities, beset by all the intricacies of an intriguing system, he is in striking contrast to his surroundings.

And Debs puzzles them. He is wont to vanish for a season from public view. His voice is silent and the work of his hand is unseen. Then it is that the Rulers rejoice. How are they to know that when in retirement his brain is busiest—that he is patiently planning and is preparing always for the day to come? Debs is a "dead one," they say—he has had his day; and the thought brings them satisfaction and a sense of security. Then suddenly an emergency arises, and lo! Debs appears and is dominant. And so they are puzzled, and marvel much.

Debs is not disturbed by being misunderstood, content that he understands himself. He complains not at misrepresentation, satisfied with knowing himself true to his own purpose.

Possibly he knows also his Emerson, and has read therein, "To be great is to be misunderstood."

It may be, too, he is mindful of the word, "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you!"

Debs knows his destiny.

He stands on the heights, serene as Buddha, and thence his soul salutes all mankind.

Strong and sufficient, he knows his powers; yet withal is he the most modest of men. Egotism enters not into the contexture of his character. He is self-confident without being self-conscious. No man who did not believe in himself could do the things Debs has done. "Self-trust," says Emerson, "is the essence of heroism." Debs believes in himself because he believes in mankind, of which he is a part.

But the proletariat know Debs. They do not analyze him, they could not define him. They know him intuitively, as a child knows its mother or a species know their kind.

Debs might journey to the ends of the earth nor carry credentials. He is one individual who needs no introduction. Were he in the heart of Africa where his name may never have been uttered, the tribesmen would instantly recognize him for what he is. His countenance is a countersign. He proves himself by that subtle freemasonry that is more than mysticism, whose true grip is always in his hand and whose symbol is stamped upon his brow—the fellowship of humanity.

He writes his own passport to the hearts of his fellowmen.



Debs is more than a man. He is a Voice and a Spirit—the Voice of the Unsatisfied and the Spirit of Unrest. He is a Voice proclaiming the Message of the Masses. He is an articulate sentiment, a personified principle—an Idea Incarnate. He expresses what others feel. He speaks for those who have not yet learned the language of revolt.

He preaches the doctrine of a divine discontent.

“The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes;
The butterfly upon the road
Preaches contentment to that toad.”

Debs is doubly effective because of his experience.

Sir Philip Sidney voiced an eternal verity when he said, “None can speak of a wound with skill if he hath not a wound felt.”

Sympathy constitutes the closest of kinship—a tie infinitely stronger than the bond of blood. And Ritchie was right when he wrote: “Sympathy is a fellow-feeling with any in trouble; it can be fully developed only when like experience exists.”

Debs is passionately impatient. How can one of such exquisite sensibilities remain patient while such mighty woes oppress the race? Others petition, but Debs demands.

He is all-inclusive. His creed is lettered in spiritual Esperanto, he knows the Goddess of Liberty for neuter gender, and he would have Justice unbandaged but color-blind.

To his mind the Declaration of Independence was a sordid document of selfish interest until the Emancipation Proclamation was written. And he reads both manifestoes merely as minor installments of that mighty serial of human history which shall find its conclusion in the splendid climax of Universal Freedom.

So he stands a Marconi tower by the shores of life to waft a message of hope over every sea that reflects a sail to every land where floats a flag.

VI.

THE RELIGION OF DEBS.

So many gods, so many creeds,
 So many paths that wind and wind,
 When just the art of being kind
 Is all this sad world needs.

—*Ella Wheeler Wilcox.*

MUCH speculation has been indulged regarding Debs' religious belief. He never has mentioned the matter to me, but I can tell you about it. My knowledge results from observation. No, Debs never has spoken of it to me. He acts his religion instead of discussing it. His is a gospel of performance. He is a priest of humanity, whose only sermons are object-lessons. His is a religion of deeds and not of creeds. It is this doctrine of deeds that constitutes the text of all his tenets. To be good—to do good—this is his canon of conduct. In the Book of his belief God is spelled with double "o." He realizes that as inevitably as every effect has its cause so must every action be followed by its reaction. So to be good is to do good, and to do good is to be good.

Goodness is not a negative quality. There is no value in passive virtue, if such it can be said there is. Virtue consists of beneficent action. It is only the man who does good that "makes good."

The religion of Debs might well be described in his own words (though he applied them not to himself) as "the religion of Jesus Christ, the homeless wanderer who sympathized and associated with the poor and lowly, and whose ministrations were among the despised sinners and outcasts."

Jesus gave his life, we are taught, to save the world. Debs is giving his life for the same salvation. And he knows that the longer he lives the more of it can he give. He feels he can serve his fellows better by living than by dying. He would redeem the race by work rather than by martyrdom. Yet is he ever ready to yield up his life if his death can help humanity.

"And always so are the mighty changes;
 The Word must be sown in the heart like seed—
 Men's hands must tend it, their lives defend it,
 Till it burst into flower as a deathless Deed."

Debs does not believe that to love God one must hate one's fellowman. He sees the god in man, and worships at the shrine of a universal humanhood.

The more religion a man has, the less his theology. Debs is deeply, reverently religious. His only theological theory is his conception of an eternal hell as the immortality of capitalism.

Instead of spending all his time trying to get to heaven, Debs is busy striving to bring something of heaven down to earth.

He is an "opportunist" with "immediate demands" to the extent that he doesn't believe in living on skim-milk in this world for promise of cream in the next.

Debs isn't afraid of God. He doesn't believe He is cruel. He doesn't believe He is a God of wrath. He doesn't believe the Creator would make a mess of things and then be so unreasonable as to get angry with us about it.

He credits the Lord at least with knowing how to be a good fellow.

He believes in being on good terms with God.

Debs' single dogma—the only one he allows himself—is that he best serves God who serves his fellowman.

If it is true that religion is best "expressed in terms of human helpfulness," then Debs doubtless is the most religious man the world has known since Jesus.

Any reference to Debs' religious beliefs always recalls to me those lines by my old friend James Newton Matthews, premier of American poets, the news of whose recent death has stabbed my heart:

The man who loves his fellowman,
And winds a willing arm about
His brother, when the storms are out,
And lends him all the help he can—
No matter what may be his creed,
A kind God knights him for the deed.

As the Recording Angel bends above the Book of Life to enter therein "the names whom love of God has blessed," Debs were well content to say with About Ben Adhem:

"I pray thee then
Write me as one that loves his fellowmen."

And if the list showed not that "his name led all the rest," at least it would be bracketed with that of Leigh Hunt's fine old humanitarian.

Debs wants no good for himself that his comrades can not share. Not for a moment do I doubt that he would refuse a passport to heaven so long as a single soul was writhing in hell.

But then Debs doesn't believe in the orthodox hell. He respects God too much for that. No, Debs never told me this. Then how do I know it? Well, you see, I know Debs.

Debs does not believe man is a fallen creature, in need of a special redemption. He believes that if it is made possible for him to do so man will redeem himself—will work out his own salvation; and he strives to see that this possibility shall be vouchsafed him. He believes that, so far from being a fallen creature, man perpetually

ascends. He believes every human being is better than his environment. Were this not so the hell of capitalism would be populated with devils.

Debs believes in beginnings. He sees that industrial salvation must precede spiritual salvation. He knows it is hard to climb the heights with an empty stomach. He knows that the feet of a starving mortal are fain to falter in the straight and narrow way. And he is impressed with the impropriety of any man reaching heaven hungry.

So it will be seen that Debs is utterly an unregenerate—all the religion he knows is that embodied in the Golden Rule.

VII.

DEBS AS A DOCTOR.

When the stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal.—*Hooker.*

MEDICAL statisticians assure us that a majority of the people of these United States have stomach trouble. The nation, too, is distressed with financial dyspepsia, induced no doubt by "undigested securities."

Which ailments, while symptomatically different, have a related etiology.

The derangement of the individual stomachs is purely an economic effect, resulting from disproportionate distribution. Many stomachs are outrageously over-worked, while many more are listed with the unemployed.

Debs is a stomach specialist.

He is doing all that is possible with economic therapeutics to relieve the condition. But all presently available remedies are merely palliative, and a complete cure can not be effected until the electoral Board of Health endorses the use of the specific of Socialism, which carries its own dietary.



Economics concerns us more immediately than does biology. Nutrition is a more important function than procreation; for it is better that a man be not born than that he be born to starve. Moreover, poor feeding results in poor breeding.

It is said "Man is what he eats." This being so, then he who eats too little is not much of a man. The scantier his rations, the closer his approach to the social cypher.

There also is the sin of over-eating. The wage-system, however, has largely corrected this iniquity among the workers.

Debs has thought that the saying of Fanny Fern's that "the way to a man's heart is through his stomach" perhaps is not so ignoble

after all. He doesn't deem it important what road you take to a man's heart, so you reach it. His way to reach a man's mind is through his heart. What matter if he find the stomach first? Certain it is that you can not win a man's affectionate esteem by starving him. Debs often has filled an empty stomach and left an overflowing heart.

With all his wonderful ability, and varied as are his talents, in some ways Debs is strangely incompetent. He never has mastered the art of being happy while misery is the heritage of millions of his fellows. A bountiful meal discomforts him when he knows that the fangs of famine are gnawing at the vitals of others.

When Debs meets a hungry man he does not ask *why* that man is hungry. It does not matter to him why the man is hungry. The important thing is that he shall be fed.

Anyway, he is sure it is not the man's fault that he is hungry. It is inconceivable that any man would wish to be hungry.

And if it *were* the man's fault, he still would be hungry. That is, until he had met Debs.

Debs has studied deeply the life of Jesus, and to him the overshadowing fact of the Nazarene's career is that "he fed the multitude." Which stamped him a rational economist and a practical philanthropist.

Debs has great faith in the sandwich as a means of salvation. He knows how hard it is for a hungry man to shout hallelujahs with any great enthusiasm.

Debs is in spirit to that fine old Roman, Quintilian, who said, "Give bread to a stranger in the name of the universal brotherhood that binds together all men under the common father of nature." And he feels a fervent fraternism for Confucius for having affirmed that "brotherhood is the root of true benevolence."



The stomach is sovereign.

It is master of the mind.

Buffon tells us that "the stomach is the seat of thought."

It is the stomach and not the brain that directs the destinies of nations. Certainly it is not brains that at present is directing our national destinies.

In the physiology of economics the stomach is the first of all factors.

In the domain of esthetics, too, the stomach is supreme. It is the thought of Persius that "the stomach is the master of all art, the bounteous giver of all genius." Low living is not conducive to high thinking. Poverty is sordid, hunger is debasing. Ideals are consumed by an unsatisfied digestion.



Debs has great respect for the stomach, knowing it for the or-

gan that, more than the heart or the brain, is responsible for revolutions. An empty stomach is a great educator—it gives food for thought. The appetite is an excellent awakener. Hunger appeals powerfully to the understanding. It is an argument for which there is no answer. A full stomach may mean an empty mind; the road to a man's reason often lies through an empty stomach, where, it seems, food would obstruct the progress of the economic idea. Slaves are made submissive by being full-fed—are compensated with a "full dinner-pail" instead of a full heritage; but the empty stomach promulgates its own emancipation proclamation.

George Eliot, in "Adam Bede," makes *Bartle Massey* say, "No man can be wise on an empty stomach." But then George Eliot was a novelist and not an economist. The fact is that the masses play the fool at the feast. When the worker is hungry he may chance to be wise; when sated with food he often is otherwise.

The difference between a fast and a feast sometimes is the difference between freedom and enslavement.

It is said that hunger makes a wolf courageous and a man cowardly. It makes both dangerous.

Soup-houses are the salvation of Plutocracy.

Socialism is the salvation of the Proletariat.

So long as the workers are satisfied with soup they'll never get Socialism.

When the opportunists make their "immediate demands," for heaven's sake let them demand something besides soup!

Soup has done more than any other agency to retard revolutions.

The soup-house is the fortification of the palace.

It is the world-old story, as true in the generation of Gompers as it was in that distant day when his forebears painfully fashioned the Babylonian bricks without straw—soup in the workers and the workers "in the soup."

All of which is irrelevant but irresistible.

VIII.

DEBS THE DEPENDABLE.

That love for one from which there doth not spring
Wide love for all, is but a worthless thing.

—Lowell.

DONE can be friendless while Debs lives.

He is big brother to the world.

Debs' mission is to restore philanthropy—the lost art of loving your fellowmen. And he realizes that this renaissance of fellowship is possible only through Socialism. Wherefore is he a Socialist.

He not only loves humanity, but he likes it—which often is a more difficult thing for many men.

He needs no oral language to express his love. His glance articulates his fluent soul in syllables of sympathy, and his hand-clasp translates his heart-beats truly.

Emerson tells us—and mostly what he tells us is truth—that “all mankind love a lover.” Debs is always a lover. Wherefore is he universally beloved.

His heart is hospitable to every good, and keeps open house for all humanity.

The latch-string of his love is always out.

Debs is an example of great gentleness and gentle greatness.

He is gentle because he does not know how to be harsh. He is kind because he can not be any other way. Some men are humanitarians from a sense of duty; Debs loves without effort. He can not help being humane. Cruel speech is to him as much a dead language as is Sanskrit to a lisping infant. His touch is always a caress, his smile a benediction. He loves naturally, as the sun shines, as the stars glow, as the flowers blossom.

His labor is always loving, but his love is never labored.

His lips are the outlet of his lavish soul, whence tenderness springs spontaneous, as the throat of a thrush overflows with song.

Debs is intensely human. He is the most human man I ever met. And his love for humanity is the paramount passion of his life. All that other men give to home and family, to wealth, to ambition, in Debs is concentrated in his all-absorbing, ever-consuming philanthropy.

His love for mankind is measured by his heart-beats.



Debs understands humanity and knows its needs.

He goes down among the workers of the world—“toilers of the deep”—and becomes a brother to “the least of these.”

He sees with unveiled vision the supreme heroism of Labor. He reads the most elevated of all epics in “the short and simple annals of the poor”—the industrial Iliad.

To the toil-troubled ones of earth his hand-clasp is an inspiration to hope and courage, while his glance translates a gospel of sympathy more tender than any spoken language could convey.

Their love is precious to him because of the price he has paid for it; they are dear to him even as he is endeared to them by reason of the sacrifices he has made for their sake.

They belong to him, these world-orphaned, and he feels the sweet pang of possession. He has won them in the agony of a thousand persecutions, and he held them close to his heart in that prison cell at Woodstock which his presence consecrated. He has been exalted

by his poignant experience, even as motherhood exults in the blessed pain of parturition that makes the offspring doubly dear. Nature is wise with a wisdom exceeding the meagre intelligence of mankind. The personal precludes the universal. To compensate for the children of his own which she has denied him, Nature has made Debs foster-father to all the children of men. And it is this far-reaching fatherhood that has lifted him to Mount Transfiguration.

But it is the world's Magdalenes and Jean Valjeans that he holds closest to his heart. He loves them more because others love them less. He gives them more of the wealth of his great soul because their need is greater. His comradeship enfolds them like a compassing arm.

He fails to forget that Christ came into the world to save sinners, not to condemn them.

And Debs yearns more over the one lost lamb than for "the ninety-and-nine which went not astray."

Debs knows that human service is in proportion to human suffering.

It is this service and this suffering that have made him the proletarian hero of both hemispheres.

One can imagine Debs regretting his blameless life lest it shut him out from full fellowship with earth's greatest sinner.

This love of Debs for his fellows is not abstraction. It is a thing concrete and personal. This perhaps is not for the best, but it remains a fact. He turns from his momentous work for a world-movement, to give of his precious time to a casual beggar.

His heart is a garden wherein all comradely blessings perennially bloom.

IX.

DEBS THE DREAMER.

Goodness does not more certainly make men happy than happiness makes them good.—*Landor.*

DEBS is a true reformer. He does not seek to reform the individual but the environment. Men, being the product of conditions under which they live, do not need reforming. Most men are better than their environment, anyway. Make them more superior without modifying their surroundings, and they could not continue to exist. So Debs would not destroy them. Instead of reforming the man, he would relieve him. He knows that men can improve only under improved conditions. Instead of blaming men for not being better, he marvels that they

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He does not seek to make men over. He would give them a chance to *grow* right. He realizes that all evil resides in environment. Men, like plants, are what conditions make them. Life is a series of adaptations. Human character and conduct are the consequence of ceaseless effort of adjustment to controlling circumstances.

Debs does not believe that "man is prone to evil as the sparks to fly upward." He believes that the inclination of human nature is always toward good—that, all things being equal, men invariably will do right from preference. More, he is convinced that most men even will make a considerable effort to do right. But the tendency of human nature, as all else of nature, is to follow the line of least resistance. So it is that too often it is too difficult to do right, and wrong action therefore results. Debs would for this reason place man in a favorable environment, one compatible only with good.

Man does the best he can, and much better than might be expected of him.

Heaven and hell merely represent extremes of environment.

Debs doesn't try to make men good; he tries to give them a chance to "make good."



Were Debs a medical practitioner and was called to attend a typhoid case, he would not blame the patient for his condition but would purge the contaminated water supply. In the same manner, as a social physician he seeks out the sources of industrial infection.



Debs is admirably equipped for social agitation. He received his education in the school of a rugged experience. When he had learned to "cypher" to the economic "Rule of Three," he began to ask bothersome questions. And he still disturbs the masters with these perplexing queries. He wants to know why, if the workers have been given a "square deal," the shirkers hold all the high cards. Quite a problem, isn't it?

As early as he conveniently could Debs organized himself into a Board of Economic Equalization, which since has been in continuous session.



Debs is personified Democracy—that is, he lives it. His own life is his best lesson. With all his magnificent mentality, there is just one familiar thing he never has been able to understand—a

theory. Life to him is an aggregation of facts, which facts he labors unceasingly to adjust in rational relation to the human family.

No, Debs is not a theorist—he is a veritist.

But, they say, Debs is a dreamer—a visionary. He is. He dreams the divinest of dreams. He dreams of “the golden dawning of a grander day.” His vision forecasts a reign of justice and the race redeemed. Speed the day when his dreams shall be gloriously realized, his splendid vision verified!

In life’s early afternoon he dreams always of the dawn. Hope has built its nest in his heart, and he keeps his eyes forever on the East. He turns from the twilight of thought through which humanity is groping and turns his face toward the morning of the mind.

Yes, Debs is a dreamer. But he is a practical dreamer. He is a dreamer who does things. He dreams of a reconstructed social fabric—civilization’s fair “castle-in-the-air.” Then with the purpose of the true builder he proceeds to give it a foundation—works with a wonderful energy to make his dream come true.

When the Ideal Society shall have been ushered in, we will know it for the realized dream of Debs.

X.

DEBS AND THE DOLLAR.

Above all is he admired who is not influenced by money.—*Cicero*.

I advise you to watch this man closely, for he presently will demonstrate to you that money dominates everybody except the man who does not want money.—*Rudyard Kipling*.

DEBS is finely endowed with financial insensibility.

He is the only man I ever knew who was entirely devoid of the sense of property-possession and material values. The love of money which has a place in the hearts of others was in his heart made into love for men. Riches would irk him. Even a little money makes him miserable, and he relieves himself of the distressing incubus quickly and joyously. His simple method is to transfer it to the needy.

Those hands of his are too busy doing great things to have time to grab at dirty dollars.

Debs is the prince of spendthrifts. He flings his money to the winds of every human want; and no prodigal of proverb could do more or wiser. With the infinite-souled Ingersoll, whose friend he was, he might exclaim, “I would rather be a beggar and spend my last dollar like a king than be a king and spend my money like a beggar.”

His generosity delights in shocking the shriveled soul of Thrift, which finds greater pleasure in hoarding wealth than in relieving want. Reveling as he does in the true riches of life,

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treasuring only the things of verified value, finding worthy exchange only in the currency of the soul—love's own legal-tender—he resolutely refuses to be cumbered with the worthless dross of earth's material wealth.

The sterling metal of his make-up has no affinity for gold.

He is an anomaly in an age that makes money its standard of measurement.

Said that sound old philosopher, Seneca: "From the time that money began to be regarded with honor, the real value of things was forgotten."

To Debs the dollar-sign is not a symbol of value. He asks himself the scriptural question, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" For that is the invariable ratio of exchange.

When Debs stoops it is not to pick up a dollar but to lift up a brother.

Wherefore can he always stand erect again.



"'Tis a hard task not to surrender morality for riches," says Martial.

Lucre has no lure for Debs. And he who can not be conquered by gold is unconquerable.

In a society that is dominated by the dollar, the man who has no desire for money is a man to be feared by upholders of the Existing Order. The entire armory of Plutus contains not one weapon that can prevail against him. Shod with righteousness, he is more invulnerable than Achilles, for no arrow of avarice can pierce any part of the armor of his integrity more than those that are broken upon his breast.



Debs is in misery so long as he has money, knowing countless others are miserable for want of it.

I have known many humanitarians, reformers, Socialists, and some of them grow rich—a phenomenon I have failed utterly to understand.

To me it is incomprehensible that any man can find his happiness in wealth while so many are wretched in poverty.

It is a strange thing that any man should give himself seriously to the accumulation of money, that he should make a profession of the piling up of useless gold, in face of the elementary economic fact that every dollar of his financial surplus represents a corresponding deficit for some one of his unfortunate fellows.

I can only conclude that the desire for money is a disease, engendered by morbid economic conditions.

It is to the glory of Debs that, making much money, he has kept none of it.

"For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich."

Assiduously cultivated by that class of rich with a passion for the popular, Debs remains comrade to the Son of the Carpenter of Galilee who had "not where to lay his head."

With a capable man, as a rule, the largeness of his heart is in exact ratio to the smallness of his pocket-book. An examination of Debs' personal exchequer any pay-day just after he has met a needy brother would give one a nearly correct notion of his cardiac development.

Debs shares Andrew Carnegie's belief that it is a crime for a man to die rich. But he found it out earlier than did Andy, and has been more precautions than the canny Scotsman against passing from sublunary scenes with such a sin upon his soul.

Debs made another and more important discovery that seems to have failed the discernment of the great ironmaster, which is that it also is a sin to *live* rich.

Moreover, he perceives that the primary sin is in *getting* rich.

It can not be righteous to acquire what it is wrongful to hold.

And there is no apparent merit in a man's dispensing at the eleventh hour that which he can not take with him when the clock strikes.

No robber may hope by such tardy restitution to win either the forgiveness of his victims or judicial remission.

Debs conceives that to refrain from sinning is better than death-bed repentance.

If, as Foster says, "The pride of dying riches raises the loudest laugh in hell," it must be equally true that the fatuity of such belated benevolence provokes only pity among the hosts of heaven.

Menander has it that "gold opens every gate, e'en that of hell." But it should be borne in mind that to this "open sesame" the portals of perdition swing inward only. To "give the devil his due," he can't be bribed—wherein is he better than most men.

So shrewd an observer as old As-Shafi said, "Wealth opens every well-barred door." And even the expansive intelligence of Shakespeare held that "if money go before, all ways do lie open." With such authority for his arrogance it is small wonder that the master of millions believes his wealth can purchase admittance anywhere. But there is no gate-money at the entrance to Elysium. Robert Bridges assures us that "gold goeth in at any gate but heaven's."



Alexander, being asked why he did not gather and lay up money, said, "For fear, lest being the keeper thereof, I should be

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infected and corrupted." No such fear has influenced Debs to his renunciation of riches.

The needs of his fellowmen serve him as a financial purgative. Debs wealthy would be like a dove with a vulture's beak.

"It is hard," says Beecher, "to be a saint standing in a golden niche."

In this realm of the disinherited there is so much real work to be done that the making of money—a fictitious value—which possesses no element of social service and in which no true worth inheres, appears to Debs as wholly banal.

Yes, there is overmuch for those great hands to do—an endless labor of lifting—in a society where man, born to inherit the earth, has fallen as far from his primal estate as it is possible for the plummet of degradation to sound.

"The earth hath He given to the children of men," declares the psalmist. And Debs must help them to their lost heritage.



The narrow nature may expand, but the comprehensive never can be compressed. The cosmical spirit can not be commercial. How can the vision accustomed to the illimitable vistas of the telescope ever adjust itself to the microscope? The essence of Debs is empyreal. His nature is native to sidereal regions, he dwells forever in ideal domains. His is the atmosphere of the blue ether, the domicile of dreams. The ear of his soul, eternally attuned to the music of the infinite, is deaf to the clink of the dollar.

Debs is materially poor but spiritually opulent. Bradstreet nor Dun may accord him a rating, but his soul is solvent. He is rich, too, in the love of his fellowmen. No other man in the world has acquired such affectional affluence. And Debs knows that whatever the extent of social inequity, life itself invariably renders an exact equivalent. He knows how impossible it is for any ever to get "something for nothing." Throughout the macrocosm the law of compensation is infallible and supreme. You can not get more out of life than you give. A miser is the most indigent of individuals. In cosmic commerce there is naught but even exchange. You gain anything whatsoever at the expense of something else. Even love, which yields the highest of all interest rates, is cumulative only to the degree it is disbursed. How poor is the man who has only money! How to be pitied is he for his unfortunate investment! Rockefeller, with his incubus of "unearned increment," is an instructive example of the "embarrassment of riches." For every dollar he has gained he has lost in precious values. Think how deeply in debt he must be! To-day he is burdened with gold and destitute of all that makes life worth living. He has squandered all his true wealth and hoarded only a

fool's treasure. To secure his money he has mortgaged his soul. To-day he is a spiritual bankrupt, an affectional pauper—a soul-starveling.

Standing now upon the chill altitudes of Age, the past, which should be so rich in retrospection, for him is barren of excellent memories, while before him lies only an open grave and an eternal judgment.

“Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation.”

The sinister effect upon man's character of this delving for the dollar, which fails to enrich, has never better been described than by Ingersoll:

Gold impoverishes. Only the other day I was where they wrest it from the miserly clutch of the rocks. When I saw the mountains treeless, shrubless, flowerless—without even a spear of grass—it seemed to me that gold has the same effect upon the soil that holds it as upon the man who lives and labors only for it. It affects the land as it does the man. It leaves the heart barren, without a flower of kindness, without a blossom of pity.



The millionaire “gets up in the world,” according to his own ideas. So does the porch-climber.

It is an appalling thought that in the predaceous civilization of the present a man is esteemed by the extent of his ability not only to wrest their substance from his fellows but to retain it against counter-assault.

Could there be conceived any condition more brutalizing, more disintegrating, than this demoralization of the dollar? Ethics is eliminated, and we hark back atavistically to the sordidness of the Stone Age.

Debs' standard of achievement is different. He sees that the decisive factor in success is not the dollar. He finds his fortune in bestowing benefits, in elevating the level of human endeavor, in bringing greater good to his brothers.

He knows that no man is successful who has not succeeded in gaining the confidence, respect and affectionate esteem of a fair share of his fellowmen.

“Riches are deservedly despised by the man of honor, because a well-stored chest intercepts the truth,” says Phœdrus. As the quest of Debs is for truth, he needs no plethoric treasury. His hands are the more potent because empty—and clean.

“Riches are blind”—again our old friend Menander—“and render men blind who set their affections upon them.” The vision of Debs is unobscured by the disc of the dollar.



Debs realizes that under the profit-system, whereby every superfluous dollar represents an equivalent robbery of surplus

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labor, in order to accumulate millions a man needs must chloroform his conscience.

His soul shrinks correspondingly as his fortune expands.

"Great abundance of riches," says that excellent thinker Erasmus, "can not of any man be gathered and kept without sin."

The problem of life is nutrition and shelter, and the natural process of human activity, concerned primarily with these, is confined to production and consumption. Surplus accumulation transcends the sphere of productive effort, therefore of normal economics. It is an artificial and exclusively a human practice. Excessive possession has no power of pleasurable enhancement. So this derangement of equitable distribution without increasing the volume of production has the pernicious effect of diminishing the average of communal comfort without augmenting that of the individual. The thing, therefore, is wholly unphilosophic, and obviously results from a surviving vestige of primal instinct acting anachronistically upon present opportunity.

The process of acquiring this superfluity of wealth necessarily entails injustice, and its iniquity has been universally recognized, not merely by irrational malcontents, but by the world's authentic philosophers, from Solomon down through the ages of avarice to the predal present. Said the Old Proverbialist, "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent." That good old Greek comrade, Antisthenes, assures us that "no good man is a money-grubber, be he king or commoner." Lord Bacon, the greatest mind of the Elizabethan era, found that "the ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul." The admirable Plato says, "To be very good and very rich is impossible; the very rich are not good." And Leighton learned that "it is hard to separate great riches from great wrongs." The Master himself said, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!"

The classics are crowded with similar statements, and no contemporaneous writer of any intellectual integrity has sought to controvert them.



Standing upon haloed heights, emancipate from greed, Debs looks down into the valley of our commercial Tophet where the modern Ammonites make diurnal sacrifice of the best of the race to the Moloch of Money, and it is this sickening sight that has made him a social iconoclast amid the throng of idolaters.



It is a proverb that every man has his price. Perhaps Debs has one. If so, it isn't a money price. It is probable, however, that he could be bribed with an opportunity to greatly benefit his brothers. And I doubt not that he could be corrupted utterly with a chance to remove all men from reach of a money price.

XI.

THE PATRIOTISM OF DEBS.

For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.—*Galatians V., 13.*

SOME men are national; others are international; Debs is universal. Every man is his neighbor, his brother. The family next door is not nearer to him than is the distant dweller of earth's remotest realm. He is so devoid of spiritual provincialism that physical proximity does not affect him. He is in soul-proximity with the entire human race.

Paradoxically, Debs the Socialist is also a fusionist. He believes in the fusion of humanity into a homogeneous society—the perfect fellowship.

Debs once was called "an undesirable citizen" by a president who did not understand him any more than he understood the science of government. Which leaves little to be said concerning his lack of comprehension of the man he traduced. Had he known Debs, even Roosevelt would not have said a thing so absurd.

Those who fail to understand Debs, misapprehend him because they know nothing of those things for which he stands. These deserve not our condemnation but our pity for this lack of understanding. As for Debs, his personal attitude toward his detractors doubtless is that of the Proletaire of Palestine when he cried, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!"

The misunderstood Debs is a progressive patriot, who would have love of country superseded by love of mankind.

He doesn't believe in national dunghills whereon each ethnic cock may crow his self-estimated superiority.

He knows there are no boundary lines in the great republic of love.

His feeling finds expression in Viscomte de Vogue's phrase, "a passion for the planet."

He favors a fenceless world.

He would break down the barriers of prejudice that partition society into nations, perpetuated by frightful fratricide, and would reconcile and reorganize humanity into one harmonious family, by preaching the patriotism of brotherhood until over all earth's different domains Peace has spread her canopy like a splendid wing.

Debs stands for universal betterment. With him, national improvement is good; racial improvement is better, but world-improvement is excellent over all.

Cosmopolitan and comprehensive, the spirit of his humanity

bends lovingly above all lands and measures the expanse of every sea.

Love's wireless telegraphy carries this man's message around the world.



Debs is a precedent. He is the first of a new type.

I'm always sorry for those people who have not met Debs. And I'm always sorry for myself because I didn't meet him sooner.

That others may know him is the occasion for this book. But there is more than a sentimental reason therefor. It is important to the welfare of the world that Debs be correctly portrayed.

The wage-workers would all be Socialists did they but know Socialism rightly. With identical wrongs, which only Socialism can redress; with identical rights, which only Socialism can secure; with identical needs, which only Socialism can supply—they all think Socialism, but fail to act it. With a unanimous understanding, they would vote unanimously. Which means, of course, that they would vote intelligently. When the workers cast an old-party ballot they vote for a candidate; when they cast a Socialist ballot they vote for themselves.

Between the moiling masses and their economic emancipation stands nothing but a name—"Socialism." In the kindergarten class of social philosophy, their economic understanding is perverted by the fantastic nursery teachings of false instructors. Because they don't understand—or mayhap because they *do* understand—the masters have distorted Debs into a fearsome caricature of his radiant reality—have daubed him with red and decked him with the devil's plumes and invested him with a menacing mien. It matters not whether the teacher be ignorant or iniquitous; the erroneous idea is inculcated.

To know Debs is to know the truth.

And "the truth shall make you free."



Debs has a genius for directness. Deficient in few things, he nevertheless is inept at circumlocution. With a rectilinear reason, his methods of expression inerrantly follow his mental processes over their air-line route.

His statements have all the directness of a Damascus blade.

And he has a strange habit of saying that which is in his mind. The enemy never has a chance to mistake Debs' meaning.

Frequently, as in the case of that revolutionary proclamation, "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" and when he said, "If they hang Haywood and Moyer they'll have to hang me"—and meant it—the world has been made to marvel, and say in truth, "Never man spake as this man speaks."

Debs is not dramatic—that were puerile; in the infinite pity of human life he can not be less than tragic.

It was myself who first described Debs as “the spirit of revolution incarnate.” It must be a good description, for it since has been used by many writers and speakers—some of them so discriminating that they severely criticise such of my writings as they do not appropriate to themselves.

His speech has voiced the Emancipation Proclamation of economic vassalage, and his pen has framed the Magna Charta of human fraternity.

XII.

THE SODALITY OF SYMPATHY.

The man who melts with social sympathy, though not allied in blood, is worth more than a thousand kinsmen.—*Euripides.*

DEBS is *sui generis*. He is made in the image of none.

He can not be appraised by ordinary standards.

The world has not yet taken the true measurement of this man.

He belongs to the time that brought him into being. Likewise is he a legacy to the ages.

His scope is broad, it has the cosmic sweep; he troubles himself not with the minutiae of the movement. His inclusive imagination overspreads the social universe even as the heavens canopy the earth.

His comradeship is co-extensive with humanity.

He is a partisan of the “open door” policy. The gates of his heart stand always ajar to all mankind, from his closest compatriot to the children of the islands of the utmost purple seas.

He is a man who has supped with sorrow and communed with grief and verily has “warmed both hands before the fire of life.”

He has a sympathetic insight of human nature. He knows with an intimate comprehension all its nethermost sufferings and its supremest joys. His universal spirit has vicariously tasted the flavor of every earthly experience. So is he sib to the sinner and brother to the best. His words enter gently the sanctuary of your soul and there do loving service.

His being is saturated with sympathy. In his attitude and actions is realized that reflection of Burke’s: “It is by sympathy that we enter into the concerns of others, that we are moved, and are never suffered to be indifferent spectators of almost anything which men can do or suffer. For sympathy may be considered as a sort of substitution, by which we are put into the place of another man, and affected in many respects as he is affected.”

Debs is finely favored of the gods, eminently endowed above other men, for—

“Two gifts there are of value far
Beyond great wealth or lands.
The Gifts are these: The Eye that Sees,
The Heart that Understands.”



The ripening years have mellowed the mood of Debs, while they have not moderated his intense individuality.

His passion for humanity, which in his early days glowed with the fierce ardor of a concentrated flame, is now subdued to a gentle softness; it has not diminished, but diffusion has made it a milder radiance which vivifies instead of consuming.

He gives of the love that is the leaven of life.

His presence radiates his fervid feeling.

His heart-warmth is transmitted in his hand-shake.

And his amiability is as enduring as it is endearing.

Debs is without that selfishness which manifests itself in personal ambition. In him the spirit of self-abnegation displaces that of self-aggrandizement.

He asks nothing of his fellows but the right to give.

He sees naught but good in his brothers. For to him mankind is a mirror wherein, though he wots it not, he sees only his own fine soul reflected.



Another thing, you can't discourage Debs. A thousand defeats wouldn't even suggest discouragement to his dauntless soul. If he is wrong, he ought to lose; if he is right, he knows he will win. But he never starts anything unless he is right. And he holds with the sound-souled old English poet that at the finish of all things

Ever will right come uppermost,
And ever will justice be done.

Debs is a philosopher. He does his best and accepts the inevitable with equanimity.

XIII.

AN APOSTLE OF ALTRUISM.

"But I think the King of that country comes out from his tireless host,
And walks in this world of the weary, as if he loved it the most;
And here in the dusty confusion, with eyes that are heavy and dim,
He meets again the laboring men who are looking and longing for Him."

IF Debs it may advisedly be said that no other man in history so approximates the attributes of Jesus of Nazareth. In his all-understanding, all-forgiving, all-suffering nature Debs closely resembles the reputed character of the divine Proletaire of Palestine.

There is a very great symbolic truth in that feature of the Christian theology which makes it essential that Jesus in order to save the world should divest himself of godhood's immunity and share its suffering—become a "Man of Sorrow"; that to pardon the crucified thief he must agonize beside him and feel every pang that pierced the consciousness of the dying malefactor.

Just so in the scheme of social salvation does the vicarious Debs feel every pain that besets his brothers. In him is human-kind personified.

Though he treads the Golgotha of every grief, yet he carries his cross with fortitude and faith. Nothing the world may put upon him can crush this mighty man. His strength has grown with the burdens he has borne.

Even Jesus, we are told, was touched with the bitterness of despair when from the depths of his tortured being was torn that anguished cry, "My God! why hast thou forsaken me?" Debs knows no despair, nor ever feels forsaken. His is a divine hope, a fearless faith and a deathless courage. His feet find the pathway of the lowly, while he keeps his eyes forever on the heights.

Debs is truly a Man with a Message. He is an Embodied Sentiment, an Incarnate Ideal. He is the Messiah of the Masses, the Prophet of the Proletariat, the Industrial Immanuel.

He does not need to preach in words. His daily life is a silent sermon. His every action proclaims the gospel of human goodness.

He is the friend of all, the enemy of none. To his understanding, which sounds the ultimate depths of human sympathy, enmity is the greatest of all evils. To those who mistreat him he gives more than to any others. To all the world he gives great love—and great pity; but to those who spitefully use him he gives his pity in greater measure.

Love is the key-stone and corner-stone of his character. Love is the impelling influence of his life, the dominating motive of his

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RYAN WALKER'S CONCEPTION OF THE DEBS MILITANT.

every deed, for he knows with Paul that "love is the fulfilling of the law." But his highest love is for the lowly, like One other of whom it was said, "The common people heard him gladly."

It is this lofty love stooping always to the prostrate that makes Debs the leaven of the Social Uplift.

Yet he belongs exclusively to no class. He gives himself more to the proletariat only because its need is greater.

To the toilers he is a Voice, proclaiming their wrongs and demanding their rights.



Debs is more than a personality—he is a duality. In him are embodied in disunited combination the two dominating dynamic forces of human creation—love and wrath.

Wrath is not hate. Debs' heart is so filled with love that it has no room for hate. Wrath is the emotional expression of righteous protest. The wrath of Debs is the wrath of Him who scourged the money-changers from the temple.

On one hand is the Debs of benevolence, as portrayed by Comrade Scholl. On the other hand is the Debs militant—the personified protest. The Debs of Ryan Walker's conception in active and unceasing protest against the black brutality of capitalistic conditions.

Debs is a warrior. While it may be true that "blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," he knows that they never can come into their birthright until they cease to be meek and become militant. It is a fact in human history that the disinherited never have gotten anything without fighting for it.

Arrayed in the Milan mail of intellectuality, Debs fares him forth to break as brave a lance as ever was leveled against the armor of authorized wrong.

That he joys in the joust is witnessed by his own words lately sent from the field: "The smoke of battle in the struggle for Emancipation is incense to my nostrils."

I like best the Debs of the hospitable heart.

Other warriors there be, vast of valor; but history records none other since Jesus who has sought (and with success) to conquer the world by love.



Debs realizes that under the present social system the great mass of mankind do not really live—they are only killing time.

He would transform this industrial Inferno into an economic Eden.

He would cast the devil of Capitalism into the bottomless pit and usher in the Social Millenium.

In his working methods we find a fine combination of the ideal and the utile. He never is forgetful of the fact that his social

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prototype, the Peasant of Palestine, "fed the multitude." He remembers also the divine adjuration, "Love ye one another"—and sets the example. And so he would teach the practice and practice the teachings of Jesus the Socialist until the land is filled with love and plenty, until in all this wide world there is never an empty stomach or a hungry heart.

XIV.

A PERSONIFIED PURPOSE.

In joys, in griefs, in triumphs, in defeat,
Great always, without aiming to be great.

—Roscommon.

PROXIMITY destroys proportion. Only the perspective of the years can fix the true dimensions of a world-figure. Debs in the foreground of events, bulks too big for contemporary calculation. The extent of his purpose exceeds accustomed limits.

He towers above the human levels, a very Matterhorn of a man.

In the popular affection his altitude is not less.

His glory resides not in the greatness of his renown but in the greatness of his deeds.

"These are they
Deserve their greatness and unenvied stand,
Since what they act transcends what they command."

It is a singular fact of Debs' career that, though placed on a pedestal, he never seeks prominence; every honor that has found him has come unsought.

He would not wish to be called a "leader." Leadership implies personal ambition. Debs walks *beside* his comrades. He desires no followers—he would have each of his fellows abreast of his own advancement.

Instead of seeking to gain power over the people, he would help them to acquire greater power for themselves.



It has sneeringly been said that Debs is a "perpetual candidate." It is true. And it is because he responds to a perpetual need. His ridiculers are amazingly unaware of the quality of their contempt. No greater glory can come to any man than that he be the perpetual hope of earth's despairing. And it is something that he should enjoy perpetually the completest confidence of all his comrades. There can be no higher testimony to the worth of a

man than that such candidacy should be a matter-of-course and that his nomination should be always by acclamation. This when it is spontaneous and unanimous, and not the result of selfish seeking and Machiavelian manipulation.

Yet Debs is a politician—a consummate politician. Elsewise, his usefulness would not be so large. Whoso is not a politician in any great movement is a blunderer and a marplot. Perhaps diplomat were the better word. Whoever is not this is an egregious egotist. In Debs' tactics there is nothing of intrigue. As in his character there is nothing complex and nothing obscure, so are his methods marked by simplicity and a crystalline candor. It is merely that he harmonizes instead of antagonizing. Instead of opposing, he guides and directs.



What others teach, Debs lives.

He is essentially a person of performance, a man who acts his thoughts, a fulfiller of good intentions; and so with Lowell he would say: "Every man feels instinctively that all the beautiful sentiments in the world weigh less than a single lovely action."



It has been the custom to embellish the names of the world's dominant characters with an appellative affix, as "Alexander the Great." Debs will go down in history as "Gene the Genuine." And whoso is genuine is most truly great.

Debs asks no more of Fame than that she vouchsafe him the love of his fellowmen—wise in the knowledge that love is the one thing immortal.

This man must rejoice the spirit of "rare Ben Jonson," who wrote—

His sweetness won a more regard
Unto his place, than all the boist'rous moods
That ignorant greatness practiseth.

All the wine of the world's applause does not warm the heart of Debs as does the hand-clasp of the humblest comrade.

"If I am asked," says Sir William Jones, "Who is the greatest man?" I answer, 'The best.' And if I am requested to say who is the best, I reply, 'He that has deserved most of his fellow-creatures.'"

Reckoned by this rule, none can gainsay either the greatness or the goodness of Debs.

I hold that Debs is quite as qualified as was Galahad for quest of the Holy Grail.

Truly "*sans peur et sans reproche*," he is the avatar of a vanished chivalry, the reincarnation of dead romance—the Bayard of the industrial battle. He is the cavalier of the Social Crusade,

the paladin of the Proletariat, the knightliest figure of the New Revolution.



Debs is not perfect. That which is perfect is complete. Debs keeps on growing. He does not live the perfect life. Whatever is perfect is finished, and Debs' life will not be finished until his mission shall have been fulfilled.

"Till in the far years he shall find
The country of his quest,
The empire of the open truth,
The vision of the best."

"Cæsar was the entire and perfect man," wrote Mommsen. But the world is better for Debs than for Cæsar.

Debs does not inspire awe; he inspires only love. His presence is marked by an humble dignity, a gentle majesty. And none fears him except that one whose hand is against humanity.

His heart echoes the invocation of Riley:

I pray not that
Men tremble at
My power of place
And lordly sway;
I only pray for simple grace
To look my neighbor in the face
Full honestly from day to day.

XV.

A CHAPLET OF AMARANTH.

Nothing can cover his high fame but heaven;
No pyramids set off his memories,
But the eternal substance of his greatness,—
To which I leave him.

—*Beaumont and Fletcher.*

"**M**EN may come and men may go"—but Debs is perennial. Other men mount to their zenith and descend to their nadir—Debs is perpetually meridional.

Debs does not diminish with time. Always does he expand and ascend. For the years do but add to his proportions and his altitude.

It were not amiss to paraphrase a current sporting sobriquet and name him "The Durable Debs."

He is an epical as well as an epochal figure—such a one as Homer might have sung or Plutarch described. His career furnishes fit theme for a modern Odyssey. Yet—

"The name that dwells on every tongue
No minstrel needs."

And he is writing his own history upon the tablets of Time.



Debs is universal. He is humanity's heritage. He is a product of the social pressure born of the ages of mankind's agony, the culmination of an evolutionary process. His existence is the embodied expression of human need—the apotheosis of amelioration.



Something has been said of Debs' weaknesses. It should be understood that these are not defects, but essential details of comprehensive character. They make for symmetry and completeness. They are as minor amplifications to massive architecture. Landor must have had the like of this in mind when he said, "Great men often have greater faults than little men can find room for."

Propriety [virtue] is a matter of proportion. Whatever is excessive is evil. Righteousness consists of counterpoise. Montesquieu expressed only an elementary philosophic truth when he wrote, "Virtue itself has need of limits."

The words "faults" and "weaknesses" as herein have been used are merely terms of convenience to express that supreme human quality for which language lacks the true equivalent.

It has ever been that to become genuinely helpful the gods have found it necessary to assume human form and human attributes, with their consequent frailties. The immortal Jove descended from Olympus for the delights of a mortal love. Had not Jesus betrayed the human weaknesses of doubt and despair and cried down from the cross, "My God! why hast thou forsaken me?"—a cry that like an anguished rhapsody has rung down the ages to re-echo in every human heart—it is doubtful that the Christian theology ever would have dominated the religious world.

Debs is the Social Savior. He is the vicarious victim of Society's sins, and his life is a continual crucifixion. He is so constituted that he feels every pang that tortures humanity. The woes of the world rest upon his heart as a mighty burden. His days alternate between Gethsemane and Golgotha.



"Let only good be said of the dead" is the charitably dishonest adjuration. But Debs is one of whom only good can truthfully be said while living.

He is one man whose obituary could safely be written before his death—his subsequent life would not disprove it. And so at the close of this appreciation I shall say in the words of Samuel Ward:

Yet deem not that my heart retracts
The praise ne'er meant to dim the eye
Of one whose future words and acts
Shall verify his Eulogy.

The world places the laurel of love upon his living brow, nor waits to twine the bay with cypress.

Debs doesn't need a monument. He can leave monuments to those who need them—his memory is sure of perpetuation.

His fame is written in letters of love on the hearts of his fellowmen.

When in Time's transmutations he shall have been translated from earth's activities, we may fitly paraphrase a famous utterance and say, "Debs has gone to heaven to relieve Lincoln of his eternal loneliness."

And, his memory embalmed in the Westminster of the world, upon the stone that shall mark the depository of his dust should be chiseled this epitaph, the prescient words of the immortal Homer, fitly enduring as our comrade's fame:

"HE WAS A FRIEND TO MAN"

"Why should my song not be of those
 Who, living still, can hear its praise;
 Why bring a pale, belated rose
 For folded hands in after days?"

THE UNIVERSAL FRIEND.

Life hath no sweeter solace than
 The ministrations of this man—
 As marvelous as ancient myth—
 This gentle giant coming with
 High thoughts as pure as children's prayers,
 That oft caress us unawares.
 To hearts within the grasp of grief
 His tender touch brings sure relief;
 The sympathy within his grip
 Expresses perfect comradeship
 That's measured not in meagre dole
 But saturates the thirsty soul
 And warms it like an olden wine
 Filched from some vintage superfine.
 In his large love, he is a friend
 On whom all mankind may depend.
 From out the night of human need
 We make him hail and give him heed,
 For fear our mourning souls should miss
 His words as kind as any kiss.
 All our despairs we bid "Begone!"
 And hug a darling hope, as on
 A tide of love that never ebbs
 We come to clasp the hand of Debs.

WALTER HURT.

"MORNIN', 'GENE!"

When a chap has lost his grip,
 An' Fate has 'im on the hip,
 Er he's trekked the trails o' sin
 Till his feet are tangled in
 Tribbelation's toughest webs,
 What he needs is Eugene Debs
 To reorganize 'im, fer
 'Gene's the champyin comferter.
 At sich times, ef he should meet
 Debs a-comin' down the street,
 Then the clouds o' trouble roll
 Frum his overshaddered soul,
 An' the skies are all serene
 As he murmurs, "Mornin', 'Gene!"

As a doctor fer our grief,
 'Gene is prompt to give relief.
 An' he allus, when a pore
 Feller's spirit's worn an' sore,
 Diagnoses double-quick
 That his heart is shorely sick;
 An' he has the kindest way,
 While the things that he will say
 Are the gentlest ever heard,
 An' ther's healin' in each word
 As it hits the ailin' place
 Like a dose o' savin' grace,
 Till yer pain's fergotten clean
 An' ye holler, "Mornin', 'Gene!"

When yer lips fergit to smile,
 'Gene kin fully rickoncile
 Feelin's that are torture-tost;
 All yer sorrers then are lost
 In the grasp o' that great hand
 Whose impulse we understand,
 Reached frum love's unfathomed pit—
 An' the uttermost of it.
 Fer his greetin's plant perfume
 Till a garden seems to bloom
 In Life's desert of despair,
 Spreadin' sweetness ever'where,
 An' we glimpse oases green
 While we answer, "Mornin', 'Gene!"

In the hearts of other men
 It is *allus* mornin' when
 Debs kin cheer 'em on their way
 With a lovin' hand, an' lay
 All his hopes before their feet
 Like a path o' promise, sweet
 With the flowers o' faith an' strength
 Blossomin' along its length,
 Though the journey leads 'em soon
 To Life's fadin' afternoon.
 An' I hope at heaven's gate,
 Should I reach it ruther late,
 As I peep the bars between,
 Thus to greet 'im, "Mornin', 'Gene!"

WALTER HURT.

"CORROBORATIVE TESTIMONY."

God was feeling mighty good when he made 'Gene Debs and he didn't have anything else to do all day.—*James Whitcomb Riley.*



If Debs were a priest the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile of his would soften the hardest heart.—*Eugene Field.*



An' there's 'Gene Debs, a man 'at stands
An' jes' holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here an' the Judgment Seat.
—*James Whitcomb Riley.*



Among all the speakers I have ever heard there has not been one who came nearer to my idea of Abraham Lincoln than Eugene Debs.—*Rev. F. De Witt Talmage.*



When Debs speaks a harsh word it is wet with tears.—*Horace Traubel, Walt Whitman's Literary Executor.*



He is endowed with the most precious faculty to which one can aspire—the gift of language; and he uses it for the proclamation of the most beautiful thoughts. His beautiful language is that of an apostle.—*Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, Sculptor.*



The same old pard of the long ago,
The whole-souled 'Gene that I used to know;
With the love of Truth writ on Justice' scroll,
With a woman's heart and a warrior's soul.
—*Capt. Jack Crawford, the "Poet-Scout."*



Eugene V. Debs is a great man. With a few more such to teach and organize the people the cause of justice must prevail.—*Alfred Russell Wallace, Scientist.*



Never saw I another man so loved. Never saw I another man whose every word was seized by his auditors as a kiss from a sweetheart returned from exile.—*T. Alexander Cairns.*



The strength of his faith, the liveliness of his hopes, the persistency of his valor, the breadth of his thought and the energy of his genius fill me with admiration.—*John Swinton, Author and Journalist.*

EUGENE V. DEBS: AN ESTIMATE.

BY WALTER HURT.

[The following article from *The Culturist* was written before the author had met Debs or become a Socialist. In reprinting it in the *Appeal to Reason*, Fred D. Warren said: "I have read many fine tributes to the sterling worth of Debs, but I honestly believe this one stands at the head."]

Whoever is sincere and is misunderstood, that one finds a sure friend in *The Culturist*.

Wherefore, without reference to his economic doctrines, do I present Eugene Victor Debs to the world as he seems to me.

No man has been more misrepresented and maligned by the plutocratic press. And for this the organs of plutocracy should not be blamed. It is fit that the capitalistic element should be quite as class-conscious as is the Socialist. Under the capitalistic system self-interest is essential to survival. Nor should we blame the masses he seeks to serve for their blindness in believing these untruths about Debs. Ignorance is not a crime; it is a calamity. But to those of intelligent thought this abuse of Debs from such a source is his best credential—his certificate of character—the badge of his sincerity. It is illogical that any should knowingly oppose their friends, and whoever is the foe of capitalism is inevitably the friend of those who suffer from the system.

Despite the splendid following Debs has so speedily marshaled under his magnetic leadership, millions of wage-slaves through their own crass ignorance still misunderstand the man and misinterpret his teachings. Snarling like beasts beneath the master's lash that is driving them to further depths of degradation, they yet strike at the hand that is stretched forth to save them.

I never think upon Debs but that I am reminded of the admirable dedication given his book, "Cleveland Before St. Peter," by my friend Peter Witt, the stormy petrel of political reform and the most picturesque agitator this country has produced. This dedication runs, "To all who have labored, in season and out, to readjust the existing order of social inequality, to expose official corruption, and bring to a close the political depravity of the day; whose only reward has been the blacklist of the criminal rich and the distrust of the ignorant poor," etc.

Debs is not a later Danton appealing to the passions of the unlettered mob. He is the prophet of an intellectual Progress. He attracts to himself the thinker, the scholar, the man of superior mind. An eminent literary man recently wrote to me regarding Debs: "He is a poet, a philosopher and a statesman. His word is as good as gold, and his heart is better than gold."

Debs is one labor leader who unquestionably is uncorrupted. Possibly the others also are uncorrupted. Let us hope so.

But we are *sure* of Debs.

The money-kings sit at the banquet board with these others, while they send Debs to jail.

Yes, we are SURE of Debs.

It is not customary for the money power to imprison its friends and dine those inimical to its interests.

So, again, we are SURE of Debs.

As for the others, render your verdict according to the evidence, like good men and true.

That Debs owns an integrity none dares attempt to impeach is due to no lack of lucrative opportunity, you may be sure. It is always cheaper to buy than to fight.

Debs is forever a fighting man.

Trial by gold is more severe than trial by fire, and whoso has stood the test and withstood the temptation is ever thereafter safe. No subsequent ordeal can scathe him.

Politics does not form a man's character, but frequently his character determines his politics. Debs is not honest because he is a Socialist; he is a Socialist because he is honest.

To say of a man that he is Napoleonic, is trite. To say it of Debs only is it true. Not alone by his great organizing and executive genius is this comparison justified, for none since the conquering Corsican has been able to find such sure victory in defeat; none other has been so able to attach men to himself and inspire them with such confidence in his leadership. Returning from the Elba of Woodstock jail, after a defeat that would have destroyed most men, he rallied beneath his banner a larger and more faithful following than ever before, and to-day is the most potent factor with which the dominant political party must reckon.

Eugene VICTOR Debs!—the spirit of prophecy must have presided at his christening, for at the head of a mighty army of Social Revolutionists he is marching on to an inevitable victory.

The masses, weary of the wilderness and longing for a glimpse of the industrial Canaan, are looking toward a leader—are looking to Debs for deliverance—Debs the Magnetic, Debs the Magnificent.

HAVE ANOTHER ?

Of course you want more than one copy of this book. You will wish to keep one for yourself, and you know at least one other person who ought to have it. Also you should have a copy to circulate—to keep at work—until everybody of your acquaintance comes to know Debs as he is.

Whenever you hear Debs misrepresented or maligned, the best answer you can make is to hand the speaker "An Introduction."

Debs has so long been traduced by the capitalist press that it is high time he should be shown to the world in a true light.

Remember that DEBS represents SOCIALISM in the public mind, and according to its estimate of the man does the public judge our movement. This book will remove prejudice, engender interest, and make converts. It is the finest possible primary propaganda material, for it prepares the mind for economic literature.

See to it that before another presidential campaign all your neighbors know what your candidate is like. Then they'll vote for him.

Get the book and **get it busy.**

Price, 15 cents; two for 25 cents; ten for \$1.00 (no stamps).

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A PICTURE OF DEBS.

The finest likeness and the only really high-class portrait of the Saul of Socialism ever made. It is something superb—the extreme of elegance, the quintessence of quality. The drawing is a magnificent masterpiece—individual, distinctive, speaking—and every detail of the mechanical execution is done in a style befitting so noble an art production. Read what Debs himself says about it:

"This is the best portrait of myself that has ever been made. It has life and force and personality. It is all that could be desired in faithful portraiture—the very genius of delineation."

This drawing has all the fidelity of a photograph, while possessing the artistic qualities which the limitations of photography preclude. It is fit to grace any parlor or library wall, and should be in the home of every comrade. Just the thing for Local headquarters. Beautifully printed on heavy pebbled lithograph paper and handsomely mounted. Size, 11 x 14 inches. Price, prepaid, 25 cents; five for \$1.00.

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FREE LAND.

JOHN R. ROGERS

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"Whilst another man has no land my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated"—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

IMMEDIATELY adjoining the little city in which I live lies a comparatively small Indian reservation consisting of a few thousands of acres of valuable land. On this land, nine-tenths of which is uncultivated and untouched by the hand of man, some four or five hundred very peaceable and contented Indians pursue the daily round of life. Each family has its cabin, its little field and its domestic animals, in greater or smaller supply, as measured by its industry and application, for all are the product of the unaided labor of the In-

dians themselves. The land is held in severalty by the different families and males over 21 years of age are allowed to vote.

By a convenient fiction the land is held as belonging to the United States and so escapes taxation. This secures a free home to every member of the tribe, for if subject to the heavy taxation prevalent here-about the sheriff would dispossess them all. Although the tribe has sold and is selling, through the U. S. authorities, some of its surplus lands, a family homestead, I understand, is reserved which can not be alienated. Each family is thus in possession of a sufficient portion of the earth's surface for self support, made free and inalienable. Aside from their labor they have no other means of support.

The results of these natural conditions are not far to seek. They are patent to all who care to observe. Although these people are not high in the intellectual

scale they are reasonably good citizens; crime has scarcely an existence among them and being in full and free possession of what the Creator, without question, intended as the birthright of every son and daughter of Adam they are measurably free; an inalienable home upon the soil has made them so. They are free, too, from care; the future has no terrors for them and their children have only to till the soil, as their parents now do to some extent, to be assured of support. A good school is maintained and two little churches gather in the religiously inclined; in short these people are in the possession of one of the great natural rights of man, the right to a home upon the soil; a right with which nature or the Creator, has endowed each and every child born into the world, yet now by our laws largely denied to white citizens.

It would appear that white heads of families should be at least as well provided for as are Indians. If a hundred

Anglo-Saxon families were possessed of like privileges and facilities the situation would be materially changed and many improvements made; neat cottages and vine-clad bowers would abound for the conditions present would make possible the existence of an ideal community. A public library and lecture hall, the example of the industrious and the studious and the refining influences that come with advancing knowledge would as surely raise the standard among white men as possession and security have raised it among the simple and unintelligent aborigines.

On the other side and also immediately adjoining the reservation lies a city of some 50,000 inhabitants. Some few of these are rich but many are poor. Perhaps it is not too much to say that a majority of the people living in this city would be glad to exchange places with the Indians. They see them upon their streets daily, scarcely any are so poor as

to be deprived of horses and conveyances of one kind and another, and while much in their personal appearance is capable of improvement their demeanor is quiet and modest and the advantages they enjoy are apparent to all and enviable to most, and especially so to those who are subject to the modern fearful struggle for bread.

It has been frequently and rather flippantly said by many that "the lower classes" do not desire land and would not avail themselves of a home in the country, even if the opportunity were afforded them, but this is a mistake in the main. It is true that the average farmer is at present disgusted with his opportunities, subjected as he is to present unjust conditions, but that the human family is ever hungry for a free home upon the soil is proved by the scenes enacted at the opening of every Indian reservation to white settlement. Indeed, scarcely any incident of late

years has so tragically shown the deprivation of man as the opening of Oklahoma and the Cherokee "strip," when thousands stood in line and at the crack of a pistol rushed forward hoping to obtain that which it was clearly the intention of Providence to freely provide for all.

And yet in spite of the plain lessons of past and present time men are so blinded to their own interests and that of those committed to their care that they fail to note, or even to know, that they are deprived of a natural and God-given right.

Not long since, in the city just referred to, a steady and industrious workingman who had succeeded by the most unremitting toil in bringing up a family to that time when the older children were anxiously and vainly seeking an opportunity to begin for themselves the work of life, said to me: "Rights! why I already have all the rights I want; what

other right should I have which I do not now possess?"

Poor man, he had been so closely employed, his mind so heavily taxed by the necessities of his position that he did not know that he was deprived of that most important and most inalienable right of man; the right to the soil. He did not stop to think that even though he himself might not wish to apply his labor to land if the unemployed laborers in his own line were able to do this that the certain and absolutely inevitable result would be the raising of the rate of wages received by himself and that free access to land benefits not only the laborer upon the land but the city mechanic as well.

For if only the unemployed are in this way disposed of and made into wealth producers and wealth consumers business of every legitimate kind would at once mount to the sky line. Expenditure and demand are thus increased and

prices legitimately rise. For the moment, too, he had forgotten that the unnatural and dependent position which he occupied as a laborer for hire was also a most hazardous and precarious one. If at any time he had failed to be able to work, his family would necessarily have suffered and if this condition had become permanent his carefully reared and intelligent children would have been an impossibility. He did not stop to think that the reason of the comparative freedom and prosperity of the people of these states in the past has been the fact that land has been measurably free; and now that his children are vainly looking for an opening in life this man did not know that the reason why they could not find a place in the world was simply because land is being gathered into fewer and still fewer hands. Having never thought on this subject he denied the possibility of such a cause and such an effect. His boys did not want land; why then should

the question of land trouble them? And yet he had some educational advantages; he went regularly to church and probably believed all the preacher told him about affairs "way down in Judee"—to the exclusion of much of interest vastly nearer at home.

The United States homestead law has in the past provided many families with substantially the same conditions now prevailing upon the Indian reservation referred to. For a possible seven years people have been able to occupy free homes upon the soil; they were not taxed and the homes thus gained could not be taken for debt. The effect of this law has been good and good, too, entirely unconnected with evil. Why not, then, perpetuate it and enlarge its scope? If results are good why confine them to seven years of occupancy and use? Why not extend the time from seven years to that of the life of the individual benefited? And by another change in the

laws why not give every family an opportunity to avail itself of the advantages of a free home? Why not protect man's natural right to the soil by exempting from all taxation a home of moderate valuation to every family and prohibit its sale for debt? It can be done and this great and most righteous reform effected so that in due time none need be without a home; done, too, without injury or injustice to any man's person or property. In this way the labor question can be settled by allowing each laborer to settle his own question for himself, by gradually and finally giving him an opportunity to employ himself upon his own ground. He is then master of the situation and can accept employment from others—or refuse it. With him, then, there is no "labor question."

It is true that free lands available for settlement in the United States are now practically exhausted, but the individual right of man to the soil remains. Gov-

ernment has no rights save and except those delegated to it by the citizen, as expressly stated in our national and state constitutions. No man has delegated his right to the soil; it is inherent in each individual citizen, inalienable, imprescriptable and indestructible. That right must be asserted and maintained. The Puyallup Indian on his reservation and the "homesteader" on his "claim" have been prosperous and happy in the past, not because government has done anything for them but simply because it has taken its heavy hand from off their heads and allowed them to keep the gift God has given to all. Government gave them no land! It had none to give.

Man's right remains. Let him assert it, carefully, prudently, with proper regard to the acquired rights of present possessors and yet with sufficient firmness to obtain his own. Secure to every man his natural right to apply labor to land without the payment of tribute to any

man or "community." and all well be well. If men do not wish to apply labor to land they cannot then tax those who do. Land used for public or business purposes, involving the public, may properly enough be taxed by the public. Two "rights" here plainly appear: The individual right of man and the public right of society. Let us freely admit them both, adopt as our maxim: PUBLIC THINGS TO THE PUBLIC; PRIVATE AFFAIRS TO THE INDIVIDUAL, and press forward to their unqualified endorsement in statute law.

"I would not only see homes free from attachment for debt, but free from taxation also."—Robert G. Ingersoll.

The following constitutional amendment is offered as a means of securing both these rights gradually and with due regard for present titles. Any state can adopt it, and enforce its provisions. Properly it is a matter for the state and not the national government to consider.

Section 1.—Real estate, or land and all usual improvements, to the value of a sum not to exceed two thousand five hundred dollars (\$2500) held, used and occupied in good faith as a homestead by any usual and private family the head of which family shall be a citizen of the United States and the state of —, is hereby forever exempted from all taxation of every kind and character in this state. Provided, that all lands and natural opportunities used or needed for public use or business, as certain limited and restricted areas in towns and cities, all mines, forests, waterfalls, or other natural opportunities not available for cultivation or as dwelling places be and the same are hereby expressly exempted from the provisions of this article.

Sec. 2.—The right of every family described in Section One of this article to the exclusive possession of a homestead, held, used and occupied as described in said Section One, and valued at a sum not exceeding two thousand five hundred dollars (\$2500) shall not be abridged or denied by reason of any contract, agreement, mortgage or other instrument or promise whatsoever, verbal or written, made or executed by the possessors of said homestead after this article shall have been adopted in proper form by the people of this state.

Sec. 3.—The legislature shall have power to enact all laws necessary to carry into effect the due intent and meaning of the provisions of this article.

The passage of this amendment would in time restore to the people of a state the birthright of which man has been defrauded. This is the cause of that fright-

ful poverty which makes a torture-house of the world. This is that impious shame which a decaying Christianity makes no effort to remove. Remove this damning blot and man will be free.

In the first century of the Christian era the philosopher Seneca was the instructor of the youthful Nero. Afterward this devil's whelp had the good man murdered. But Seneca knew the cause of the misery of man, for he wrote as follows:

"While nature lay in common and all the benefits promiscuously enjoyed what could be happier than the state of mankind, when people lived without avarice or envy. What could be richer than when there was not a poor man to be found in the world. So soon as this impartial bounty of Providence came to be restrained by covetousness, so soon as individuals appropriated to themselves that which was intended for all, then did poverty creep into the world."

The enactment into law of the provisions of this amendment will restore to man this blessing of God. And it will do it gradually and without injustice to

any. And, further, it will prevent that fatal clash of the classes otherwise inevitable. It will prevent it because it will restore that of which men are now defrauded. It is a simple act of justice.

All objections to the plan here set forth can be readily met. Schools should be supported by state taxation. County government should be abolished or reduced to the merest skeleton of what it now is. Township and municipal government can attend to local affairs; let the state be called in where necessary. Adopt the Initiative and Referendum and country people can govern themselves as their grandfathers did, almost without cost. In no state would the amount exempted by the provisions of this amendment exceed ten per cent. of the total valuation. In most states it would be much less.

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up to date

As seen by a Minnesota Farmer,
together with an account of
the world's most horrible atrocities.

By L. A. COBLENTZ

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115

KIND READER:

I send you this booklet, Russia up to date. If this is a sample copy and after reading it, you think it worth it, you may send me a dime (silver) or better still, if you wish to aid in its circulation, send \$1 and I will mail eleven copies of the booklet. If this copy has already been paid for I will deliver twelve copies for \$1.

I wrote this to appeal to farmers, but farm papers will not advertise it. Economically and politically capitalism controls the policies of the farm papers. They aim to mislead the farmer, work upon his prejudices, in order to use him as a tool to aid them in the exploitation of all workers, including the farmer.

*If not interested, please pass it on and forget it.
Respectfully yours,*

L. A. COBLENTZ

RUSSIA UP TO DATE

By L. A. Coblentz

To write about Russia and tell the truth will not please everybody. I am not an advanced scholar but belong to the agricultural class and will aim to tell the truth in language that a farmer can understand.

To begin with I affirm that I can do better right here in the United States than in Russia. Before I finish this booklet I will explain just why the United States is a much better place for me.

I do not see any excuse for putting out a propaganda of lies about Russia. The truth is bad enough. So when it is asserted that they nationalized women and took the children away from their mothers we must recognize this statement as coming from the same source as the war propoganda which was put out by big business and bankers for the purpose of getting the United States into the World War.

You surely have not forgotten how the Germans cut off the little fingers of the Belgian babies and the hands and bosoms of maidens. We now know it was all lies, lies. But to be popular at that time at least three-fourths of us Americans were repeating them. Why are lies circulated about Russia? I will tell you later.

Russia is one-sixth of the earth's surface, reaching from near the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and much farther south in Asia, including Turkistan. Russia contains now 180,000,000 people. To begin with we must admit that the Russians are human beings just like we are, with the same physique, the same instincts and the same intellectual capacity. They now think they are accomplishing wonderful things for the betterment of humanity. We do not seem to think so but they are just as sincere as we

are. They have been suppressed for ages. Under the Czar they were purposely kept illiterate and in poverty. Roughly 160,000,000 people were at the mercy of the 2,000,000 owning class. This class owned all the land and productive property. Kolchak's possessions alone exceeded the size of the state of California. I have read several books by Tolstoy which gave me a good idea of the poverty of the peasant and working class. At Seattle I attended some lectures delivered by Professor Beach of the Washington University. He had spent several months in Russia. This was a few years before the World War. I remember his statement that the average yearly income of a Russian peasant was about thirty-six dollars. Millions of grown people had never had on a pair of shoes.

I went to Russia with a group sponsored by the Bureau of University Travel and directed by Dr. Jerome Davis, President of the American Federation of Teachers. Dr. Davis was an ideal leader for a tourist crowd in Russia for during the World War he was appointed by President Wilson as head of the Y. M. C. A. in Russia and he remained there during a part of the revolution. As he speaks Russian, he can talk and ask questions of anyone he meets there.

In our crowd were librarians, university students, professors, teachers of both sexes and one clod hopper: that was I. At first I inclined towards an inferiority complex, but I overcame it by running a bluff. I told them that I believed that I was the only really educated person in the crowd. True, I would admit their book larnin' but my education was far superior, for I knew how to care for and milk cows, knew the care required for poultry and had produced car loads of apples in the Ozarks of Arkansas; car loads of berries in the state of Washington and now was annually producing car loads of honey in Minnesota. I told them that I did not want them to feel their inferiority while in my presence and that I'd treat them as though they knew as much as I did. The bluff worked with all but one, who was a real capitalist. He was a Harvard law student. I well know it is hard for everyone to see alike on the subject of Russia and the Harvard law student, who had always eaten from a silver spoon and was the only heir of a banker father and a very wealthy grandmother, could see little good in anything Russian.

One lady thought it would have been better to have left the peasants and workers in poverty and ignorance under the Czar than to have educated them even though they did get more food and better living conditions for now, the lady said, they were being taught atheism and would go to Hell when they died, while if kept in ignorance under the Czar they would be sure of Heaven.

We all more or less see things through our wishes, hopes or fears. Being a farmer I was more interested in their agricultural program and their prospects for food. I knew enough about Russia to know that for centuries famines had been common in Russia and that millions have died there from starvation.

The methods of farming under the Czar were quite primitive. Soil was landlord-owned and farmed by the peasants in strips. Now the twenty-odd million strips have been united into two hundred thousand large state and collective farms, but mostly collective farms. In the early days the peasants used very primitive implements for farming, often they had nothing but sharp sticks. Now the farming is done with the very best, up-to-date machinery. In one year the Soviet tractor plant turned out 150,000 up-to-date tractors. In the Ukraine alone this year more than 90,000 tractors were used. You should notice that the Ukraine is that part of the Soviet Union that Hitler wants. In 1936 that part of the Republic was supplied with 60,000 new combines. The crops and yields have increased right along, even in 1936 there were seventy million acres more wheat sown than in 1913. I never before saw such wonderful fields of wheat and rye. So different, we were told, from crops produced under the Czar's rule. Thousands of trained agronomists have been sent to the farming sections to improve the crop production. We were told that the chemical plants were supplying the farms with millions of tons of fertilizer.

I had read of the great fight the peasants made in opposition to collectivization, but they seemed a happy bunch now. One of the aviation engineers from the United States told us that he considered that the collective farmers were about the best satisfied people in Russia. We visited a collective farm at Kharkov of 3600 acres, of which there were 800 acres in fruit. The crops were immense. I was

told that the wheat yield was thirty bushels to the acre and I could not doubt it. At this collective farm the younger children were at kindergarten, forty-eight of them about five to nine years of age, and they seemed a happy and healthy lot of children. Nurses told us that most of them went home to their parents at night but a few who lived too far away remained all night. These children were fed five times a day and were healthy and happy. They were required to sleep a couple of hours each day.

I could not help but feel how happy the sharecroppers of the South would be if they could enjoy the opportunities of these collective farmers. But for me I like America the best.

AN ATROCITY

There have been many atrocities not only in Russia but in many places. The atrocity that I will tell you about occurred at St. Petersburg, now called Leningrad, in 1905. You know I told you what poverty the peasants of Russia were in under the Czar. Well, many of these peasants assembled on a large square before the Winter Palace where the Czar lived. They begged the Czar for more of what they produced. These men, women and children were ordered off the square, but still they knelt, pleading. These peasants were to be taught a lesson. The soldiers were ordered to fire on them. They did. From fifteen hundred to two thousand men, women and children were left dead before the Czar's palace. Snow was on the ground and the blood of the slain colored the beautiful snow.

The press of all countries did not have much to say about this atrocity because it was only the poor peasants, their wives and children who were murdered. I have noticed that a big howl goes up when some of the poor kill or kidnap one of the rich, but they can kidnap and murder poor men, as was done at Tampa, Florida, and even though it is known who did it, the parties can come clear as they did at Tampa. Those roughneck policemen of Tampa were only doing what the higher-ups in Tampa had gotten them to do. Many people say this murder would never have taken place if the mayor, city council and chamber of commerce had not encouraged it. One of

the working class of Tampa said to me that of course they had it done. So this was an American atrocity. It leaves a bad taste in the mouth.

Back to farming in Russia. I could go into detail and tell you how many hogs, sheep, horses, tractors there are on these collective farms but I will say that they have plenty on each farm. Some of these farms sell collectively and divide the money. On a farm near Kharkov, a city of 800,000, it is easy for the workers to divide what they produce among themselves and individually sell their part. They are allowed teams or trucks to haul it to market. Where there are no large privately owned farms these collective farms, many of them forty to fifty thousand acres are deeded over by the Russian government to the people. Thirty per cent of the crop goes to the government, which sells machinery to the farms on time. Most of this machinery, I am told, is paid for by the second year and often the first. This provides a wonderful income for the government and the farmers have no other rent or taxes to pay.

A part of our crowd went to a collective farm near Dnieper Dam, where a great industrial city has been built. A woman had charge of cattle breeding. Women seem to have a kind of monopoly on animal husbandry. At this collective farm the government was allowing a peasant an acre of land for his private use upon which he can build a house. The government does this all over Russia. I am told that the houses are built in a uniform way, consisting of about five rooms, including bath and kitchen. Many of these peasants pay for their house the first or second year and have a home of their own on which they do not have to pay rent and can have their own poultry, pigs and a garden. All of which gives them a feeling of independence. At this collective farm the peasants divided their crop and sold it individually. They were able to do this because they were near a large industrial city.

We also investigated a collective farm down in the Crimea, where miles and miles of fruit is raised by irrigation. Here the method of disposing of the crops is collective and the money is divided in proportion to the amount of work done.

I do not think that the people of Russia will ever again want for food. Socialized farming with the best up-to-date machinery and up-to-date methods has solved their food problems. What a time the Bolsheviks had in forcing this change upon the peasants! The wreckers and priests in Russia told the women that under the collective farm their babies and children would be taken away from them. Did they believe it? We are supposed to be educated in America and what did we believe about the war propaganda put out by Morgan and his tools! A great many of the kulaks had to be shot, but I can see why it had to be done.

INDUSTRY

It is in industry that Soviet Russia has made her greatest accomplishment. Under the Czar Russia was fifteenth in production and now she has forged ahead until she stands second. Only the United States surpasses Russia in production. As I write about industry it might be well to explain some points that lead to erroneous opinions in regard to Russia. Remember that about ninety-nine per cent of our daily press and magazines live by the profits of advertising and it is the big industrialists that advertise. The trusts and monopolies which are under the control of finance capitalism are all in favor of the profit system and desire above everything else the destruction of socialism in Russia. While I prefer America as a place to live in preference to Russia, yet I know that vested interest greed and, in fact, all who live from the profits taken from the toil of others would like to see the present Russian government destroyed and the people put back under their former slavery. These big fellows know only too well that if the Russian system is permitted to continue it will be only a few years until every worker in Russia will be better secured in the necessities and the comforts of life and with a much better chance for education and leisure than can be enjoyed by the workers of any capitalistic country, so they do not want Russia to be allowed this development. What our people read is published by these enemies of the Soviet system. Do you blame them? Just remember that advertising in America now amounts to about one hundred dollars a

year for every family that lives in America. There is billboard, electrical, radio; movies, daily press and magazine advertising. The daily press and magazines get most of it. We cannot blame them, for were we in their place we also would want to hold on to the graft. Thus we get most of our ideas from a prostitute press. Just consider the fact that there is no advertising in Russia. Do you wonder why? We do not advertise postage stamps, do we? This advertising in America positively controls the economic policy of the American press and is quite a tax upon our people.

Russia is now second place when it comes to manufacturing, as the United States is still in the lead. Present-day Russia outclasses the United States in several productions including tractors, combines and pig iron. She has done wonders in building up heavy industry, the making of locomotives, etc., but in light industry, such as textiles, shoes, etc., she is far behind. You must remember that Russia after the World War had but little industry and never had much before. Ninety per cent of her people were peasants. What industry they had after the war was of little use. After the World War came the Civil War, and counter-revolutionary groups which were assisted by such governments as the United States, Britain and France. These countries did their best to destroy the present Bolshevik government. You should read Walter Duranty's book, *I Write as I Please*. Everyone is working in Russia, a seven-hour day and a six-day week; five days to work and one day to rest. In some of the more dangerous industries like coal mining, a work day is only six hours.

I saw many thousands of workers, both sexes, going to and coming home from work. I saw them out on the streets after work and at their picnics and entertainments. They all looked well-fed and happy. At Leningrad the first night we were there a picnic was taking place in their great park. The crowd was estimated to be 300,000 people, all happy, walking arm in arm, laughing and singing. Dr. Davis said that under the Czar nothing of the kind was possible.

BUILDING PROGRAM

The building up of heavy industry came first. Just as it was necessary

for collectivized farming to produce food so it was necessary to develop heavy industry. However, great strides have been made in building and they have built many great apartment houses. But they are still short on homes for their people and it will be years before they will have sufficient housing. Remember, their population has increased twenty million since the revolution. I saw their new apartment houses built by the workers for the workers. Great apartment houses covering acres. We visited several, all built since 1932. They consist of three rooms, bath and kitchen. They are better than you can rent furnished in Florida for \$50 per month, but they are rented to the workers unfurnished at from \$3 to \$15 per month. The difference in price (all apartments being the same) is regulated by the income, people who get low wages paying the lower rent, those with higher wages paying the most. Wages vary in Russia. They have been trying to increase production. If a worker develops speed and can turn out twenty per cent more than the normal worker his wages are doubled. Their apartment houses are supplied with a library reading room for both adults and children, and kindergarten and playgrounds for children.

We drove past miles of these new apartments. In them, as you entered, was a sign, "We guarantee everybody work, pay and a vacation at full pay."

You see no starving children in Russia as you do among the sharecroppers of the South or the coal miners in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia. From the *Nation* just a day or two ago (this is September 20, 1938) I read where in both Cleveland and Detroit there were more than one out of four that were either working for the government on relief program or wanted to be on relief. At Flint, Michigan, one out of two was in that condition. In a city in Kansas of less than 20,000 children must be fed at school to keep them fit for study. That is the condition in America, with its mountains of food and good things! Friend, this is about the most horrible atrocity I know of. But I suppose you are now ready for an atrocity, a real Russian one.

An American advertising magazine printed an article on Russian

slavery. It seems that a railroad worker, an engineer I believe, had been transferred hundreds of miles away from his home to take charge of a new job. He was not asked if he wanted to go. The Russian government needed him at that point and he just had to go. Now was not that slavery! Horrid slavery! This happened a few years ago during the height of our unemployment in America. While all railroad workers of Russia had jobs, 500,000 railroad workers at that time in America were idle, could not get work. Now what the h--l do you call that? Was it prosperity? Our idle railroad workers would have been more than happy to go thousands of miles for employment. Well, the party who wrote that article was a millionaire by the name of McFadden, who had become a millionaire by publishing sex slush, such as *True Story*, *True Confessions*, etc., debauching our young people. These stories mostly start out in a way to arouse sex desire and it is positively this part of the stories that leads to their being read. The moral advice amounts to but little. Young people do not read them for the moral advice.

Well, I'm off industry in Russia. Neither McFadden nor William Randolph Hearst would like Russia. If they did as much damage to Russia as they have done to the United States they would be shot.

A BRITISH ATROCITY

I suppose you wanted a Russian atrocity. But atrocities have happened wherever the profit system exists. This British atrocity is taken from John Kenneth Turner's book, *Shall it be again?* The press of America, since we have become a vassal of Great Britain, is not strong on publishing British atrocities. At Bloemfontein, in South Africa, a monument was erected in memory of 26,663 women and children who died in British concentration camps in the two years of the Boer War, murdered by deliberate starvation in order to force the Boers to surrender.

Now as to industry again. Just one more word. At first the Russians tried communism. It did not work. Then they went to socialism, where everybody was paid, based on the quantity and quality of the

work, the more efficient receiving better wages. I was told, while in Russia, that the reason Hearst hates Russia so bitterly and his press has published so many lies about Russia is because he is afraid that Stalin will get Marion Davies away from him. He need not have fears on that line. Stalin would not look at her the second time. She is not his type, nor mine either. But so far any good writer who will write lies about Russia can get pay from Hearst. But Hearst is not alone. The advertising press of America is ready to publish the same. But if you tell the truth about their wonderful accomplishments in the welfare movement for all the workers of Russia, there is no pay market for it. The workers are getting more and more in control of their government. The little strip farmers fought the collective program, they did not own those strips, were only renting them of a wealthy landlord, but they feared they would be denied that privilege. Now they are the most happy of all the workers of Russia; and think of the wonderful income that goes to the government from farms (thirty per cent), old apartment houses and new ones, hotels, railroads, mines, timbers and everything. It gives the government a vast income, many billions of rubles—five rubles make a dollar. Many people want to find out what is done with this money. Well, they have developed machinery till now, as I tell you, they are only surpassed by the United States in production. They have built thousands of school houses and kindergartens, and Pioneer camps under the direction of competent nurses. Under the Czar seventy-five to eighty per cent of the Russians were illiterate. They can all read and write now and are so proud of it. They are printing more reading matter than any other country in the world. But we have one thing we should be very proud of, we have more millionaires than Russia. Come to think about it, Russia has no millionaires and never will have. For in Russia, when they build a factory or open up a mine, or an oil well, it belongs to the government and the workers own the government, working for themselves. It does not belong to the Morgan or Mellon class. And you can no more buy or privately own them than you can buy a post office here in the United States. Even that young son of a Syracuse banker and Harvard law student thought

there was no incentive in Russia. From his standpoint there was not and he thought it not good to educate the workers, said it made them discontented, gave them desires they could not gratify. Sure, there is some truth in what he said. All vested interests will agree with him on that point. Well, I really wonder how many workers and dirt farmers send their children through a university. But here the real workers are developing an incentive and the best opportunity in the world of giving their children the higher education. 550,000 are now taking it at government expense, more than in the United States, and again that accounts for where some of the government money goes. But about education I will have more to say later.

The Russian workers are a happy lot, looking forward to a bright future. No Morgans, Fords, Mellons, DuPonts are piling up millions of rubles from their toil.

Is this plan un-Christian? If so, why?

See the great factories built at Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, Saratov, Kazan, Knibishev, Rostov-on-Don, Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk, near Dneiper Dam, at which is located the largest power plant in all of Europe. The Stalin tractor plant, which is now the largest tractor plant in the world, turned out 150,000 tractors in 1936, and production is still increasing. These great factories and industrial centers speak of the success of Russia under socialism, and they are not owned by a Ford or DuPont. More and more great cities are being built on bleak prairies and in the rugged Urals and Siberia. Now the people of Russia today well know that they are surrounded by enemies. Under the Czar the capitalists of Britain, France and the United States could get concessions from the Russian government, by which they could make great profits by working virtually slave labor. They would like to continue it. That was why the blockade against Russia took place. That was why all of them, including the United States, furnished soldiers and equipment to destroy the Bolshevik government. Now I think another atrocity will interest you.

AN ATROCITY

Something over twenty years ago, in that part of Roosha known as

Californski, a man was arrested by the name of Tom Moonski. He was accused of bombing a war propaganda parade which caused the death of ten people and wounded forty. In this part of Soviet Roosha there had been a labor quarrel. This Tom Moonski was a labor leader and he opposed America's entrance into the World War. Those representing vested interests favored a war program as Roosha's big profiteers had sold to the Allies many hundreds of millions of dollars worth of food and war materials and if the central powers won the war they would lose it all. So propaganda by the advertising press was strong for the war. Moonski had headed a strike by the city railroad workers (street cars) and was very unpopular with big business. So this crime was fastened upon him. It was easy sledding to convict him. Later it was found out that the chief witness who swore he saw Moonski place the bomb was not near the place at the time, but was one hundred miles away, and it was soon seen that all the witnesses were hired by framers to convict Tom Moonski. Judge Griffith, who sentenced Moonski to hang, now says he positively knows Moonski was convicted by a frame-up, and that he, Judge Griffith, is just as guilty as Tom Moonski. I repeat, notwithstanding the fact that the chief witness who swore he saw Moonski place the suitcase containing the bomb, was proven to have been one hundred miles away and that an investigating committee appointed by President Wilsonkovich reported that he had been unfairly convicted, Tom Moonski is still in prison. *That's a real Dreyfus affair right here in Soviet Roosha. In 1918 J. B. Densmore, a labor department director, conducted another investigation. Placing a dictograph in prosecuting attorney Fickert's office, he was able to record positive evidence that Moonski was framed and convicted on perjured evidence. Even after the Wickersham Committee appointed by President Hooversky showed in a 600-page report on the Moonski case that no scientific effort was made to determine the real identity of the culprits and that there were flagrant violations of the statutory law in Soviet Californski, Moonski was not released.

Moonski's case went before the Grand Duke Judges of Californski and they would not consider any new evidence in regard to discredit-

*Recently pardoned.

ing the early perjured witnesses. With all the evidence showing Moonski to be innocent beyond any question, this shows that the Grand Duke Judges of Californski were willing to murder an innocent working man rather than to be interfered with in the privilege of exploiting them, and woe be it to any labor leader who can show a trend toward liberating the workers from the exploitation of the rich.

But then, we of America have not got much to brag about. Did not the rich of Tampa, Florida, have their roughneck policemen murder Shoemaker? If you get hold of the January 8, 1938 issue of the *Pathfinder*, you can get a complete account of the Tom Moonski case that took place in Soviet Californski. The Grand Dukes of Californski are real murderers. I am told that the present Grand Duke Governor of Californski was a Bible teacher in a Sunday School in a Californski city. No wonder workers are quitting the churches. So ends the atrocities of the Grand Dukes of Soviet Californski.

Yes, I forgot to tell you of the wonderful palaces of Catherine the Second. No use to try. I was in the Alexander Second palace where Nicholas and family were arrested. After the atrocity of 1905 Nicholas became uneasy and moved away from the Winter Palace to Pushkin. The palace is near Catherine the Second's palace. I was in the room where the Czarina slept. A picture of Rasputin was there. I was told the Czarina was often nervous and could not go to sleep and this kind-hearted Rasputin would lay his hands upon her and quiet her nerves and she would go to sleep. Now was not that really kind of Rasputin? If I could do good that way I would be willing to do it. But shucks, I will soon be seventy-six! Better forget it.

Well, at Leningrad we visited the great cathedral of Peter and Paul, swell it was, and near it was that horrible prison where the revolutionaries were kept. Outside the cells where noted revolutionary prisoners had been kept were large pictures of them. Yonne, the brother of Lenin, was shown. He worked on a scheme to assassinate Czar Alexander, was discovered and executed. Dozens and dozens of cells, with no light, a place of real torture. A history of each revolutionary was given to us by our interpreter.

Now we are off for Moscow and many important scenes: the Red Square, with its beautiful buildings around it, the tomb of Lenin and Lenin himself, looking like he was in a peaceful sleep, while hundreds stood in line and continually passed through the tomb, the same great building activity we saw in Leningrad, only greater. While we were there we drove through miles of the factory district. We went up the Volga Canal and came down in a boat through five locks, a drop of 220 feet. Then rode in Moscow's famous Metro Subway. The finest in the world, about forty miles of it, nearly two hundred feet below the surface. And the hundreds of thousands of people we saw all looked happy and the children well fed.

Oh, yes! Barker, the class conscious capitalist and Harvard law student, unearthed some very important information. At night, he said, he had gone around spying and peering into apartments and lo and behold what he saw was awful. He saw them sleeping piled up and all crowded every way. Now was not that kind of the Harvard law student? You know, we Americans would very much appreciate it if Russians would come over here and snoop around our bedrooms and peek in. It just shows that the average American has very poor manners when it comes to dealing with what he considers the under class.

While in Moscow, we had an evening with Walter Duranty, Russian reporter for the *New York Times*. He had been in Russia ever since the war and during the counter revolutions. And although at first he was much opposed to the Bolsheviks, today is in sympathy with them and in his book states that Stalin is the world's greatest statesman.

Well, the cathedrals and art galleries of Moscow are no doubt wonderful, but they interest me but little. I would be more interested in a beautiful apple, a fine strawberry or a lovely queen bee. These cathedrals and art galleries tell of the wonderful wealth that the two million owning class wrung from the toil of the 158,000,000 slave class in days gone by. I am telling you this, that while our advertising press is telling us of the awful slavery existing in Russia, the Russian workers don't know about it, have not found it out yet. While hor-

rible to admit, there are millions of Americans who would be delighted to have just as good an opportunity.

We drove out of Moscow about twenty miles to a Pioneer camp, located in a forest of pine. Six hundred children between the ages of nine and fourteen were being taken care of. They were all dressed in bathing suits and you could hardly tell which were boys and which were girls. This Pioneer camp was built by the Stalingrad automobile workers for their children. I think the government aids in financing these enterprises. I was told that there are many of these camps being built in Russia. Many of the factories have so many workers that it is necessary to build three of them. At this Pioneer camp were large buildings used as sleeping quarters. The boys' and girls' apartments were a couple of hundred yards from each other. A large dining hall serves the children with meals five times a day and each child gets one and one-third pint of milk per day. I was told that in two more years Russia would have a supply of milk so that children could get a quart of milk per day. They are increasing their herds. I suppose we saw the best here, but the whole spirit of child welfare is in the air. It is spreading. Not all the six hundred were here at the time of our visit. Two hundred and fifty had gone off that morning to another Pioneer camp and were to slip back through the trees on the morrow for what the nurses told us was a sham battle. We were surprised, but were given to understand that it was more of a contest. Each side would wear badges on their left arms and as they would meet in the woods, one or many from a side would sing, the same number from the other side would do the same. Judges would decide which had done the best and that side would get the badges from the other side, singing and recitation being the sham battle. The nurses were asked if the children enjoyed this contest. We were told they were wild about it.

While in London, we had the pleasure of an interview with Professor Laski, professor of Economics in the great English Oxford University. He stated that you could not change human nature, but you could change human behavior. Well, it is being done in Russia. Asked if all the children got these outings, we were told that all those

did who tried to make good grades at school, were well behaved and were not quarrelsome.

We were entertained by the Agricultural Department of Russia while at Moscow. Dr. Jerome Davis is a wonderful director, being able to talk Russian and having the confidence of the Russian people. There are many interviews he can get that are unusually instructive. Well, the Department of Agriculture gave us much information and especially the best meal we got on the whole trip. I also spent several pleasant hours in the company of the head of the Aparian Department, giving and receiving information on bee culture. My family, consisting of a son-in-law, a daughter and myself, are the largest producers of comb honey in the United States, and that means the world.

CHURCH

While I was with the honey people the rest of the crowd attended church. I saw women going to church with crosses about two feet long trimmed with flowers. When the American advertising press tells you that the people of Russia are not allowed to attend church, just remember that the paper had to lie still when it was printed on. Under the Czar, the priests were paid by the State. That was stopped and the priests fought the Bolshevik government, and what was done to them I won't tell, but aplenty. We were told by our guide, while in Denmark, that only about six per cent of the people attended church, that the church was conservative and against the co-operatives. But here is something of interest.

MARRIAGE

We saw two marriages take place. There was no religious ceremony. No one accompanied the bride and groom. The marriage took place before a little girl who appeared to be about eighteen years old. She sat at a narrow table, a young couple came in and sat down opposite her. Through our interpreter we learned the questions asked and answered. Each was asked much the same questions. The answers were written down by the eighteen-year-old girl. "What is your

name?" "Do you want to get married?" To the girl: "Do you wish to change your name to that of the man you marry or not?" "Where are you working?" "Will you live together in the same apartment or in separate apartments?" Our interpreter told us that if either of them gave the other a venereal disease it was five years in prison, and they were so informed. Many in Russia are serving that sentence now. Each signed the statement, paid about sixty cents, and walked out man and wife. Some think it takes a church wedding to make it stick, but it doesn't.

DIVORCE

We saw no divorce take place. We learned that divorces were granted whenever one or both the parties desired it. Even if one opposes a divorce and the other desires it, the divorce is granted. But both parties must be notified before the divorce can take place. Another factor is that if there are children the parents must provide for them. The mother usually takes the children but the father must help support them. When married people separate there is no inquiry as to why they wish to separate. That is considered their own personal affair. The first divorce costs \$10, the second \$20 and the third \$50, and I was told that there had better not be any more. In this part of Moscow, an average part of the city consisting of manual workers and what we in America call the white-collar class, the divorce rate was about one out of fourteen marriages. Not bad. In Denmark, where the people seemed so happy, we were informed the divorce rate was one out of every five and one-half marriages; in America it's one out of eleven; in Hollywood it runs and runs and runs. Hollywood today exercises more influence over the morals of the American people than all our churches.

AN ATROCITY

This is an American atrocity copied from a book, *Shall it be again?* by John Kenneth Turner. American capitalists had made investments in Haiti. Those investments were just as honest as Doheny's when he got possession of our government oil reserves by bribing Secretary

Fall. Fall got in the penitentiary for accepting a bribe; Doheny, the briber, came clear. They only wanted one vote to convict Secretary Daugherty, he should have been sent over the road. But is it not funny that the briber comes clear while the bribed is imprisoned? Well, these Wall Street looters got their claws on Haiti in just as honorable way as Doheny got his. But the Haitians could not pay the interest. So American Marines invaded Haiti on July 27, 1915. On July 30th it was announced from Washington that the armed forces of the United States would remain on Haitian soil pending negotiations of an arrangement whereby the United States would assume control over Haiti's financial affairs. Our Marines seized custom houses, collecting customs and disarming Haitians.

"That our 2,000 American Marines waged war against the Haitians who resisted is plain. Our Marines killed 3,250 of them with only a loss of thirteen. This was not war, but massacre. According to testimony given to a senate committee in the fall of 1921 our Marines not only killed the opponents of the American occupation, but scores were murdered after being taken prisoner. Scores of Haitians who had not opposed the occupation of President Wilson's soldiers were killed by our Marines for trying to escape from forced labor on the roads."

You see, this did not happen in Russia and the American prostitute press did not think it news to inform us what had taken place in behalf of vested interests. But the attack of Vera Cruz by a United States gunboat on April 21, 1914, was horrible. Mexico had arrested several U. S. Marines, but had turned them loose. Our President demanded that they fire a salute. Mexico refused to do this, on the grounds that it would place her in the position of an aggressor nation. Standard Oil, Doheny and Hearst wanted a war with Mexico, so the gunboat fired up the street. The schools were let out, the panic-stricken children ran up the streets. By that time the invaders were running up the streets. Besides men, there were ten children and six women shot to death by our gallant lads.

This was another atrocity that did not happen in Russia and our prostitute press that lives by advertising kept mum. Yes, this was

done to force Mexico into a war so our big oil looters of the Doheny and Standard Oil type with landowners like Hearst could exploit Mexico. I fear there is too much atrocity. Well, the next one will be from Russia.

EDUCATION

To begin with, there were at least 100,000,000 people in Czarist Russia who were illiterate. There is no illiteracy in Russia today. In Moscow alone in two years they built 224 school houses. They are printing more books than any other country in the world. Every great apartment house has libraries and reading rooms for adults and children. There is a ten-year school course, and all earnest pupils who make good grades are sent to university at government expense.

The Russians are proud of their achievements and they have good grounds to be. In the opinion of our well-to-do Americans who have always eaten out of silver spoons, Russia does not amount to much, but we ranchers are not able to give our children a university education. Ninety per cent of farm homes in America are not even modern and some of the sharecroppers' homes in the South, also miners in Kentucky and West Virginia and other places, are worse than anything I saw in Russia. When you see in Russia poorly built houses, they were built in Czarist days. In Kharkov we attended a concert given by the Ukranian Singers. It was open air, and seated before me was a very pretty little girl, I judged about thirteen years old. She was turning around looking at us. I discovered that she and others were talking about us, recognizing that we were foreigners. I said to Dr. Davis, "Ask her how old she is." She said, "I am fifteen." "Ask her what grade she is in at school." Her reply was, "I have finished the ten-year school." Another question, "What are you going to do now?" Answer, "I am going to be a doctor. I make good grades."

Question, "What will it cost you to become a doctor?" This stalled her; she could not understand. Dr. Davis explained to her what cost meant. She seemed surprised, again telling him, "I make good grades."

You see, she and every really worth while young person in Russia is entitled to a higher technical or professional education and making

good grades means that the Russian government finances them to 175 rubles per month. There is no tuition to pay. Some of the brightest children in America are born to the sharecroppers, miners and others really living below a proper subsistence level. What show have such children for a high school education, let alone a university education? If these people were located in Russia, they would have just as good a chance to give their children a higher education as do the rich in America. What an unjust condition prevails here! Remember, I repeat that 550,000 young people have taken advantage of the Russian institutions of higher learning.

While down in the Crimea, seventy miles back in the interior, we ran across many groups of students on vacation and at full pay. Dr. Davis was always talking to some of them. A young man informed him he was studying to be a doctor, had been in medical school for four years, with government support of 175 rubles per month, now raised to 200 rubles. Asked if there was a place for him when he got through, he exclaimed, "Lots of them." Asked where he would go, he said, "Wherever I am needed."

In the Spring of 1938, reports from the various universities in the United States showed that less than half their graduates had secured a job.

ANECDOTE

On the return trip on the *Champlain*, Dr. Davis made a talk on Russia, telling what advance had been made in industry, education, farming, etc. Probably two hundred were present. A Catholic priest took exceptions. He asked, "What is the meaning of all this propaganda about Russia?" and said, "I demand that it stop." Well, it did not stop. You see that the vested interests and their stool pigeons fear for the truth to be known about Russia.

Another little instance might be related. An old lady returning from a trip to India went to Dr. Davis and took exception to the Russian government assisting students to higher education. She claimed it was better for them to put forth an effort and struggle, then they could better appreciate the benefits. But this was what she

wanted to put over: the wonderful efficiency of prayer. She said that when crossing the Mediterranean they passed through the submarine zone and she was afraid their ship would get torpedoed. So she went into her cabin room and prayed that the boat would pass through safely, and it did. Then before reaching southern France a storm came up. She feared the boat would sink. So again she went to her cabin and prayed for the safety of their boat, and her prayers were answered. Now this is wonderful, is it not? Really a miracle. At least it was in the old lady's mind and by my observation it reminds me of the fact that the well-to-do church members as a class are the most heartless, cruel and selfish we have as regards to justice to the poor. People who are drunk with the love of God are not much interested in their fellow human beings. Of course, they are more than willing to save souls, but when it comes to social justice or a war against special privileges, nothing doing. "We save souls" is their motto. They take the spiritual teachings of Jesus as they see them, but when it comes to the other part of his teaching, the economic, the brotherly social teachings that Jesus tried to put over, they are with Dives.

But not all church members or the clergy are anti-Christ. At Lakeland, Florida, the Southern College, a Methodist institution, is erecting a million-dollar building, to be named after E. Stanley Jones, a true Christian. You should read his books. This extract is taken from one of them:

"Shall we rescue individual slaves and leave intact the slave system? Shall we pick up the wounded in war and leave intact the war system? Shall we pick up the derelicts of a competitive system and give them doles and leave the system to go on producing its poverty, its hates, and its exploiting imperialism?"

"As long as society is organized by the few in favor of the few their very charities to the dispossessed are an insult."

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

What is it doing for Russia and what should we have in the U. S.?

Remember, I spoke about a higher education financed by their government in any line where they can be of use to the people. There

were only 19,000 doctors in Russia in Czarist days. That a peasant or working man could have a doctor was almost unthinkable.

At Kharkov we visited a large hospital, the best equipped I ever saw. You can form some idea of what such a hospital is doing when I tell you that an average of 5,000 persons go there daily for treatment and advice. 1,000 internes are employed and 300 doctors. In Russia all treatment and medical attention is free. You know, here we are just beginning to be interested in such questions as venereal diseases. Lately even the clergy see that something must be done. Remember that we have in America 4,000,000 young people of marriageable age who forty or fifty years ago would have been married. Insecurity prevents the more intelligent young people from taking this step. Do you expect them to be as chaste as Catholic priests? Well, maybe they are, but the situation is fraught with danger. It is not right.

We had an interview with the head nurse of the department of T. B. and venereal diseases. She had forty-three cots for T. B. of a contagious nature and she had twenty-three cots for venereal diseases. She told us that in 1927, when the hospital was first opened, there was an average of 160 new cases of venereal diseases per month and now it was running about one a month. In answer to a question, she said it was easily cured if they could get it at once. Russia under the Czar, Mongolia and China were the worst countries of the world for venereal diseases. Russia today is the freest. Consider the fact that one gets five years in prison for transmitting such diseases. Under the Czar there were 55,000 prostitutes in Moscow. They have practically disappeared. Was Stalin sentimental when he spoke of these women and said they were not responsible for their condition, that economic conditions were? They must be considered as our sisters. They got medical treatment free and later work. Can you imagine what would take place if one of our clergy would take the same stand in America? Does it not seem that only the atheists would show that the milk of human kindness for the downtrodden flowed through their veins? An interpreter told me that at the head of a textile factory employing hundreds of workers was a former prostitute and she was respected, loved and honored by all who knew her. Shocking,

shocking! Refined ladies of our American churches, if they met this woman, would look the other way and lift their skirts maybe too high.

As to the free medical treatment, I saw a Mr. Lyons at Moscow, formerly of New York City, now working for the Russian government. He had a little girl whose teeth needed to be straightened. The braces had just been taken out. As a man working for the Russian government it cost him nothing, while if he had been in America it would have cost him \$300. Again, when we took the boat at Yalta for a trip across the Black Sea to Odessa, a young lady was quite sick with dysentery and had a fever of 104 degrees. Dr. Davis told her aunt that they would not be allowed to travel in Russia if she were too seriously ill. We left Yalta at 3 p. m. and would not arrive at Odessa until 9 a. m. the next day. Her aunt was very uneasy, not only on account of the sickness of her niece, but over the prospects of a lay-over with the sick in a hospital. Dr. Davis spoke to the captain about it. The captain said he would send a wireless message to a doctor at Odessa to meet the boat when it arrived at Odessa.

The doctor was there with an ambulance when we arrived. Upon examination he did not think it necessary to take her to a hospital, and the ambulance brought her to our hotel. Now here was a chance to stick a well-to-do traveler. We can form some idea of what an American doctor would do under the same circumstances. Well this doctor did it in the Russian medical way. When asked about the charges he said there would be none, that he was employed by his government to look after the health of the people. This attitude is common in Russia today. Children are taught such mottoes as: "Not for me and mine, but for we and ours will I strive."

But still I prefer America as a place to live. Well, as that professor of economics at Oxford University said, "If you can't change human nature, you can change human behavior." And it is being done in Russia. Now again I will admit that I am quite sure that America's unemployed and about one-third of our population would be more secure of a livelihood in Russia today than they are here, with better opportunity for the welfare and education of their children.

As to what is being done for the health of the people of Russia, I

quote below an article by a United States professor who claims Russia starts a new era in medicine.

U. S. PROFESSOR SAYS SOVIET MEDICINE
STARTS NEW ERA IN MEDICINE

BY PROF. HENRY E. SIGERIST*

A dynamic process of gigantic dimension is taking place in the Soviet Union and you cannot fully understand it unless you have an opportunity to see it at regular intervals so as to become aware of the changes. And, indeed, there have been endless changes since my last visit. This was to be expected since Soviet economy is not haphazard but planned scientifically. Construction is in full swing and in Leningrad and Moscow I saw endless new buildings, factories, living quarters and all kinds of cultural institutions. Even the superficial observer will notice in the streets that the people are better dressed than before, that they look stronger and healthier.

STRONGEST IMPRESSION

I had so many strong impressions in the last few days that it is hard to tell what impressed me most. I think, however, that the strongest impression was to see Soviet democracy at work. When we landed in Leningrad we found the whole city preparing for the election of candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the R. S. F. S. R. and it was most impressive to see the tremendous enthusiasm of the entire population. I was interested to know who the candidates were, and I have found that they were leading Stakhanov workers, eminent Red Army and Navy men, scientists like Vavilov, artists like Cherasov, medical men like Emdin, head of the Leningrad Health Department, leading statesmen like Kalinin, Zhdanov and Litvinov—indeed a bloc of Communists and non-Party people. The best minds of the nation, it seems, come together to direct the destinies of the country.

Since my last visit, in 1936, the All-Union Commissariat of Health has been established as a result of the new Constitution. I was obviously anxious to obtain information about the organization and functions of this new commissariat. The health budget has been increasing steadily, until this year it has reached the fabulous sum of 9,500 million rubles. The number of physicians, we have been told, has increased five-fold since the Revolution. The number of medical students is being increased every year, so that more and more doctors will be available to the population. Cholera has disappeared entirely. Smallpox no longer occurs. Venereal diseases have been reduced to a minimum. The death rate from tuberculosis has

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dropped by more than one-half. We obtained illuminating information on medical service in rural districts, one of the great problems in all countries. We all had the impression that the protection of the Soviet people's health was in very good hands.

A NEW PERIOD IN MEDICINE

Soviet medicine represents, in my opinion, the beginning of a new period in the history of medicine.

For the first time in history all medical services are no longer sold to the population but given as a public service of the state, to which the citizen is entitled. The new Constitution, by establishing the right to work, the right to rest and recreation, the right to medical care and right of women to special protection, has had a profound influence on public health. The Soviet Union, furthermore, was the first country to centralize the direction of all health activities by creating a Commissariat of Health. Where there is such centralized direction health can be planned scientifically. And this also is new and an example to the world. Finally, I am very much impressed by the fact that in the Soviet Union emphasis is laid throughout on the prevention of disease. All activities of all medical workers tend first of all to prevent the occurrence of disease. Socialized or better, Socialist medicine is the only form of medical organization that allows us to apply our knowledge without restriction.

I would like to tell the readers of *Moscow News* that we have full confidence in the Soviet Union which is making a tremendous effort to preserve the peace of the world. The principal issue of our days is the great struggle between democracy and fascism. In this struggle all nations and all people who believe in democracy, liberty, justice and progress must unite with the Soviet Union to fight the dark forces of reaction.

The higher educated tourists I met in Russia were all unanimous in praise of the present advancements and the prospects for future progress. Some religious fundamentalists were rather skeptical. They did not know just what God would have to say about it, and evidently were afraid to approve of anything Russian for fear God would not like it. You could not get an article like Dr. Sigerist's put out in any advertising paper in America. If you are a good writer and will malign and lie about Russia, they will pay you for it. With all the starvation, insecurity and unemployment in America, anyone who proposes any method to better conditions is called communist. But when the prostitute press praises anyone, it is someone who will aid the looters in a continuance of their exploitation of the workers. To show you the attitude of the kept press of America, I will say I lived

in Minnesota last year and previously we were taking the *Minneapolis Tribune*. When they wrote of Tom Mooney, they always referred to him as the convicted bomb thrower. They were not ignorant of the facts, of the Densmore investigation, of the Wickersham report, of what Senator Nye of North Dakota had written, or of what Judge Griffin now has to say of the perjured frame-up used to convict Mooney. The kept advertising press controlled by the class-conscious looters uphold murder whenever it suits their economic interests.

A little more about medicine. Take the care that the Russian government exercises on behalf of the mothers. Mothers in Russia are really being considered as human beings. In the old Czarist days there were nothing but ignorant, superstitious midwives working under very unsanitary conditions. This led to an enormous death rate for infants and mothers alike. Ideas have changed in America, but I can remember when an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out in Ohio the good people from far and near would hold prayer meetings, pleading with God to remove His visitation of divine wrath. We do differently now. Yes, I can remember how my grandmother told me when I was about five years old that I should not complain about flies, for when the flies got on a sore on my foot I exclaimed, "Durn the drun flies, anyway," and my grandmother said, "Louie, Louie, that is wicked. The good God gave us the flies and if it were not for the flies we would all be sick."

I am now seventy-six and that was seventy years ago, right here in America. But the old midwife racket with all its ignorance and superstition is disappearing in Russia. Hospitals are being built. A working mother gets two months off before her child is born and two months after at full pay, doctor and hospital services free. When she goes to work the baby is looked after by competent nurses. A mother is permitted to attend to the wants of her baby without loss of pay. For the first year or longer the mother is monthly required to go to a nurse and have her baby weighed. How different this is from our beloved America, where the death rate is much greater among the unemployed than among the well-to-do! Statistics show that in fam-

ilies receiving \$1,000 per year and less chronic ailments are eighty-seven per cent greater than in families receiving \$3,000 per year. Oh yes, the children of the well-to-do get good medical attention, but the poverty-stricken one-third of our population do not. It is estimated that no more than one family out of twenty among the farming and working class of America can lay by a competency for old age. Russia provides for that by a monthly pension of three-fifths of what was previously a worker's wage. Men at sixty and women at fifty-five get this relief. They work to spend, not to hoard.

Nearly got whipped, and by the banker's son. We were talking about Upton Sinclair's Epic plan and the banker's son asked me to explain what it was. It is hard to explain anything to a Harvard law student, but I tried. I told him that instead of giving the unemployed a dole or putting them at work doing useless things, the plan was to provide work by which they could supply their wants, and produce the things to live on, then they would be no more expense to the state.

During the depression two million sharecroppers and renters in the cotton country alone had to move off the farms. It was this way: The agricultural adjustment program, with cotton as well as some other crops, began to pay ranchers so much per acre on land left out of cultivation. The first year the cotton was already planted and was plowed under by the renter and the renter got sixty and the landlord forty per cent of the government money. The second year the landlord had fired his tenant. Two million cotton farmers who knew nothing but cotton farming were, so to speak, thrown on the scrap heap. They moved to cities, towns, got on government work or anything to eke out an existence. You see, not only wage laborers, but farmers were in a bad predicament. In most instances the large landowners that did not need it got the government money.

Now the Epic plan was to look after the unemployed of all branches of labor. The state government was to purchase for the idle farmers a few hundred million dollars worth of land and put them to producing food for themselves and the surplus to be exchanged without profit for the products of other industries. A few hundred millions more were to be invested in coal mines for idle coal miners and the

same for shoe factories, textile plants, etc., the products of the various groups to be exchanged without profit. In other words, production for use and not for profit.

Capitalism could not allow such a scheme as that to take place. Exchange without profit? What would the chain stores do? What would any business do? No, put them at work doing useless things and pay them money, then they can trade at the grocery. The grocer could pay his rent to the local banker and a part of the cash would drift into Wall Street. But not the Epic plan! Vested interests knew it would work and soon the unemployed would be about the only well-to-do workers in America. Not even a grafting banker like his father would be able to skin them. He had been quite rude to me and I was just paying him back, but he got mad right before ladies and all and said he would knock my g-- d----- block off. But it is still on.

The plan adopted by the President and his Brain Trust was a kind of guinea pig experiment with the unemployed to bring about a social condition by which business could make profits out of them, and they have. The bulletin put out monthly by the People's Lobby, headed by Professor John Dewey, shows that in 1935 interest and dividends amounted to \$17,530,000,000; in 1937 this income had increased to \$22,480,000,000 and I guess less than five per cent of our population got at least nine-tenths of it. With such affairs, when are we going to balance the budget? No wonder the President accused some of cream-skimming.

I got possession of an article on Russia written by Dr. John H. Gray, Past President of the American Economic Association, that I think worth using; here it is:

THE U. S. S. R. PROGRESSES

By DR. JOHN H. GRAY

When I speak in public on Russia someone always asks me if I think so well of Russia, why I do not go there to live? My answer is that my life and associations are all here, and that life is still very hard there in many respects. Furthermore, I belong to the privileged classes here, and many things that I am accustomed to, and am able to pay for, simply do not yet exist in Russia.

We hear every day in this country of the poverty, high taxes, high prices, inefficiency and low quality of Russian goods. While these things may be true, they are due not to any lack of intelligence, skill, courage, and perseverance of the Bolsheviks, but to conditions inherited from centuries of ignorance, illiteracy, superstition and exploitation of previous regimes. For in spite of all obstacles the Bolsheviks have made more phenomenal progress in wiping out all of these things in the last nine years than any other nation ever has in like time. Conditions always improve with increased production. Industrial production, in the more important industries, has increased in the last ten years by the following percentages: steel, 400 per cent; pig iron, 378 per cent; coal, 331 per cent; oil, 232 per cent; electricity, 653 per cent. Agricultural production has had a similar increase.

In amount of industrial production Russia now leads all nations of the world except the United States. Such progress in the face of the hostility and opposition of all the outside world and almost unparalleled internal obstacles does not indicate lack of energy, determination or ability.

I refer to the progress in nine or ten years. For although the Soviets have recently celebrated the twentieth anniversary of their coming to power they were in no condition to start forward until they adopted the first five-year plan in October, 1928, more than eleven years after the overthrow of the Czar. For during more than three years of the great war, followed by about five years of civil war supported by the armies of more than a dozen of the great nations, everything that could be physically destroyed had been destroyed and all was wild confusion, chaos and devastation. Consequently it took the Soviets about five years after the last foreign troops left their soil to pick up the pieces of the wreck and make plans for the future.

On the top of all previous destruction, just when they were ready to start forward, came the rape of Manchuria, the raiding of Ethiopia and the invasion of Spain and of China. This placed such a burden of military expense on the Soviets as no other nation has ever had to bear in times of peace and caused the defense expenditures to increase by six-fold in six years. Their two threatened frontiers are about 6,000 miles apart. This requires the duplication of their armies and military equipment.

Meantime, they have industrialized and mechanized both manufacturing and farming. To do this in time for defense they had to do it with a certain amount of waste and inefficiency. This required them to put a larger proportion of their annual income each year into permanent investment than has ever before been done in the history of the world. The difficulty here may be illustrated by the present dearth of leather shoes. This year Russia is making a large quantity of shoes out of other material than leather, and is making more galoshes and rubber footwear than was ever made under the Czar. It is also making more than twenty-one times as many leather shoes as were ever made under the Czar. There is still a great shortage of shoes, yet a fourth of the sales price of each pair of shoes must go into shoe factories to make more shoes. No wonder prices are high. But there have

been three important reductions in the last three years. These three large reductions in general consumer prices have been accompanied by a great increase of money wages and great increases in social welfare expenditures and no reduction in the prices the state pays the farmers for grains. Hence the standard of living in the country is rising rapidly.

In the cities rent is charged, but it is not based on cost or value. These words never appear in the arrangement. There is still a tremendous shortage of housing and there will be for a generation or more. In spite of the fact that the Soviets have probably built more housing space in the last eight years than any other nation, the living space today is less per capita than it was five years ago. Space per each family is strictly limited by law and rent is based wholly on earnings with a maximum of ten per cent of earnings in any case. A shortage of space does not cause rents to go up and there is no eviction for non-payment of rent. If one has no income he pays no rent. For the Russians believe that everyone has a right to live and this involves necessarily a place to live in. If he is able to work he is made to earn a living. If not able to work because of infancy, old age, accident or sickness, in the interest of the public, not of the individual, the public must support him and that approximately on the scale on which other people live. Hence they have developed the most complete and universal system of social insurance for wage earners and their families the world has ever seen. Like systems are maintained by the cooperatives and collective farms.

I have talked to all kinds of Russians from cabinet members to ordinary workmen and to many foreigners, but I have never found one yet that claimed they were efficient by the best capitalistic standards, but they all claim that they are increasing their efficiency every day, the figures that I have already given prove that they are right. It is not so important what stage any nation has reached as its direction and rate of progress. It is irrational to expect the Russians to be efficient during these early years. For in the last ten years they have had to take about 15,000,000 peasants, mostly illiterate, into industry, teach them to read and write and put them to work making, repairing and operating the most complex machinery, most of it run by electricity. Many of these peasants have never seen so complex a machine before as an ordinary pulley.

The Russians, broadly speaking, have not yet the skill, the labor or the capital to make such goods as our rich people want and can pay for. Although in certain special lines, closely connected with national defense, such as making and operating airplanes, they have no superiors. Although they make virtually all their heavy machinery, they still import many fine specialties such as medical and dental instruments and equipment for laboratories and experimental use. Were they able to make what we call luxury goods there would be no market for them. The number of people with incomes able to buy such goods is too small to justify their production. Besides, could the few people able to pay for such goods get them, they would be socially ostracized and their lives made miserable.

The Soviets have always thrown their emphasis on increasing their production of such goods as the masses need and can pay for. Hence their work in factory and on farm is on the piece work or quota basis. They attempt to pay everyone according to his production. If one exceeds his quota he immediately gets better wages. If he exceeds his quota by 20 per cent, his wages are doubled and he is made a hero of, and is likely to get large money gifts in addition to his wages. Incidentally a large percentage of the privately owned autos in Russia belong to workmen, given to them as a special reward for extraordinary production.

The Soviets have been severely criticized for what seemed to be the insane haste and consequent waste, great cost and imperfect work which accompanied the industrialization of farms and manufacturing. This haste was necessary, at whatever cost, in view of the universal boycott by other nations, to enable them to make their munitions and military equipment.

They have been more severely criticized for their ruthlessness in recent years, and for their so-called blood purge or executions. A revolution is no easy matter. I have talked to people of all ranks, including ambassadors, world famous newspaper men and many others who attended the trial of the well-known men executed a year or so ago—the one that resulted in sixteen executions. I found not a single person who sat through the trial who did not say the men had a fair trial, not a single one who doubted that everyone was guilty of treason—the penalty for which has been death in every nation and in every age since nations have existed. I would not say that the end justifies the means in all cases or even in this case. But if we realize that for twenty years, through revolution, civil war, boycott, famine and military invasions, the Soviets have maintained the most stable government in the world, and, that too, with even less change in the personnel of the government than in any other great nation, the fair inference is that they are justified in using any means necessary to put down treason. At any rate, it seems to me that they had to use the means they did use or surrender and allow the Czar's regime to be restored. The same seems true of their severity in breaking the political power of the church, liquidating the kulaks and collectivizing the farms. In each case these elements had to be crushed or the Revolution given up after all the sacrifices that had been made.

The capitalist world is convinced that the difference in wages resulting in a great inequality of income is a direct step to the reestablishing of capitalism. I find no evidence of this whatever. This view is based on the mistaken idea that the Soviets are trying to practice Communism. They are doing nothing of the kind. They say they are now building socialism. The fact that they have nationalized all productive instruments (including land) and abolished profits, interest and the exploitation of man by man, make a return to capitalism impossible. To this must be added the fact that they have abolished speculation. One with a larger income than his neighbors can buy more consumption goods and live better than his neighbors. He cannot invest it for profit or lend it at interest, except to the State, because the

interest here goes for the public welfare, nor can he take it, or send it, out of the country. Nor does he need to save it for educating his children, or for accident or sickness. The State takes care of all this. Elementary and secondary education as well as hospital, medical and dental services, including spectacles and eyeglasses are entirely free, and if his children prove capable of higher education, the state pays every student in higher institutions (of which there are now more than 550,000) on salary. There being no unemployment and a great demand for skilled workmen and experts, most students in higher institutions are contracted for before they graduate. The pay for all students in higher institutions was increased this month.

Russia has been overrun by spies and there has been much wrecking and sabotage in high places. This has checked industry, but when the outside world hears this it misinterprets it, as they do the effects of the executions. The falling behind is falling behind the estimates, not the previous production. When I left Russia last summer, the production was at a greater rate than any previous year, but somewhat behind the plan for this year. So, too, the recent executions were thought to show widespread dissatisfaction among civilians and in the army and to indicate an early overthrow of the government. As nearly as I can determine, the executions have strengthened the government, which had skill enough to discover the traitors in time and courage enough to punish them.

The danger to the Soviets today is not internal but from the outside.

YALTA BY THE BLACK SEA

While at Yalta we took in several fine palaces, now all used as sanitariums, T. B. homes, rest homes for the workers and their children. Gee! would it not be awful were the workers of America to do likewise? Think of the fine places in Beverly Hills, Miami, Palm Beach and Newport! I am afraid it would start quite a racket and that the present owners would have to be killed off, just as they did with the big shots in Russia, and, of course, that would not be right. Well, maybe we can educate our big owning class to realize that the workers also must be guaranteed a decent life, commensurate with our twentieth century machine-age technique. Some few of our very rich realize that their only security is in making the workers secure.

While at Yalta, the summer home of the Czars and their mothers, we took a trip several miles up on the side of the mountain to what used to be the Monte Carlo of Russia. It was a wonderful palace, where the aristocracy of Russia came to sport and gamble. Is it any

wonder that vested interests world-over hate the Bolsheviks? Many fine buildings all around for the elite. The palace and all are now used as a Pioneer home for workers' children. Looking down on the Black Sea, I counted eleven boats, each holding about a dozen children, paddling around a high promintory that rose out of the water. I saw a boy and a girl walking around, beautiful children, might be about twelve years old, hand in hand, arm in arm. They were Spanish children, I learned. They were brother and sister who did not know what had become of their parents. About 150 Spanish children were brought to this camp. Russia is taking care of many hundreds of Spanish orphans. I asked the nurse how the Russian and Spanish children got along, as they were of different types and could not understand each other. I was told "Just lovely," as the Russian children were very sorry for them and tried to make them happy.

After looking over this palace where the wealth wrung from slave and serf was used by the parasites for sporting and gambling, we started for another part about one-third of a mile away. The crowd said to me, "Louie, you ride up on the bus, it is quite a piece and will make you tired. We will take in some of the other palaces." It was a beautiful spot, with trees and flowers covering many, many acres. I rode up and when I came to a flat I saw many Pioneers. There was an orchestra of four pieces playing. A nurse saw me when I left the bus and came to me. We could not talk. She set a chair out in a prominent place for me so I could see the performance. Keeping time to the music, they marched, danced and went through all kinds of gymnastics. After that she moved my chair back a piece. An accordion player sat on a platform right back of me. The children gathered around me, hundreds of them, and sang several songs. Well, I considered it a wonderful honor and after each song, being the only one entertained, I had to do quite a bit of applauding.

I took notice of a little Spanish boy, slender, with black hair and eyes, about eleven years old. He had a blank stare. Russian children would pat him on the arm and shoulders; he would smile and then seem to be unconscious of all around him. A nurse that could speak some English said to me, "That is Peer. His mother and little sister

were killed by a bomb, just blown to pieces. We were told that his little sister's legs were blown off when Peer saw them. He never cried, just stared, and he has been that way ever since. We had him to a nerve sanitarium. We are trying to build his body up strong. He is much better. We have hopes."

And Franco has murdered and caused the death of at least one million of the poor of Spain. Why? So that the claim of his class to profits and merciless exploitation of Spanish workers and peasants may be secured over human rights, at all costs, even if all Spain is laid waste to do it. And in this worthy endeavor he is supported by the Holy Catholic Church. But not all of the Catholics of Spain approve of this murder, even if many American Catholics do, for I saw in one of our advertising dailies where Franco had banished forty-seven priests to Morocco who were in sympathy with the Loyalists, and remember, the Loyalists as a class are the poor of Spain.

BROADCASTING OVER THE MOSCOW RADIO STATION

Yes, I did, and am real proud about it, so I will give you just what was said by others and myself over short-wave to America.

This is Moscow calling.* You are listening to Radio Center, Moscow. Now listeners, you will hear a radio interview with Professor Jerome Davis, leader of a group that is studying conditions in the Soviet Union. Mr. Davis is President of the American Federation of Teachers, an organization of 30,000 teachers and professors in the United States, and is also Chairman of the Connecticut Legislative Commission on Jails. Dr. Davis has made many visits to Russia and speaks the Russian language.

Question: Mr. Davis, will you tell our listeners something of your previous trips to Russia?

Answer: I was here under the Czar's regime in 1916 as head of the prisoners of war for the American Y. M. C. A., and remained in Russia through the early days of the Revolution until 1919. I was back again two years later, during the famine,

*Radio broadcast of Dr. Jerome Davis, President of the American Federation of Teachers, and L. A. Coblenz, Red Lake Falls, Minnesota, at Moscow, July 21, 1938.

and then in 1926, in 1927, and in 1932 as head of a group of American professors. Then I made trips here in 1935 and again last year.

Question: You probably have found differences, Mr. Davis, between the Soviet Union today and conditions under the Czar's regime?

Answer: Yes, indeed. Before the revolution, I found eighty per cent of the people illiterate. All meetings and trade unions were forbidden. Workers on the railroad were slaving twelve hours a day for wages of \$15 per month. The soldiers were only getting three rubles a month, or \$1.50. Secret agents of the Czar watched me day and night. In the first camp in which I worked, in Turkestan, seventy-five were dying a day of typhus. The peasants were dying like flies in the fields with scarcely any medical attention. Students were prohibited from forming any organization in the universities. The people, many of them, were starving. They did not have shoes and went barefoot in summer and had their feet wrapped in cloth, wearing straw sandals in the winter. Games and athletics such as we know in America—volleyball, football, swimming and tennis—were unknown. In general, the conditions for the common workers and peasants under Czarism were worse than in any country I have ever been in.

Question: What about your return in 1921, Dr. Davis, just after the Civil War?

Answer: Russia had been through a terrible civil war. It had been attacked by all the leading nations of the world and in addition to all this had faced a severe famine. Consequently, the material conditions were very bad, but the people did have freedom and looked forward with confidence to overcoming their difficulties and building a socialist regime.

Question: Let's jump to 1932, Mr. Davis. What changes did you find by that time?

Answer: That is an easy question to answer. By 1932, factories were being built everywhere. We visited the Dnieper River Dam, which at that time was the largest in the world. The government already had a planned economy. The change from the old individual little peasant farms, where a man worked with a wooden plough, to large state enterprises and collective farms was in process. Tractors were already being produced and peasants were joining the collective farms by the tens of thousands. Certainly the material conditions of the peasants in 1932 were poor but immeasurably better than they had been under the czar's regime.

Question: And how about the trip you made here last year?

Answer: In 1937 I found the material conditions of the Russian people better than ever before. Nearly all the land and all the peasants were organized in collective farms. Under czarism I had rarely seen automobiles. Over 100,000 automobiles were being produced by last year, in addition to thousands of tractors and combines. The peasants were very proud of their collective farms. They had schools, clubs, radios and the death rate had been cut in half. Considering the fact that the Soviet Union had only twenty years in which to transform conditions, and in those twenty years they had had to face attacks from foreign powers, from the old white-guard elements and from those who wished to get back their former opportunities

for exploitation, it almost seemed impossible that so much has been done in such a short space of time. Dr. Winslow, head of the Health Department of Yale University, who had been studying the health conditions here, told me that all Russian citizens had free medical aid and that in many ways the development of medicine in the Soviet Union was serving the interests of the people better than in any other country. Replying to my question whether he did not think he had been shown only the good medical centers, he said that probably he had seen some of the best, but that he was also sure that the Soviet Government had not specially fattened up every man, woman and child in the villages and cities he had visited.

Question: Mr. Davis, as a representative of 30,000 teachers in the United States, you are probably especially interested in the educational situation in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Quite right, I am, and I must say that your system of stipends for students in the technical schools and universities is, I believe, the best in the world. I have seen how all students over sixteen who need it get not only money to go to school, but they get enough to pay for their room and board, clothing, books and their incidental expenses. So far as I know the Soviet Union is the only country in the world which has done this. Vast as has been the improvement in the material conditions in the Soviet Union, so that now the Soviets are turning out automobiles, tractors and combines and airplanes which are rivaling those of any country, I consider that the changes in the educational life of the country are even more significant. We found universal education and an effort to develop the best talent among all its workers and peasants. Soviet Russia embraces one-sixth of the land surface of the earth. She has already jumped into second place in the field of production, next to the United States. But in the matter of education, considering that she is providing equal opportunity for all to study as far as they want to go, she is providing more genuine opportunity for training citizens than in any other country. I have yet to find a single student who is not receiving an adequate stipend to study, and who is not enthusiastic and proud of the achievements of the Soviet Union. All of them are ardent Soviet patriots.

Question: Mr. Davis, you've seen quite a lot of Europe during your travels, won't you tell our radio listeners some of your impressions of the Soviet Union as contrasted with other European countries?

Answer: It is obviously impossible in the brief few moments of a radio talk to contrast all the other European countries with the Soviet Union, but let us take Poland as an example. Poland used to be part of Russia. Conditions in Poland were almost identical with those in sections of old Russia which now border on Poland. Yet in Poland today I find a people who are still largely illiterate. I do not find adequate health and medical care for everyone. I do not find the workers having the seven-hour day. The contrast between the Soviet Union and Poland is startling. In the Soviet Union all the natural resources belong to all the people. There is a planned economy. Unemployment has been abolished. I find the people proud

of their achievements, happy and contented and going forward every year. In Poland, on the contrary, I find a people who are poor, illiterate, still struggling against exploitation, ignorance and poverty.

Question: Professor Davis, in the workers' apartment houses you visited in the U. S. S. R. did you find any advantages as contrasted with apartment houses in other countries?

Answer: Here are some of the good things I saw. Each house had a library for adults, a library for children, a nursery or kindergarten to take care of the babies and children, and a playground.

Question: And now, Mr. Davis, will you give us a few impressions of Moscow?

Answer: During the trip around the city, I saw the new developments in construction even since I was here last year. For example, the new section of the Metro, which is acknowledged by everyone who has seen it to be the most beautiful in the world. We went out to the new Moscow-Volga canal, which connects Moscow with the Volga River and hence with the Caspian Sea. Last year I visited the Panama Canal. The locks on the Moscow-Volga were comparable to those on the Panama Canal, and certainly the buildings were very much more beautiful than those along the Panama. We visited huge palaces of culture built for factory workers to meet their educational and recreational needs. We attended a fine opera entitled "And Quiet Flows the Don," although the theatrical and musical season has not begun. We also, of course, visited the beautiful Tomb of Lenin on the Red Square.

Question: Some of those in your party are making their first trip to the Soviet Union. What about their impressions, Mr. Davis?

Answer: Let me call on one or two of them to speak for themselves. We have with us Mr. Coblenz of Minnesota. He is the largest producer of comb honey in the United States.

Mr. Coblenz, what do you think of conditions here in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Well, I am not a capitalist. Honey production is classified with agriculture, so I am only a clodhopper. But I wish to say to my fellow Americans that what they have accomplished here in Russia exceeds any favorable reports I have ever read. About ninety-nine per cent of our American press lives from advertising. This part of our press refuses to tell the truth about Russia. I have seen many thousands of working people all look healthy and the happiest lot I have ever seen, for they realize that they are working for themselves, not building profits for parasites. Children are well fed, not starved or half starved, like the children you see among the sharecroppers of the South or in certain industrial sections of America. And more, I can say that the eleven to twelve million unemployed in America, including sharecroppers, and even some low-waged people would be more secure of a livelihood here in Russia. They would have more chance for the future welfare of their children, for their education and a happy human life.

Question: Mr. Davis, what do some of the students in your party think of the Soviet Union?

Answer: I will let Mr. Smucker, a graduate student in Yale University, speak for himself.

Mr. Smucker: On this trip it was my privilege to have a lengthy conversation with a group of Soviet young people during a cruise on the new Moscow canal. They impressed me with their enthusiasm, happiness and unity of mind and purpose. But most important to me personally was their desire for world peace. It would be a tragedy of untold consequence if these young people, and their comrades throughout the world, should be dragged into war. American youth believes that war means fascism, and, therefore, peace means progress and social justice. The working people of the world—the farmers and the laborers—want peace, and this is the message I want to send from Russia to my own country across the sea.

Question: Professor Davis, you would say, then, that as a result of your twenty-two years of study of Russia and the Soviet Union, she has advanced more rapidly than you would have believed possible and that she is probably in the strongest position that you have ever found her?

Answer: Of course, I have not visited all sections of the Soviet Union on this present trip, although we are going down south and into the agricultural districts. But I feel certain that she is better off materially and stronger than she has ever been before. Even if tomorrow should bring war, which I hope will not happen, I believe Russia would not be defeated. America, the greatest democracy in the new world, and the Soviet Union, the greatest socialist republic in the old world, should join hands to ensure peace and the common welfare of humanity.

At Yalta we went out several miles to see a wonderful palace. The land had been bought by one Boronsov. It probably consisted of several thousand acres. At the time of purchase Boronsov owned 55,000 serfs. That means that he must have owned many thousands of acres of that rich farming country known as the Ukraine. It is said that when he sold some of his serfs, a man and woman brought less than a cow. That seems like a good price to me. What would the American rich be willing to pay for a man and woman in America? Work them, clothe them and feed them, even poorly as they did then in Russia. His wife had eight hundred dresses. Gee, but some of them in glass cases looked swell! I was told that one of the dresses had required a thousand women working more than a year to complete it. A very aristocratic lady from another traveling group exclaimed, "Well, didn't it give them employment?" She had probably attended charity balls in America.

We were told that there were forty palaces on this estate. Another

palace we visited was being used as a T. B. home for children. There must have been several hundred children living in it. About half of them were Spanish. I was told that the Spanish children were undernourished and they were building them up.

THE MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE

We took a trip about seventy miles into the interior of the Crimea to visit a mosque, formerly occupied by khans, who had lived there through many generations. These khans had from three to seven hundred wives. We saw the weeping eye, water dripping from it all the time. The Russian poet, Pushkin, had written about it. The story goes that a khan had a favorite wife, but later ditched her for a new gift from Allah. The discarded wife in a fit of jealousy killed his new favorite. So he, heartbroken, had this fountain built with the weeping eye. I expect from it pour the only tears ever shed. In one room was a kind of throne, where the khan would sit while his wives would lounge before him, of course trying to entertain him by dancing, singing and playing musical instruments. Connected with the mosque was a tower, to which his wives could go and look out, but no further. Prisoners? Yes.

The crowd went from this mosque up the mountain side to some caves. I did not go, as it was quite a walk, but from their report it must have been wonderful. Caves for a whole city, up and down, many connected, hewn out of solid rock, places hewn out for a bath where they scalded to death their prisoners. Well, from time immemorial killing has been the chief concern of mankind. From Holy Writ we read about Cain and his brother Abel.

There is a wonderful lot of jealousy and envy among the human species. These brothers had each offered up a sacrifice to their God—Abel from his flocks and Cain from his garden. Abel's offering got the prize. It seemed that God liked the fragrance from Abel's roasted lamb better than the perfume from Cain's onions, cabbages and garlic. Well, right here we learn that God is not a vegetarian, but a meat eater. This made Cain sore and we know what happened. Man has made wonderful progress in the art of killing. Cain used a club. The

Babylonians used bows and arrows; the Greeks used spears with protective armor; the Romans improved on this. Gunpowder was discovered by the Chinese, but not being of a murderous disposition, they left that use of it to the Christians. Then came cannons and single shot guns. Now we have repeating rifles, machine guns, tanks carrying cannons and airplanes raining bombs on defenseless women and children. What wonderful improvement has been made in the art of killing! And we can look upon this improvement with pride.

Primitive man had to fight lions, tigers, poisonous snakes, but the human is the only species of the animal kingdom that murders each other, and they have destroyed, killed and murdered thousands to every one destroyed by wild animals.

After writing the last few lines I've been thinking. I've walked around the house twice, thence across the road to a little opening in the timber where the bees are humming. The honey flow is over and we have some unfinished squares or sections of honey that we put out a short distance away from the bees for them to rob out. Plenty for them all, but they are fighting over it and thousands of dead bees are scattered over the ground that have been stung by other bees. Insects kill each other; animals kill each other, but the human family is supposed to have advanced. Still its chief concern today is how to kill more and more efficiently. Oh, how I wish I were God for fifteen minutes! Somebody would learn something.

Before I leave Yalta, I will say that there is still nude bathing in Russia. At Yalta there is a high board wall separating the places where the men and women get ready to bathe, but it ends at the water's edge. Both sexes were bathing within a hundred feet of each other. A few of the women had bathing suits on, about one out of twenty, the rest were nude; so were the men. I saw none of the men gazing at the women, except for the Harvard law student. You must remember that this nude bathing of both sexes was not started by the Bolsheviks. It has existed for hundreds of years.

ANOTHER ATROCITY

The Red Cross is still spoken of as the Little Mother, but if you will

read the magazine *Mercury* of November, 1934, you will see that she has not always been a little mother, but really quite a harlot. The article on the Red Cross written by John L. Spivak will raise a question in your mind. Was Herbert Hoover a murderer?

This Red Cross, controlled by a heartless banking group, is not the little mother most people suppose. If you wish to learn of an atrocity equal to Franco's bombing and murdering of women and children in Spain, read that article. Yes, the atrocity took place in Russia. Spivak says, "Almost immediately after the World War the newly formed revolutionary Soviet government was surrounded by White Russians, attacking it on half a dozen fronts." Upton Sinclair, in a recent article in the *New Masses*, has the following to say about European conditions, which shows what the capitalistic countries of Europe were up against after the war and what faces them today:

"The worst breakdown was in Russia, where the Bolsheviks seized the government in the name of the workers, soldiers and peasants; they confiscated and socialized the land, the factories, and all the wealth they could lay hands on, and set up a new economic regime.

"The victor nations united in an effort to put down this revolution; they sent armies and made war on Russia for a couple of years, but they had to quit, for reasons of vast historic significance which have been left unstudied and for most part unrecorded. The victors were so riddled with discontent and revolt that they did not dare trust their own troops; there was a mutiny in the French fleet and several mutinies among British troops about to be shipped to Russia; there occurred the first and only mutiny in the history of the American Army, among Michigan farm boys who had been drafted to 'Can the Kaiser' and found that they were called upon to shoot Russian working men at Murmansk."

Did Herbert Hoover ever murder anyone? Well, listen to Sinclair: "Russia was vast and hard to get at, but the revolution in Hungary was put down by starvation. Mr. Hoover's administrators came home and boasted of the job, and starving people is murder.

"Revolutions were attempted in Finland, Bavaria and elsewhere in Central Europe, and they were suppressed with great difficulty.

There is every reason to expect that the same attempt at revolution will be made by the people of any nation defeated in the next war."

I believe the reason Europe is not at war at this hour of writing is because Germany and Italy do not want to be defeated, for they know it will be Bolshevism for them. The bankers of France and Tories of Britain do not want to defeat Germany or Italy and give that much aid to communism. They cannot make up their minds what to do in Spain, because while they are terrified to see Italy grabbing the Balearics and Germany fortifying Morocco, they are still more terrified by the prospect of a democratic people's regime in Western Europe.

Hoover, you must remember, is a rugged individualist, and they will insist on their pound of flesh even if sponsored by a crooked deal. Well, Hoover, in those days Chairman of the Allied Supreme Economic Council, which was enforcing the food blockade of Russia, was also Chairman of the American Relief Administration, which worked hand in glove with the American Red Cross. Instead of listening to William Bullitt and other internationally known students of the conditions, Hoover withheld food and issued a statement that the cause of the famine was the breakdown of socialism. But the American Red Cross was not entirely asleep. It collected money to feed the starving Russians, but did strange things with the money.

At that time Admiral Kolchak was straining every nerve to defeat the new Soviet state in Siberia. Let Major Graves, in charge of the United States military forces, tell what part the little mother played while supposedly engaged in the humanitarian work of feeding the distressed people: "I am sorry to have to record this, but truth demands it. That the American Red Cross in Siberia was acting as supply agent for Kolchak."

The American Red Cross ran hospitals exclusively for the Kolchak forces. They ordered medical supplies, drugs and medicine, to the value of at least \$2,000,000 for the Kolchak government. The British were supplying Kolchak troops with uniforms.

The United States, through the Red Cross, was also supplying Kolchak troops. A dispatch issued by Major Graves, as recorded by

Major Graves, from the head of the Red Cross, reads: "Please inform Mr. Souskin we are purchasing 300,000 suits of cotton underwear for White Russian Army in China and Japan. Will inform him later regarding second 300,000 ordered in America."

Glorious Red Cross! You see, when money was collected by the Red Cross for humanitarian purposes, banks and big business could have it used to back activities for keeping in slavery a poor people who were striving for something better. This was done in cooperation with the world's international bankers in an attempt to overthrow the Soviet Union. When the White generals were defeated by the Soviet Union, it is reported that the American Red Cross destroyed \$7,000,000 worth of food, bandages, medicine, etc., rather than let it fall into the hands of the starving Russians.

Read the article in *Mercury*. You should understand how the Red Cross collected money to feed the starving children and used most of it to aid the Polish Army against the Soviet Union. Millions of dollars worth of American army supplies were turned over to the Polish army and the Red Cross established relief stations behind the Polish lines. Whenever Polish military detachments had to evacuate, the Red Cross, rather than let food and medical supplies fall into the hands of the Russians, destroyed it. John L. Spivak says, "I state these matters in bold facts: The American people have a right to know for what their money was used. America donated \$23,000,000 for the starved children of Germany, Austria and Armenia, but most of this money was used for military purposes in Poland. They forgot the starved children of Poland, Germany and Austria and furnished food to those countries that were launching an attack upon the Soviet Union, carloads of supplies for starving children and the doors of cars thrown open and Seminoff's soldiers helping themselves."

Walter Duranty tells how when General Yudenitch in the North Baltic with an army of 25,000 was preparing to attack St. Petersburg, our American Red Cross had a boat load of food, 10,000 tons, lying close by to run into St. Petersburg to feed the enemies of the Soviet Union. Then there were General Denikin in the Ukraine and General Wrangel in the Crimea, both furnished with supplies by our

American Red Cross which were collected for the purpose of feeding starving people. Thus the great rugged individualist Hoover fed that part of Russia under the control of the White Army and starved that part under Soviet rule. How many were thus murdered, I cannot tell.

International personages issued pleas to the world powers and in response to these pleas Orlando Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson consented to permit the starving to be fed by the international Red Cross, providing the Russians laid down their arms. This is when Maxim Litvinoff said that bread is a weapon. This offer was made when the Allies were still aiding and financing Kolchak and Denikin. For the Russians to accept food on the basis of laying down their arms meant that the White Army could overrun Russia and overthrow the newly-formed Soviet Union. They refused.

By June, 1921 the Russian famine had become the worst in history. Maxim Gorky (whom wreckers lately poisoned because he sympathized and wrote for the present Russian government) issued an appeal to all honest people, which received such wide attention that the American Red Cross could no longer ignore the deliberate starving of millions as a measure to overthrow a government which American business (I will add the thieves, looters and grafters who got us into the World War) did not like. Criticism in the American press was too great. Hoover started to feed the starving people, but tried to get the new government of Russia to recognize his Russian mining claims. As they were establishing socialism, they turned Hoover and his crowd down. In two days all relief to the starving Russians was stopped, although millions of walking shadows were dying off.

Now I am going to tell you of America's most horrible atrocity. In 1922, in desperation at this inhumanity, the Soviet Union advanced \$12,000,000 in gold for grain seed, explaining that it must leave America not later than January to get to Russia in time for Spring planting. Of the seventeen ships which carried the wheat, only one was allowed to sail early enough for planting. The wheat seed had been paid for, but was held up until it was too late for Spring sowing. I have read that these ships were held up for from three to three and one-half months.

So the famine extended into 1923 and millions starved at the command of American big business. I fear that this same class of rugged individualists will insist that if private enterprise cannot provide jobs for all, and it cannot, that those who have no work shall starve peaceably. Though I can see little justice in the New Deal, it is quite plain that those who oppose the New Deal offer starvation for the unemployed, and don't forget that those same businessmen have profited more than any other group under the New Deal.

THE RUSSIAN DEBT

We say, "Russia, pay your debt to us of \$375,000,000." In the book by Turner, *Shall it be again?*, he tells how our American soldiers at Archangel forced Russians in the army to fight against their government or work in the trenches and when they refused shot them. Russia would pay her debt to us, she has never refused. But she has asked for a joint commission where she could in turn present her claims against the United States. We did not accede to that. Why? Simply because American big business did not wish the American people to learn of our atrocities.

How would you feel toward Russia if these atrocities had been committed by Russians against starving Americans? Yes, the looters and their ignorant followers may cry, "Russia, pay your debts," but if we accepted their suggestion of a joint commission, it would probably go the other way. Why don't we say, "Britain, pay your debts," and she owes us more than thirteen times as much—\$5,000,000,000. Yet she can loan millions to fascist countries.

When up in the Crimea, Dr. Davis and I went to a Pioneer camp. We saw the same well-fed happy children, some darker than the average Russian children, as Asiatic Mohammedans live in this part of Russia. Many of the advanced students of Russia were taking their vacations in this section. Dr. Davis was making many inquiries. When he got through asking them questions, one of the nurses began asking him the same questions that he had asked her. She wanted to know if all American children were able to go to school. She was told that

most of them did, but not all. She wanted to know why all the children did not go to school, and was told that often their parents were too poor to fit them so they could attend school. She asked if there were any starving children in America, and was told that among certain sections such as the cotton region of the South and the coal mining districts and many of the big cities there were many children who did not get sufficient food.

Question: "Are there no food in America for all the people?"

Answer: "There is plenty of food, mountains of it, but the poor people do not have money to buy it."

Question: "Why do not their parents go to work and get money to buy this food?"

Answer: "They are not allowed to work, as big kulaks and landlords own all the jobs and will not hire them."

And then there were two nurses jabbering like lightning. I could not understand, but Dr. Davis laughed heartily at what they thought of America. Another lady had been standing in the doorway. She seemed to be at the head of the Pioneer camp, but up till then had not spoken. She could talk broken English. She asked Dr. Davis: "Is it true that over in America they kill pig and bury him when little children are hungry?"

Answer: "Yes, they did."

Question: "Did they destroy cotton when poor people were ragged and hungry?"

Answer: "Yes, they did that, too."

Question: "What did you people do to him that kill pig and bury him when little children are hungry?"

Answer: "Nothing."

Question: "What, not in jail, not shot? I say you need Comrade Stalin in America. He see man have work, little children have much food, be happy."

They couldn't understand why Americans destroyed food! So you see, those fool Russians can't fathom our up-to-date American ways.

Just where has our great American wealth gone? Here is an article written by Peter Warttinen and Harold V. Knight which throws

a lot of light on that question. Figures were taken from Moody's Investors Service Manual on Industries, for 1936. The article was published in the North Dakota *Union Farmer*. It is about a satisfied farmer by the name of Ole Y. Oleson.

"None of that radical Farmers Union stuff for me. I'm a free and independent farmer; I've made my way by hard work and saving my capital just like Dad and Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller. I have \$10,000 invested in this place, besides twenty years of hard work. Yes, I'm proud to admit I am a capitalist. Free individual enterprise made America, and I'm a good American. There is just as much opportunity to make a pile as there ever was. Now get going."

So spoke Ole Y. Oleson, Ward County farmer, to the Farmers Union organizer. So saying, he viciously crumpled a Lucky Strike cigarette made by the American Tobacco Co., a quarter-billion dollar corporation.

You all know Ole, who inherited a half section of drought-stricken, blistered prairie along with a liberal mortgage held by Equitable Life Insurance (assets of one and one-half billion dollars). Though he raised nothing but 'hoppers, dust, and beetles, he, his wife, two boys and a girl rise at five, wakened by a Montgomery Ward (\$206,000,000 capital) alarm clock and work until nine, when they tumble exhausted into Simmons beds (made by a \$30,000,000 corporation) spread with sheets sold by J. C. Penney (a chain store worth \$82,000,000).

Ole was so mad at the Farmers Union organizer for saying that individual farmers were so helpless they had to get together that he slammed the door of his Chevrolet truck (made by the one and one-half billion dollar General Motors Corporation) and almost broke the windshield (made by Libbey-Owens-Ford, \$45,000,000).

He stopped to fill up at a Standard Oil Station (of Indiana, a \$710,000,000 corporation). Arriving home, he paused at the barbed wire gate, a product of U. S. Steel (a two billion dollar corporation). Then he unloaded the Johns-Mansville shingles (made by a \$40,000,000 concern) and the copper gutter (product of the Anaconda Copper Co., worth more than a half-billion).

Ole went into the house and washed with Ivory soap (made by a \$132,000,000 corporation). For dinner his wife, Mary, had Swift's bacon (from a \$392,000,000 company) bought from the National Food Store (\$18,000,000), Tastee bread (made by Purities Bakeries Corporation (\$32,000,000), Maxwell House coffee (product of General Foods, \$74,000,000), and a pie baked from Gold Medal flour made by the \$59,000,000 General Mills, which also owns a controlling interest in the Red Owl Stores, where Mary bought sugar refined by the \$117,000,000 American Sugar Refining Co.

After dinner Ole listened to an NBC broadcast (a subsidiary of the \$87,000,000 Radio Corporation of America) over a Silvertone radio (sold by Sears Roebuck, \$275,000,000), listening to a Firestone program (\$147,000,000).

All afternoon he drove a McCormick-Deering tractor (International Harvester Co., \$400,000,000), pulling a John Deere plow (Deere & Co., \$88,000,000).

After supper that evening Ole sat down in his favorite chair and read the Chicago *Herald & Examiner*, owned by Hearst publications, a \$128,000,000 corporation, and printed on paper made by the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation (\$102,000,000). He also read Burchard's Washington column flaying the New Deal in the ready-print section of his home town weekly, supplied by Western Newspaper Union, an \$8,000,000 corporation.

Harry Jones, his neighbor, called up over Northwestern Bell Telephone, part of a four billion dollar American Telephone and Telegraph Co., and wanted to go to the show.

Mary slipped on a rayon dress, made of artificial silk produced by the Viscose Corporation, a subsidiary of an English trust worth nearly two billion dollars.

They went to a movie operated by the Minnesota Amusement Co., a subsidiary of Paramount, a \$116,000,000 corporation, and saw a Warner Bros. picture (a \$173,000,000 company).

After the show they stopped at the Woolworth store (\$202,000,000) and bought some Nabiscos (National Biscuit Co., \$123,000,000) and at the Rexall drug store (supplied by United Drug, \$22,000,000) where Ole got some Aspirin (made by Allied Chemical, \$337,000,000) to relieve his slight headache.

On the way home a light burned out in the headlight of the Ford (\$717,000,000) and Ole replaced it with a Mazda lamp, product of General Electric (\$365,000,000). They stopped to let a freight train pass on the Great Northern (eighth largest of Class 1 railroads, combined book value \$25,000,000,000). A locomotive made by Baldwin Locomotive Works (\$72,000,000) was pulling a carload of cattle from Zem's place bound for Armour's (\$325,000,000).

On the way Ole Jr. lit a firecracker (powder a product of DuPont, \$721,000,000) and Ole thought one of his Goodyear tires (made by a \$197,000,000 corporation) had blown out. He sighed with relief when he found that it hadn't and said to his wife:

"Those Farmer Union folks make a lot of noise but that is all. They are so dumb that they do not know America is still the land of opportunity for the small capitalist, merchant and farmer."

Jefferson once stated that a corporation was more dangerous to the liberties of a people than a standing army and Lincoln sensed this at the close of the Civil War when he wrote:

I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is

destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.

Now Mr. Farmer and Mr. City Worker, don't you know that those untold thousands of millions of dollars of wealth of the large corporations represent what you and other useful workers have produced, but which has been filched away from you by people who used their brains? Why don't you go to using your own brains? There is quite an effort right now, quite a bit of propaganda in the United States to prejudice the farmer against organized labor, but the people who are working this stunt in practically all the advertising press and such free papers as *Rural Progress* have beaten you out of thousands where organized labor has got a dollar. What has organized labor got to show? A bare existence. What have you got to show? Have a little sense. Look at the above figures, the big business side of the ledger. It was not organized labor that bought up the editorial policy of over a hundred leading papers and furnished a propaganda of lies to get this country into a world war to collect the debts of America's greatest looters. It was not organized labor that told you that Germany's soldiers were cutting the fingers off the hands of little Belgian babies and cutting hands and bosoms off maidens: it was the big looters who wanted to get you into the war in order to collect their credits and skin you at the same time. It was not organized labor who a few years ago ran the price of corn down to ten and twelve cents a bushel and put the price of wheat down to twenty-five and thirty cents per bushel by calling in bankers' credit; and incidentally closing out 1,200,000 farmers by mortgage foreclosures in about two years. Who was it? Well, the United States Steel trust made more profits in the four years of that war than the combined wages paid to over two million boys who crossed the sea.

Mr. Farmer, a fifty-cent piece looks like a cartwheel when a working man gets it, but \$1,000 fleeced away from you by these combined corporations can't be seen by you. Why is this? I suggest that it may be on account of not using your brains.

This looting class owns our daily press, controls radio and movies,

sends free to two million farmers that *Rural Progress*, with its paid lackey in sheep's clothing as editor (understand he gets \$25,000 a year). Who pays for all this? A few in that less than ten per cent of our people who own more than ninety per cent of America. And it is done for no other purpose than to continue a program to exploit both the farmer and the worker.

You should organize with organized labor and lack of intelligence is all that keeps you from doing so.

THE WAR IN SPAIN

I have been much perturbed lately over what has been going on in Spain. While in Florida last winter, I heard a lecture from a Congregational missionary who had been in Spanish countries for thirty-three years and in Spain itself for eleven years. He told us that when Franco took Granada, a city of 90,000 people, he marched 28,000 people, including 5,000 women, out of the city and shot them. They had favored the Loyalist government and that was not all. They were Spanish people who had left the Catholic church for some protestant church and any Spaniard who has joined a Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Lutheran or any other protestant church in Spain is called a communist and if caught by Franco is shot. You can rest assured that all Spanish people who are protestants are for the Loyalist government and voted for it and the free schools it is sponsoring. Under King Alphonso, seventy per cent of the people were illiterate. The Catholic church had charge of education and you know that church is opposed to free schools.

Coming home from France on the *Champlain*, we met a French Catholic priest. He told us that not one out of twenty of the Loyalists were communists. For a Spaniard to quit the Catholic church and become associated with protestantism or favor universal education is to be considered a communist by the Rebel crowd. And what is the attitude of the protestants in America? They do not seem to be interested. But the Catholics have been very active on behalf of the Rebels. With all Franco's murdering of women and children, the Catholic church has given him its blessing.

More than that, when we went into the World War, we were told it was to make the world safe for democracy. We pulled Great Britain's chestnuts out of the fire for her. She would have been lost if we had not come to the rescue. She still owes us \$5,000,000,000 and now she is run by the Chamberlain-Tory crowd that has been lending all its influence to destroy democracy and build up fascist governments. Do not think that Britain and France could not have stopped both Mussolini and Hitler long ago, but if they had there would have been revolutions in both Italy and Germany, with fine prospects of their going communistic. So Great Britain's plan is to build them up to fight communism and, with Japan's aid, to destroy the Soviet Union.

During the last session of Congress an effort was made to raise the Neutrality Act so the Loyalists of Spain could get supplies manufactured in America to carry on their war in defense of the constitutionally elected republican form of government. This change was opposed by the tory English government and the Catholic church, so nothing was done. I don't think they should have so much influence with the State Department of the United States.

I also heard a Mr. Pershing, nephew of General Pershing, talk at the Tampa auditorium. He told the same thing as the Congregational missionary. Franco had 60,000 Mohammedan Moors fighting for him. Their main incentive for helping Franco was to loot and rape Loyalist women and kill Christians. Probably more than 60,000 Italians were helping Franco. And with no neutrality act to hinder them Mussolini and Hitler have bought arms, airplanes and other supplies and given them to Franco, who calls protestant Loyalists communists and shoots them. But no arms or war materials can be shipped to Loyalist Spain.

While at Tampa, I read an article in the Tampa paper put out by the Catholic Ladies of Jacksonville, to the effect that Franco was fighting communism in Spain. Now what did these Catholics know about conditions in Spain except what their priest told them, who was but doing the bidding of his superiors. When Mussolini sent his troops to kill the unarmed negroes of Ethiopia and when Dolphus

sent his troops against the workers of Vienna (a city two-thirds Socialist, with the best housing of any city of Europe) to shell their apartment houses, killing many women and children, the pope had nothing to say. But when Dolphus was assassinated he said it was a hellish crime.

You know, I told you I'd like to be God for fifteen minutes. I could accomplish quite a bit in that time. One thing I'd do would be to have Franco come over to America, take about fifty thousand protestants from all denominations in America, have him call them communists and shoot them. Maybe that would open their eyes. As to who controls our State Department and as to what is taking place in Spain, I do not think I am very radical. I would surely be humane. By the way, Mr. Protestant, suppose your church wished to get control of any country and to do so it organized a rebellion financed by your church and the rich and every Catholic you caught you called him a communist and shot him. If you did this, what would be the attitude of the Catholics the world over? Yes, there are many good Catholic people, but they do not understand what the higher-ups in their church are doing to them.

And what about this communism, anyway, that excites the people's ginger to such a great extent? The capitalist press has built a demon and called it communism. There were many branches of early Christians who were communists. Ask the Catholic church what became of the Husites and Waldanese. It is a fact of history that from the death of Jesus Christians lived as communists for two hundred and fifty years. Gibbons, the English historian, hated the early Christians because they were communists. Rollins' *Ancient History*, volume 4, London edition, page 312, says the early Christians were communists, that they lived in communities, ate at a common table, opposed the private ownership of land, mills, timber and minerals, opposed war and were hated by the Roman government. Ward in his *Ancient Lowly*, two large volumes, puts in about eighty pages describing the lives of early communist Christians. In the Acts of the Apostles did not they put everything in common and nobody wanted? Ananias and his wife got in very badly in that crowd. Some one said, "If you

have two coats and your neighbour has none, give him one." And again this undesirable said, "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." And is it not true that when a rich man asked Jesus what he must do Jesus told him to go and sell what he had and to give to the poor? Why? Because the poor had been robbed out of what was now his wealth, just as our great corporations have robbed the farmers and workers of America.

And this Nazarene went into a Wall Street money changer's place run by the rich, upset their tables and lashed them out. When he did that he undoubtedly had quite a backing. It seems a bad charge was made against him. He stirred up the people and the poor followed him gladly, and I'll bet he had quite a mob with him when he went into that temple, a mob that the rich would speak of today as a bunch of roughnecks. Immediately plans were laid to make away with him. What country in the world is there today to which Jesus could come without being called a communist and being shot or put in prison? Would it be only Russia?

Do communists of America want to overthrow the government of the United States by revolution? Not as long as we have a democracy and can honestly use the ballot. The poor of Russia did not have democracy. Therefore if they were to liberate themselves from their horrible slavery revolution was their only hope. Will there ever be bloody revolution in America? Not as long as we have a pure democracy. But if Wall Street can bring about a fascist government with a dictator of their choice, controlling the people by military force, then a bloody revolution is not only possible, but it is justifiable, though it probably would then be too late.

I say that nine-tenths of the people who anathematize communism have but little idea what it is and when these United States established a democracy it was just as much despised among the crowned heads of Europe as communism is today. I am not a communist. I want something better.

I have but little more to say about what I saw in Russia. When we

left Odessa we went north up to Kiev. Such wonderful grain crops! The most important place I visited there was the catacombs. They are near a large cathedral. We went down and down, following a tunnel. There would be a little niche in the side of the tunnel and a coffin containing a saint. He might have been dead for eight hundred years, but drop a piece of money in a slot, kiss the glass over his dried up face and you get his blessing. Every once in a while you come across a room with some form of icons, always a place to drop money for a blessing. I believe there are over a hundred such places. One place there is a grand bust of Jesus. Oh, but it was gorgeous! There were three places to drop money there. One for the poor, one for the middle class and one for the rich. Another place there is a large oval bowl-shaped glass and it covered about a dozen skulls. Of course, all were saints. They were resting in silver bowls, about a foot in diameter, and in front was a bowl of water. Women who did not have children and wanted children would have them if they dropped some money in a place, ask the blessings of the skull saints and then drink some water. Not a woman in our crowd had any children. I offered to drop the money in for them and let them drink, but they hiked out of there. Women are kind of strange sometimes. The women who came there to drink some of the water in the days of the Czar were supposed to stay there and be provided for by the monks for a week or two. I saw where a monk had killed his two concubines. The Bolsheviks closed this institution in 1929. It is surely awful how the Bolsheviks have destroyed religion, isn't it? But it is not all destroyed, for our crowd attended church in a great cathedral in Moscow.

Now, friend, my story of Russia is done. The atrocities I have given here are real and horrible. War is brewing all over the world. I believe the greatest snake in the grass is the Tory leadership of Great Britain. Not only Great Britain, but in our own beloved America we have men high in our government who are openly in sympathy with reaction and will support a fascist government in our country. But look how their influence is extended to Franco. Our vested interests

of America, the wealthy class, would rather see civilization perish than give up their privilege of exploiting both farmers and workers. Don't be fooled, they would rather exterminate you than give up the privilege of making a profit from your toil. History is repeating itself. After about a thirty-year war in Europe, the crowned heads organized to aid each other in keeping down democracy. It was called the Holy Alliance. Today the great bankers and industrialists of the world are organizing to keep the poor in subjection. They are determined that the Soviet Union must be destroyed. For the workers of the world must not have the powerful object lesson of abundance for all that is fast becoming a reality there!

You surely have not forgotten how the advertising press predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union at the outset of the First Five-year Plan. They were disappointed. When Russia began its Second Five-year Plan they just knew that it could not succeed. But it did, in four, instead of five years. Now Russia is well along on its Third Five-year Plan, which ends in 1942, and what does it promise? Increase in light industry, 103 per cent; increase in heavy industry, 69 per cent; increase in agriculture, 50 per cent. Just recently the government has promised free bread to every man, woman and child beginning in 1940. Bread as free as the air you breathe, and they have fine bread in Russia, several varieties. I never ate better.

Do you think this impossible? Not in a land where the workers can plan their lives. In Russia they have no banking monopoly, no milling trust. They have none of the many corporations that exploit the workers as they do in America. Can you vision what a godsend this would be for the poor in the United States? No more malnutrition. No more spindle-legged, hollow-cheeked little children. The forty million people who are ill-fed could enjoy an abundance of good wholesome bread. There would be no more eating out of garbage cans as I have seen in various parts of the United States. Bread, all you needed, as free as the water you drink at a drinking fountain. No the Russian workers will not waste their bread, or any other food. Under the profit system food and other necessities are often destroyed so that a few can get increased profits. Just consider what takes place in

America. In California alone thousands of tons of food are destroyed, oranges and other fruits and vegetables, while millions hunger for them. Workers produce the food of Russia and they get the benefit and enjoyment of it. Workers produce the food and all good things in the United States, but capitalists control it and first make a profit upon it before any worker may eat. The question arises: can we ever produce for use in the United States and not for the profits of a few parasites? Surely, but we must have abundance and not scarcity, order and not anarchy. We can have it here just as soon as the people who do useful labor decide to plan for themselves. Do we believe it possible for the Soviet Union to furnish bread, all that is needed, as free as the air? I can tell you who do believe they can and will succeed in their promise: Chamberlain, William Randolph Hearst, DuPont, Morgan and all vested interests are quite sure that Russia will carry out this promise; that they will succeed in planning for the welfare, comfort and happiness of all their people.

This is the reason for the great effort to destroy the present Russian government, led by Chamberlain, who has been aiding fascist countries in re-arming. The big capitalists of all countries hope to see Germany and her allies destroy the present Soviet Union. The Munich agreement was signed to further this aim. That is why the democratic government of Spain has been left to its fate at the hands of the fascists. The capitalist press calls it a civil war. That is a big lie. It is the conquest of a legally elected democratic government by Mussolini, with the aid of Hitler and the Catholic church. They want a Spain as it was under King Alphonso, when seventy per cent of the people were illiterate.

The fascists and vested interests of the United States have no more use for democracy than they have for communism. Do communists want to destroy our democratic government? No! But the big capitalists are destroying it and have almost succeeded.

I believe the policy of Stalin is correct: "Let Russia cultivate its own garden," and that the best means of revolutionary propaganda would be the establishment of a prosperous socialist republic where everyone could be happy and comfortable, but no man might exploit

another. I am quite certain that those who accuse progressive people of being aided by Moscow are lying. It is not the policy of the Bolsheviks to meddle in other countries. It is possible, however, that Herbert Hoover may be getting aid from Moscow, as I believe he is making more communists in America than anyone else.

Walter Duranty says: "Whether you approve of the Bolsheviks and their methods or not, the fact remains that they have applied, developed and set going in a practical form the only complete national collectivization which the world has known since the Inca civilization." Ponder on this. The attitudes and the actions of most of the monied class show that they will use all their power to starve the masses, war to debauch the nation and to destroy democracy in America, as well as other countries. Where will it end? It depends a whole lot on just what influence the advertising press, *Rural Progress* and other mediums of propaganda can have upon the farmers. The rich are working to make fascist tools out of them, stirring up hate for organized labor, and remember it is no dream. The National Survey of Potential Production, made by sixty scientists after seventy days investigation, said that in 1929 there could have been wealth produced to the value of \$4,370 for every family in the United States. But as it is we let a few hog it. Even if they lived ten thousand lifetimes they could not spend what they have already accumulated from the toil of useful workers.

But I still prefer America to Russia. I am better off here, for I and Henry Ford, DuPont and others do not have to work in America—that is, I don't if the Morgan crowd does not skin me out of what I have. They have been at that game right along. Our family income is considerable. I could not equal it in Soviet Russia, but some of the people who work for me and pay me interest would be better off in Russia. They would be more secure and would have a better opportunity for their children. Yes, Morgan and I are satisfied to continue in the United States. But the unemployed, sharecroppers and about forty million people of America would find a better future in Russia, for Russia is on the upgrade and I hate to think where the United States is sliding to.

I am reading now of Germany mobilizing an army, Britain her navy, France is all stirred up. What is to become of the Czechs? I tell my friends that there will be no war now. Chamberlain and the Tory elements of Britain favor fascism. So does our Wall Street crowd. The present British policy is to build up a strong Germany in order to crush Russia. So the poor Czechs are doomed. Hitler may make demands, but will get just what he and the Chamberlain crowd have previously agreed upon. A real camouflage. I learned that a few months ago while in London. Capitalism the world over intends to crush the Stalin plan. And friends, the Stalin plan is succeeding and if allowed to continue the workers all over the world will want the same security. Consider what American capitalism did in Russia during the counter-revolutionary wars to crush the Bolsheviks.

I hope that everyone who reads this booklet will think out a plan for social betterment. Every intelligent person knows that a change is absolutely necessary. We Americans seem to know how to complain and condemn, but do not know how to build something better.

So for a remedy and the reasons for putting it into effect.

THE COBLENTZ PLAN

Don't you know by this time that capitalism is dead and never again can function so as to provide for the wants of all people? We must positively give up the profit system and operate all industry for the benefit of the many, instead of for the profit of a few rich. Do not overlook that we are now in our final depression and prosperity is not around the corner. Positively no national planning can take place under private ownership of industry. An economy of abundance cannot be brought about under the profit system. The looters will hog it all just as they are doing today. The means of life must be taken over by the government.

Would this be just? Well, is slavery just? If you own me as property you can do as you please with me. For thousands of years this private ownership of fellow human beings was considered just and moral. But a change has taken place. We now say that such ownership is not just and moral. But there is a new form of slavery that is

just as immoral. For if some few own the things we must have access to in order to exist, they virtually own us. It is slavery, immoral and a wrongful possession of property. The negro of the South knew he was a slave and when he had a chance to escape to Canada he took it, as he did not think it was just that he should be slave to a master. The white workers of America as yet are not all wise as to who owns them and the proper plan to escape from their slavery.

How are we going to get possession of the means of life, so that everyone who is able and willing to work can have a twentieth century machine age existence and can enjoy the necessities and comforts of life, to the extent of about what \$5,000 will purchase today?

But perhaps you feel that those who hold the wealth today came by it honestly? Well, really, when we some day know to what extent this owning class has robbed society, I dare say we shall find that they are entitled to nothing. Under the profit system there are many ways to loot, greed and graft the people.

I would ask you: What is the difference between watered stock and counterfeit money? A big prison sentence awaits the counterfeiter if he is caught. But we have been robbed of hundreds of dollars by the manipulators of watered stock for every five cents we have lost to counterfeiters. Senator LaFollette, Sr. stated that during Theodore Roosevelt's administration trust capitalization grew from about three and a half billions to thirty-one billion dollars, of which seventy per cent was watered stock (counterfeit). The kept press, trust controlled, pictured Teddy with a big stick busting the trusts. This plunderbund knew Teddy better than the people did.

So seventy per cent of this stock was watered, or counterfeit! That would be eighteen and a half billion dollars, that much counterfeit put over on the people in Teddy's administration. But this counterfeit issuance of stock commenced much earlier. Jay Gould practiced the same in his crooked railroad deals. They all did, in our power, light and gas, in every field. We buy very little that does not have to pay dividends on this counterfeit. We have a staggering debt burden of 250 billion dollars, of which one-third is watered stock, or counterfeit. That would be close to eighty billion dollars. The plun-

der-bund, by issuing this watered stock often get fifteen per cent, twenty-five per cent, and as high as fifty per cent and more on the actual investment and all this interest on inflated value is paid by the productive worker. The preacher, lawyer, banker, editor and realtor, that class and their hirelings produce nothing. In the final analysis, the productive worker pays it all. To the productive worker interest per family per year on counterfeit alone amounts to something like \$400. Everything that any other class is supposed to pay is always passed on to the productive worker. This debt burden has been growing by leaps and bounds and has lately increased much faster than population. Is it any wonder that the useful workers are becoming poorer and the scheming rich are becoming richer?

Now for the question: are dividends on watered stock (counterfeit stock) honestly acquired wealth or is it stolen wealth? Assuredly, it is not honest, but stolen and no more honest than to counterfeit the currency. Friends, the robber barons have been stealing from us and if we are ever intelligent enough to require them to make restitution for what they have already stolen from society, it would take all natural resources, public utilities and basic industries to settle their previous robberies.

Now, if you feel that the present owners are entitled to something and to keep our country from drifting into fascism or communism, and I do not want either, the plan I now propose will work and be more than just to the present big owners.

THE PLAN

Let the nation take over all wealth-producing means, machinery, power and all lands not farmed by the owners and pay for them in two per cent non-taxable bonds, good only for the lifetime of the holders, interest payable in consumable goods only. No year's income to exceed \$10,000; anything above that to be confiscated. Should any family be allowed a yearly income of more than \$10,000 when there are now six million families on relief and poor charity? The owners of said bonds could take their interest in autos, beans, coal, travel, gas, oil, and so forth—anything their hearts might de-

sire. Would it not be more just to conscript these basic means of life from the big owners so that all God's children may have abundance than it was for them to conscript (kidnap) our boys and take them over to Europe to collect debts for them?

Now, if this plan does not suit you, try another.

ROB THE DEAD

The dead are the most peaceable part of our society. Why should the children of the vested interests inherit productive property, mostly ill-gotten, that keep the children of the workers dependent and in slavery? Let Uncle Sam be the smiling heir. Let inheritance apply to only personal things, all capital property to be taken by the government when the original owner dies. Do you say that big business will scheme to evade the law? Of course they will, if you allow them to make the laws as they mostly do today. But if transfer of capital property to children or others was only good for the lifetime of the original owner, the one who was in possession of such property when the law was passed, then how could they? Soon the government would own all capital property.

Then how could it be operated? Well, when we once are organized politically so we can take over capital property, we could head our government with say twelve of our best scientists whose business it would be to encourage production and see that distribution kept pace with production. A good engineer at the head of every large industry. Then everybody could work, and work for the government. If not, why not? Does not everybody want a government job now? And whether producing individually or collectively, all labor products could be taken over and distributed by the government and each worker could get from the government a money value based on the labor performed. Then the government would always have on hand the necessities and comforts of life to redeem every dollar issued. And this would be an Honest Dollar, the only kind of Honest Dollar possible. These dollars could even have the name of the worker stamped on them and when redeemed by the government could be cancelled just as we do postage stamps today. Then, pray tell me,

how any of our racketeers of high finance could control markets and credits?

I well know that people who depend upon the advertising press for information regarding national and international affairs, will have a very poor understanding of what is going on in the world. There are several magazines that are not controlled by advertising and that give reliable information. Two of these are the *Nation* and the *New Republic*. For instance, in the November 9th and 16th, 1938, issues of the *New Republic* you will learn how the Catholic hierarchy has condoned and upheld the murder of civilians.

Here are some of the world's intellectuals who have a kind word to say for Russia and her program:

Harold Laski, Professor of Political Science, London School of Economics.

Corliss Lamont, writer and lecturer.

Max Lerner, Professor of Government, Williams College.

D. W. Prall, Professor of Ethics, Harvard University.

Robert M. Lovett, University of Chicago.

Emil Ludwig and Harry F. Ward, Professors of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary.

Don't remain ignorant of what fascism is doing in the world and in America. Read *Secret Armies*, by John L. Spivak, Modern Age Books, Inc., 432 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The price is 50 cents.

For a sensible plan for abundance for all, write to the *American Guardian*, Oklahoma City, Okla.

To useful workers a last thought: Fascism is capitalism in dictatorial control. It is backed and supported by the international bankers and the exploiters of labor everywhere. To gain political power and from that complete military control they attempt to scare you into supporting them by loudly declaring that they are fighting communism.

Do not let the big looters and their multitude of stooges fool you. Fascism is not only slavery for working people, but it means whole-

sale murder. Hitler's and Mussolini's airplanes drop bombs on defenseless women and children in Spain. The Japanese fascists murder Chinese women and children. And at home these fascists, once in power, have suppressed every civil and human right of the workers of their own countries. Thousands who did not like slavery have been murdered and many thousands more rot away in concentration camps. All these things are done in the name of fighting communism.

And now, Mr. Farmer and Mr. Worker, can't you see that it is the big looters who are back of the propaganda that labels all progressive movements as communistic?

It is not done to protect you in keeping what little you have left, but to get it also, and hold onto the loot they have already robbed you of. These are the vultures who cannot use argument, but label as communistic all that they cannot answer.

Our most intelligent farmers realize that prosperity for them depends upon the welfare of labor. If labor is employed at good wages there is a better market for the farmer. The \$40,000,000 taken to Europe by Barbara Hutton is of no benefit to American farmers. Think of the thousands of millions of dollars that have gone that way!

Interest and dividends, \$22,480,000,000 in 1937, produced by useful workers, of which ten per cent of the population receives ninety per cent, represents exploitation of farmer and worker. If it could have been paid out in increased wages there would have been real prosperity.

Mr. Farmer, why any longer be controlled by your exploiters? Your only hope is in united organization with labor, for the greatest asset of corporate wealth is unorganized labor and you belong to that crowd. If organized labor is crushed you will go down with them. You swim or sink together.

One more question. How long will the world be cursed by wars? Is it not silly to pray for peace and uphold a system that leads to wars? Friends, this world will be cursed by wars as long as the profit system lasts, by which a few can accumulate and live off the toil of their fellow human beings.

Mr. Farmer, you have always voted and worked against everyone who toils, including yourself. Stop it!

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THE
Philosophy of Socialism

BY
A. M. SIMONS

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM.

People often speak of Socialism as if it were a system that could be "enacted," a plan that was proposed, or an elaborated Utopia offered for criticism. It is discussed as if it were a "reform" that could be compared with other reforms, and Socialists are asked to unite with "other reform forces." Such talk implies an utter misapprehension of the essential characteristics of Socialism.

It should be distinctly understood from the beginning that Socialism is not the name of a state of society, either proposed or existing. The "Co-operative Commonwealth" is no more Socialism in the true sense of the word than was the Competitive society of our fathers, or the Monopolistic society of to-day.

Socialism is the philosophy of social development that treats of the great economic laws, according to the working of which each of these stages of society must naturally be a development from its predecessor. There is no common ground between Socialism and any scheme or plan for the improvement of society. To attempt to unite it with any of these is as sensible as to ask an astronomer to "fuse" with some reformer who is

seeking to improve the climate by introducing changes in the earth's orbit, because astronomy treats of the laws causing variations in the relative position of the earth and sun.

The basis of Socialism in this sense is found in what is sometimes called the "materialistic conception of history," or Economic Determinism. The foundation of this conception was stated as follows in the preface to the 1888 edition of the famous Communist Manifesto, issued by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in 1848.

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization 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.

"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.

"The history of these class struggles forms a series of revolutions, 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 for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

Perhaps this position can be made clearer by an illustration from the field of biology. It is a well known law in the world of plants and animals that in any organism the entire form and structure is simply the most advantageous manner of arranging the material of which the plant or animal is composed in order to meet the difficulties with which it is surrounded. Every limb, muscle, leaf, branch, or root was developed because its existence was of advantage to the organism as a whole in obtaining its support from its environment.

In the same way society as a whole is simply the form in which its members unite to conquer nature. It is a machine, an organism, a structure with which to obtain the Good desired by its members.

Let this not be misunderstood. If society is but a means to the satisfaction of human desires through conquest of an external world, the lowness of a society does not depend upon this fact but only upon the lowness of the desires that govern. If all the social energies are expended in the production of the means to satisfy the merely animal desires to the neglect of all that is good and true and beautiful, and if even then these necessities are not secured to the majority of the members of society, then that society is indeed bestial.

If, on the other hand, the social organization is such that the animal needs are secondary, secured to all by mechanical means, while opportunity

and leisure are guaranteed to every one for the development of the ethical and artistic,—then the plane of organization is vastly higher.

In other words this philosophy is a "pig philosophy" only to the pigs. To those whose idea of "goods" to be produced and desires to be satisfied embraces the productions of a Wagner, a Brown- ing, a Murillo, or a Shakespeare, there is nothing debasing in the idea that production is the only reason for a social organism.

The position being once granted that the Economic Organization determines all social forms and structures, then, *the manner in which a society disposes of its productive powers, the "goods" it sets about to produce, and the manner of their production*, become the great fundamental social facts.

THE RULE OF SOCIAL CLASSES.

The Socialist holds that up to and including the present society the form, mode, and objects of social production have always been determined by a ruling social class in its interest. This class has determined the form and administration of government, set the fashions in dress and manners, formulated codes of ethics, and in general has exercised all the powers of social control.

If its members were Egyptian Pharaohs, they built pyramids with the labor of enslaved Hebrews; if Grecian aristocrats, they carved marble dreams and expounded philosophies of life while supported by the labor of captive helots: if

medieval barons, they erected robber castles, and amused themselves in tournaments, supported by the toil of helpless serfs; if modern plutocrats, they built sky-scrapers, wrecked railroads, endowed colleges, and gave Bradley-Martin balls from the earnings of exploited wage-slaves.

This ruling class has often changed in character. Changing economic organization has continually developed new social classes that have sought the overthrow of the rulers that they might obtain its coveted privileges. The chronicle of these struggles for the position of ruling class constitutes the major part of our written history.

At the close of the Middle Ages the nobility occupied the ruling position. The economic basis of their rule was ownership of the land to which the laborers were attached. They despised the arising trading class, and refused them all social and political privileges. But the appearance of this class was the sign of the growth of a new system of production, the development of which was to raise them to the position of rulers.

Lowest of all was the helpless working-class, from time immemorial the tool of every warring class, and the supporter of the whole social pyramid. Absolutely without rights, they had been hitherto utterly ignored even by the chroniclers of events. Save as they had revolted at various times against some more than ordinarily excessive oppression: in a helot uprising a revolt of Spartacus, a Wat Tyler or Jack Cade rebellion.

or a French Jacquerie, or later when they slipped from beneath the hand of the mercantile class who were using them to break the power of the nobility, and in a French Revolution or a Paris Commune forced themselves and their sufferings upon the attention—only in such cases are they even considered a part of the material of history. Each of the other classes of society have said in turn with Louis XIV., "L'Etat c'est moi" (I am the state—everything), but the laborer has ever been but the material upon which all others rested as they would rest their feet upon the earth.

ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT LABORING CLASS.

Let us go back for a moment to the time when the modern wage-working class had its origin. While the present laborer is the legitimate successor of all the previous toilers who have lived and suffered and died beneath the social Juggernaut, he has had an origin and a history of his own as much apart from other history as any class or social stage is separated from the vast net-work of events, the movements of which historians chronicle.

In the middle of the last century he still owned his tools and the material upon which he worked, and was the rightful owner as well as the actual possessor of the finished product. Things were not produced for some unknown impersonal market, but for some specific individual whose needs they were to supply. Prices and wages were

fixed by custom or law, and competition was felt but little as an economic force. Laws of the market fixed the breadth and fineness of cloth, size and weight of bread, price and quality of corn, and the form and place of bargaining. Poor-laws and the assize of wages determined the rate of wages and the hours of labor. Laws of settlement immovably fixed the abode of great masses of humanity. Exchange between nations or cities was hampered, restricted, and regulated at every point in the interest of a multitude of little cliques of nobility residing in the different centers of trade. Population was gathered in small social groups—towns, villages, and parishes, around individual members of the ruling class, and held together by the system of land tenure previously referred to, or by a personal tie to a small employer. But within this apparently fixed and permanent social organization, there were the developing germs of a mighty transformation that was destined to change all this almost in the twinkling of an eye as compared with former social changes.

A new continent was being opened to settlement. New markets were springing up over the entire world. New routes of travel and trade shifted population and changed its character. The methods of production grew wholly inadequate to the changed conditions. Watt, Stephenson, Arkwright, Nasmyth, Hargreaves and a multitude of others transformed the tools of the laborer until they produced beyond the wildest

dreams of former days. A single factory now demanded the entire world as a market for a vast product, and the railway and the steamship opened the way for the distribution thus demanded.

NEW SOCIAL RELATIONS FROM NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The manner in which society produced its "goods" was completely transformed. New relations of man to the external world were introduced. The social environment was changing. Society was securing its "goods" from nature in a new way. By the biological analogy, and in obedience to the economic law with which we started we should now expect to see great changes take place in all social institutions. When a plant or animal meets with new conditions in its struggle for existence it either perishes or changes the form of its structure. For example, the Australian parrots becoming meat eaters, their stomach, beak, and talons became transformed for that purpose. Everywhere the same law governs. The production and distribution of what the organism decides to be its "goods" determines all else. The time of which we speak illustrates this.

The new economic relations demanded new social organization. The new developments were hampered by the old restrictions that sought to determine by law the relations of man to man. The old nobility had rested upon custom enacted

into law. It desired stability and had used the powers of the state which it controlled to secure that end. The just arising mercantile class, which had been produced by the new economic conditions, wished freedom of trade and contract that they might not be fettered in the extension of markets and exploitation of labor. They overthrew the nobility and landed class, gained control of the political power, and becoming the dominant class enacted their class interests into legal regulations. They inaugurated the reign of *laissez faire*, competition, and free contract. They abolished the old laws of the market and opened wide the flood-gates of adulteration, shoddy, advertising and all the tricks of trade. They broke down the old barriers that hedged the laborer about with restrictions and protection, and gave to him "freedom of contract": freedom to little children scarce out of babyhood, to be harnessed to cars beneath the ground or to toil for long hours in herds in the newly-erected hells called factories; freedom to women to enter occupations that swept them off like sheep before a plague and laid the curse upon unborn generations; freedom to men to starve by thousands upon the fields of England because they had been released from bondage to their means of production. They swept away the restrictions on international commerce and inaugurated "free trade": free trade with China in opium, at the muzzles of British cannon; free trade in brass watches, tinsel ornaments and vile

rum with African tribes, amid the rattle of Gatling guns and the crack of repeating rifles firing "dum-dum" bullets; and finally free trade in American capitalist products of a similar nature with the islands of the sea, under the protection of thirteen-inch guns and dynamite cruisers. Everywhere and at all times the capitalist class has used its position as a governing class to advance its interests with a recklessness and an abandon never attempted by any previous ruling class.

DESTRUCTIVE FORCES IN PRESENT SOCIETY.

Within this economic stage and consequent social development as within its predecessors lies the germ of its destruction and the foundation of another order. Its economic organization has developed the class that is to bring about its overthrow and to erect upon its foundation a society without economic classes. This coming ruling class of which all will be members is the present laboring class, the despised proletariat, the actual producers with hand and with brain. At the close of the last century this class had just been driven in from the fields by inclosures and out from the guilds by confiscations and internal upheavals. Deprived of the legal and customary protection that had hedged them about in their old relations, they were almost at a single stroke transformed from individual producers into units of productive force, salable upon a free labor market.

Their tools were transformed into great machines owned by another social class to whom in consequence they must sell this productive power, upon a market where supply must always exceed demand and where all the conditions of bargaining were to their disadvantage.

This new economic condition wrought a social transformation in the laborers. Common suffering forced the brotherhood of toil upon them. They united first in trade-unions, seeking to limit the terms of brotherhood to those who worked at the same bench or beneath a common master. Trade lines disappeared before the machine, individual masters were swallowed up in the trust, the limits of the market were broken at every point by railroad, steamship, telegraph and telephone until the laborer was forced to recognize that wherever there is an outcast from the means of production, a man who must use another man's tools to live—a wage-slave, in short—there is a brother. He begins to see that the only line of division of interest to him is that between the buyers and the sellers of labor power, between the owners and the users of the forces of production, between the workers and the idlers, between capitalists and laborers, between proletariat and bourgeois, between rulers and ruled, between master and slave.

SOCIAL PRODUCTION VS. INDIVIDUAL DISTRIBUTION.

It is evident to every one that there are great and fundamental contradictions in our present

social system. Our economic and social organization are irreconcilably at variance. Production is now social, while distribution is still individual. A manufacturing plant is to-day a social institution. It manufactures for society, personified in the market. Its products gain their value from the society in which the factory exists. The organization of its members is a social one and forms a social unit. The knowledge of trade processes, powers of nature, and all but a few of the latest mechanical contrivances are the inheritance of society from previous ages.

The owners have long ago abrogated the function of management, and confine their efforts to drawing dividends on stock. An infant, an idiot, or an insane person might well be (and not infrequently is, as the ward of the court) a great capitalist to-day. Money invested in any well established stock company insures to its owner the best talent obtainable for its management, and gives him the power to compel multitudes of workers to toil for him while he lives upon the unearned increment of their labor. The managers of industry are to-day hired laborers, wage-slaves, if you please, who, however much different they may consider themselves and are considered by others, are, as we shall see later subject to the same laws and tendencies that affect their more humbly paid brothers. In so far as present owners act as managers of industry they are as individuals functioning in a dual social capacity. Their function as capitalists in

no way includes such management. The capitalist class, as a class, have become parasitic, but they fail to read the handwriting on the wall, that it is an inexorable law of nature that a useless organ must disappear.

NATURE AND DIRECTION OF THE COMING CHANGE.

These economic changes foretell social transformations. The nature and direction of this impending change then becomes of the first importance. Here then is no room for theories. As ever conclusion must be drawn from existing facts. Whatever change may come, of this we may rest assured, that it will be a development from existing society brought about by the operation of economic laws within that society.

In our examination of industry we have seen that the only vital, necessary portion is the laborers, the producers, the workers at forge, plow, loom or desk. These workers are seen to be organized into carefully graded and systematized bodies who are carrying on the whole process of production independent of the owners. Even when the process of concentration and introduction of corporate management is not yet complete, the apparent function of the owner will generally be found to exist, not in bettering production, but in fighting rivals, and hence an unnecessary function aside from competition.

It is the laborers who alone can organize the society of the future. What form will that organization take?

We have to-day social production and individual distribution. This contradiction arises from the fact that production is carried on by socially organized groups of laborers, while distribution is determined through individual ownership of the means of production which gives the control of the product to such owners. Collective ownership being substituted for individual ownership in land and capital, *the control of production and distribution becomes collective*, and the conflict ceases. In this way only can the social organism be adjusted to economic development. In accordance with the fundamental biological law with which we started, this must be done or our social organism stands out of adjustment to its environment in its most vital organs, and must perish as "unfit." There is no other alternative. It is forward to co-operative production and distribution, or backward to destruction.

HOW THE CHANGE WILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT.

The direction of the coming change being determined, the next vital question is as to the manner in which it shall be brought about. On this point there is no room for theories, schemes, plans or Utopias. We must turn again to existing facts and seek in them the laws and direction of further development.

Capitalism has drawn the workers together in great masses and then trained and disciplined them in mammoth industrial establishments into

compact organic bodies. The wage-system wiped out personal relations between employers and employes, and threw the laborers upon their own resources, developing independence, self-reliance and initiative.

All this aroused in the laborers a consciousness of their class interests, relations and common brotherhood. At first this feeling was confined to trade lines, and the efforts of the workers were limited to endeavors to secure better bargains with their employers by collective bargaining through their trade-unions. They sought to enforce their demands by common refusals to work, or strikes. The strike required certain conditions for success that are fast passing away. It demanded that a trade education should be of value. If any man from the streets could take the striker's place failure was almost inevitable. The machine to-day has made this condition the rule. A sewing-machine factory has been transformed into one for bicycles with scarcely the change of a man. Prisoners in the Wisconsin state prison become expert shoemakers in a few weeks. One of the owners of the largest soap works in America told me a short time ago that if every man in his factory should leave, he could train up a new force as efficient as the old in two weeks. The brotherhood of labor has broken through trade lines, and to overlook this fact indicates unpardonable blindness on the part of many alleged friends of labor.

Other facts teach the same lesson. Some years

ago there was a strike in the New Bedford Cotton Mills. Although everything seemed favorable to the strikers, they soon came back to work (as many as could) defeated. Their work was being rapidly transferred to the child operated mills of the South. The circle of brotherhood of these New England workers was widened to include these little ones by the same stern law that Carlyle pointed out in his story of the poor widow of Edinburgh, who appealed to one after another of the charitable societies and individuals of that city only to be rejected because she did not belong in their particular circle of humanity, and who was then taken with fever and in her death proved her common sisterhood by infecting twelve of those who had refused her.

Still another instance illustrating a double point. England is the home of "pure and simple" trades-unionism—the organization along trade lines for economic purposes only. The strongest union in England is the engineers. Some time ago this union struck. Their coffers were full beyond the wildest dreams of early trades-unionists. The public gave additional sums of great amount. Their organization and discipline was perfect. Yet they failed at every point. Why? Because while they posted pickets in Leeds and Birmingham and Sheffield and along the Thames and the Clyde, they forgot to guard South Chicago and Homestead and Pittsburg. They never thought of the "scabs" in the Brooks and Baldwin locomotive works, and so they

found themselves being undersold in the markets of the world, and were forced to recognize that only a quick acceptance of their employers' demands would save them from the total loss of what faint opportunity remained for the sale of their labor power.

Everywhere the fact of a world market and a cosmopolitan laborer is arguing out to the logical conclusion of an international brotherhood of toil and a world-wide revolution. In vain does the capitalistic class raise the cry of a false patriotism and seek to arouse race and national prejudice. The fatherland of labor is as wide as human suffering and will not be bound by narrow geographical or racial lines.

FURTHER EXTENSION OF BROTHERHOOD.

Even with all this broadening of human unity there yet remained lines of division and separation to wipe out before the laborer was ready to enter upon his last strong struggle for human freedom. There are, so to speak, vertical as well as horizontal lines of division. There was an aristocracy of labor composed of those having a more elaborate education or preparation for their work than others. These have constituted the so-called "brain workers." A common complaint of the ignorant against socialists has been that they refused to accord to such workers the dignity of being productive laborers. On the contrary, no other philosophy has ever so clearly pointed out the value and historical function of the labor of

organization and direction. It has only been insisted upon that the fact previously alluded to, that such labor is no part of the capitalist's function, be recognized. These workers, however, have always sought to keep aloof from their more sorely oppressed brothers and to affiliate with and imitate the manners and customs of the capitalistic class. New economic developments, however, are changing this.

ENDOWMENTS.

Widespread systems of popular education, numerous trade and technical schools, with universities and colleges in abundance have fitted great bodies of men for these hitherto favored positions and brought home to those who had looked upon themselves as "not like unto those other laborers" the fact that competition and capitalist exploitation are no respecters of persons. From this class the workers receive the intellectual training and direction that is to give scientific accuracy to their struggle for liberty. Thus all things work together to unify, solidify, educate and prepare the laborer for the duties and responsibilities of the function the evolution of the ages has assigned to him.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE ALWAYS A POLITICAL ONE.

The change is then to come through an international movement of the laborers to obtain control of the tools and land upon whose use

their life depends, that they may control the distribution of the product. What will cause them to take this step? Turn again to the book of life and read your answer in the course of events. The laborer seeking through economic struggles to better his condition comes ever in conflict with the fact referred to in the beginning of this article, that the governing power belongs to his opponents. When he strikes it is not the capitalist as a capitalist that overthrows him, but the capitalist under the disguise of government. In the last analysis it is the municipal police, the state and national troops and courts that conquer him.

He sees the laws, the courts, the press, the force of public opinion, the system of education, yes, too often even the pulpit in the hands of his masters. Yet he has the ballot and is told that he is a ruler. He has, then, been blindly led hither and thither through his ignorance and compelled to elect to power his own oppressors. This process has at last taught him his power. When he has once thoroughly realized that the economic division is the only political one of interest to him, and begins to use his vote with which to strike, the beginning of the end of capitalism is at hand, and it is time to prepare to write the closing chapter of its history.

Let us now in one sentence recapitulate the philosophy we have been discussing. *Our present society is to be transformed through a class-conscious revolt of the workers having as its object*

the capture of the machinery of social control that the productive and distributive forces of society may be collectively organized in the interest of all producers.

I would ask the reader to study the above sentence carefully. It is the fundamental position of the socialist philosophy. Given to the world over fifty years ago, it is the common platform upon which to-day over ten million workers, with branches in every land where capitalism has entered, are marching on to certain victory. Yet in all the multitude of discussions concerning Socialism, this position has never been disputed in one of its essential portions, and unless it is discussed the Socialist position is left untouched. It would seem fair to say now that if after fifty years of hostile examination by the best intellects that the capitalism of every nation on earth could produce, no flaw has been found, there is at least a tremendous presumption raised of its invulnerability.

The victory is certain, the ultimate goal clear, the manner of its attainment indisputable as to its general outline. The workers will soon have possession of the governing powers.

Upon the solid foundation of the principles here outlined the workers of the world are uniting in mighty class-conscious bodies for this last step in social evolution. Thoroughly aware of their peculiar mission and firm in the assurance of final victory, they never "compromise truth to make a friend, never withhold a blow from error

lest they make an enemy." Recognizing in all other political parties only divisions of the ruling capitalist class, or even worse, as a reactionary middle class, they consistently look upon all suggestions of fusion as traitorous to their mission in social evolution and a betrayal of the class they represent. This unswerving attitude brings continually recurring disfavor upon the party from the ignorant which is used by their enemies on all occasions to mislead the workers from their actual interests. In France their support of Dreyfus branded them for the moment as Semitic. In Germany their steadfast maintenance of the principle that the brotherhood of toil included French as well as German workers gained them from the emperor the epithet of "Fatherlandless rascals." Steadily as economic development has reduced their principles to demonstrated laws of social growth and their predictions to historical facts, they have grown until to-day they are upon the threshold of victory.

GROWTH OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

These facts have resulted in the formation of the International Socialist Party, which has already cast 2,700,000 votes in Germany, 1,500,000 in France, 530,000 in Belgium, 17,000 in Holland, 63,000 in England, 43,000 in Denmark, 44,100 in Sweden, 7,013, in Norway, 50,000 in Spain, 170,000 in Italy, 100,000 in Switzerland, 800,000 in Austria, 150,000 in the United States.

In Russia, there are strong secret organizations

of university students and wage-workers. A lively agitation is carried on by growing Socialist parties in Roumania, Bulgaria, Canada, Argentine, Australia, Japan. Porto Rico has a Socialist party of six hundred members. The conditions in Cuba, Mexico, Hawaii and New Zealand are just laying the foundations for the growth of Socialism in those countries.

In every land where capitalism has entered, Socialism follows it like a shadow. Everywhere, a measure of economic development, and not of the spread of an idea, this mighty proletarian army is gathering upon the borders of the promised land of the Co-operative commonwealth, ready to enter in and possess the inheritance of the ages, as the rightful heirs of those past toilers, whose labors created all, and in the name of the present laborers who alone can add to this heritage.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

It has only been until within a few years that economic conditions in the United States have been ripe for the growth of Socialism. So long as a boundless frontier with free land, and free opportunity for escape from the most galling conditions of capitalism existed, those who had within them the spirit of rebellion turned from the oppression of social relations to fight the crude battle with nature. But this avenue of escape is now closed. At the same time the growth of the trust and the disappearance of com-

petition have written above the doors of American industry, "Leave hope behind, all ye who enter here as wage-workers." Hence it is that the time is now fully ripe for a great and powerful Socialist movement in America.

Conditions within the Socialist organization have also formerly operated to hinder the progress of American Socialism. But to-day, with united forces and an extensive literature, the *Socialist Party* is pressing on to new triumphs in every corner of the country.

We may be sure that the headlong rush of American economic development will be reflected in an equally rapid growth of the class-conscious workers. In no other land is capital more arrogant, old political parties more corrupt, or labor more relentlessly exploited. Coming with the tremendous momentum of a world-wide movement, with program, policy and tactics tested in other lands, Socialism offers to the laborer of America an opportunity to join hands with his suffering brothers the world over in their onward march to universal freedom. That the American laborer will be less intelligent, less alive to his class interests, responsibilities, opportunities and duties than those of other nations, is incredible.

The duty of the American worker under these conditions is clear. He can have no possible interest in the success or failure of parties composed only of classes whose interests are antagonistic to his own. Passive inaction is the policy of the coward. As a man, as a citizen, as a

laborer, his place is with his fellow workers in their universal struggle for liberty.

What is the duty of the so-called leisure and professional classes, of those who have been secured opportunity through the toil of the laborers to obtain culture, refinement, education? To whom do these gifts belong? By every principle of justice and equity they belong to those whose labors made them possible—to the workers. Yet more often than not such persons are found hanging on to the capitalist class and aping their manners and imbibing their prejudices and defending their interests. This notwithstanding the fact that many of them actually belong to the ranks of wage-workers as members of the class of exploited "brain-workers," to which reference was previously made. With these it is only a question of time and education when they will be made to see their true interests and duty.

For all who profess sympathy with the laborer there is but one opportunity to effectually show that sympathy. That is to unite themselves with those workers who to-day realize the historical mission of their class, and are aiming to bring about its fulfillment in the wisest, safest, and best manner possible.

GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

From time immemorial paid biographers, parasitical panegyrists, preachers and Sunday school teachers have sung the praises of the rich and wealthy citizens of the land; muckrakers have muckraked Rockefeller and members of the Standard Oil Company group until a magazine no longer sells merely because it is publishing stories of graft and corruption; books have been published by the score telling magnificent and marvelous tales concerning the holders of the great fortunes of the United States, but it has fallen to the lot of Gustavus Myers to write the first full and authentic account of the actual sources of these vast accumulations of wealth and to disclose the methods used in their acquisitions. His "History of Great American Fortunes," in three volumes, published by Kerr & Company, of Chicago, marks an era in the field of economic research.

Mr. Myers is unlike most authors in that he has no axe to grind, he has no philosophy to preach, he has no monthly check from capitalist or corporation. He is a searcher after truth, and, unlike most writers, he does not hesitate to publish the facts when he finds them, be they good or bad. The result is a three-volume work filled to the brim with startling disclosures and surprising statements based upon Congressional and State documents,

court records and various other authoritative sources. At no stage of his narrative does Mr. Myers mince his words; he bores directly into the heart of his subject and leaves nothing undone to show that our parents and teachers have filled our minds with falsehoods of the most baseless sort when we were children by telling us that as we grew up we could become wealthy and still retain our ideals of honesty, in both theory and practice. Through three volumes containing more than a thousand pages Mr. Myers gives us a most depressing story of the graft, bribery, corruption, avarice, debauchery and chicanery lying behind the great American fortunes. Truthfully, the story is a sickening recital of man's inhumanity to man in his greedy pursuit of wealth, but it is nevertheless a work which should be read by every American citizen be he high or low, rich or poor, naturalized or native.

Volume I, already in its second edition, tells the economic conditions prevailing during the colonial period of the United States, and of the origin and development of the large land fortunes such as those of the Astor and Marshall Field families. Volume II, also in its second edition, and Volume III, just published, deal with the great railroad fortunes of Vanderbilt, Gould, Sage, Elkins, Hill, Morgan and others. It is in this volume that the author devotes a chapter to the Pacific quartet, composed of Huntington, Crocker, Stanford and Hopkins. Future volumes are to describe the acquisition of vast railroad

properties by Harriman and the Standard Oil Company, and will also deal with those great fortunes which have grown out of the control of public franchises, mines and various manufacturing industries.

The author arrives at no conclusions as a result of his investigations, but leaves the readers to do so in accordance with the facts which he has presented. In brief, there can be but one conclusion, and that is that thrift, temperance and hard work are not the recipe for getting rich, else many millions of people who have to work hard and who are thrifty and temperate would forthwith become so. Through all fortunes large and small there runs the same heavy streak of fraud and theft, of bribery, graft and corruption. The little trader with his misrepresentation and swindling is different from the "big fellow" in degree only.

The three volumes will prove to be a perfect arsenal of facts for the economist, newspaper man, trade unionist and reformer. They will take their place among the season's books as the most important work ever issued in this field, far surpassing any other study of the same sort by their scope, by their foundation on facts disclosed by years of patient study and investigation, by the temperate yet graphic and sarcastic presentation of the author, and by many other things which mark them as a most unique contribution to the economic literature of our time.—*Prof. Ira B. Cross. in San Francisco Bulletin.*

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In carrying forth this plan of equality in taxation, let us make sure we are lifting the unjust burdens from the shoulders of the poor and placing a proportionate share on the pocketbooks of the country. * * *
* * * And here let me remark with all the emphasis at my command that I would not do violence to the rich to favor the poor. "Equal laws and exact justice" shall be my constant watchword.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. HENRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, JULY 12, 1909



WASHINGTON

1909

3475-8550

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. HENRY,
OF TEXAS.

The House having under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. R. 40) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States—

Mr. HENRY of Texas said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The proposition here pending is a joint resolution to amend the Constitution and authorize the laying and collecting of an income tax. Such amendment, when adopted, shall constitute Article XVI of the Constitution and read:

The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendments to the Constitution may be secured in two ways. Congress by two-thirds vote may propose them to the States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the States by action of their respective legislatures or conventions in such States, as Congress may require in the proposal, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution. Or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States a federal constitutional convention for the purpose of amendments may be called by Congress.

In this instance Congress proposes the amendment, with a requirement that the legislatures of the several States must act upon the same, and thus excludes the method of conventions in the States. It is gratifying to me that I am now as a representative of my people able to cast my vote for this meritorious proposal. For more than twelve years it has been my privilege to consistently advocate such an amendment to the Constitution. For that many years at each recurring campaign I have pledged my constituency that this vote should be given by me, and now that the auspicious time has arrived such promise shall be fulfilled as, with exultant feelings, my name is recorded with those who advocate an income-tax amendment.

In February, 1896, my constituency were informed in a canvass before the primaries that "I advocate an income tax upon the wealth of this country. I believe it should bear its just proportion of the burdens of taxation. Congress should speedily submit an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, if necessary, authorizing the levying and collecting of an income tax, and if I should be elected a Representative I shall support such amendment and tax." In June, 1896, the Democratic convention, commissioning me to represent my party, duly selected delegates and proclaimed as a platform utterance that—

The wealth of the country should bear its just and equal proportion of taxation, and we here declare for a properly distributed tax upon the incomes of the Nation. And we believe that the Constitution of the United States should be so amended as to insure the legality of such a law.

Heartily concurring in such a declaration, I accepted the nomination and was elected a Representative in Congress. Every two years since, my constituency have received a similar pledge from me, and substantially every convention nominating me has contained likewise a declaration favoring an income tax and constitutional amendment warranting the same. Hence, with peculiar pride, I this day redeem a promise to a generous constituency so long conferring political honors upon me.

A Representative is strictly responsible to his particular constituency, and should reflect their views upon political questions; and in this instance my vote not only gives emphasis to their views, but expresses deep-seated convictions long entertained by me. Mr. Speaker, the country will not omit to note that the Republican party is now coming over to the position so long occupied by the Democratic party. For long years your party has denounced and bitterly assailed the Democracy because, forsooth, we cherished the view that swollen fortunes and incomes of the rich should bear their just tribute and pay a part of the tax burdens of the country under a properly framed income-tax law. At last the scales have dropped from your eyes; you see a great light and now rush precipitately into Democratic territory. We are glad to have you, and to prove our joy, while we know you are filching Democratic contentions, are willing with unanimous voice to join you now in submitting the proposed amendment to the States.

In the form submitted here the amendment does not precisely suit me. We are anxious to witness the adoption of the amendment in the several States, and as Democrats would use every precaution in its submission to guarantee its ratification. At the proper time I shall endeavor to amend the resolution by providing that it shall be submitted to conventions in the States in preference to the legislatures thereof. To that end, let us amend the Senate joint resolution by striking out in lines 5 and 6 the words "which when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States" and insert "which when ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the several States." By the adoption of this changed verbiage we submit the amendment directly to the body of the people in the respective States. It goes then to their homes, their firesides, their consciences and individual judgments, and they write the verdict and select their own delegates to constitutional conventions charged with executing a public trust. This course was pursued when the original Constitution was submitted to the people in the States, and had it not been so there is much doubt as to what would have been the fate of that cherished document. As it was, even in the constitutional state conventions, it barely weathered the storm, so close was the vote on its ratification in some of them. I dread its submission to the legislatures and shudder at the outcome, so anxious am I that it shall prevail, but shall vote for it even if it can not be amended as already suggested by me.

Let us not proceed blindly and heed not the breakers and difficulties ahead. The Senator from Rhode Island has already stated with unusual candor that the proposed corporation tax and this amendment here being considered constitute a mere subterfuge to circumvent the passage of the Bailey-Cummins income-tax amendment. He has given the country warning. And when he and those who think like him leave this capital,

they will return to their homes with guns trained against the ratification of this amendment. For my part, I am for the submission and ratification of the amendment, and no hippodrome performance shall here or elsewhere characterize my conduct. In carrying forth this plan of equality in taxation, let us make sure we are lifting the unjust burdens from the shoulders of the poor and placing a proportionate share where it manifestly belongs—on the pocketbooks of the country. [Applause on the Democratic side.] This fair result may not be accomplished by this day's work if we fail to send this amendment directly to the people in conventions. Let it not be misunderstood that not only can the legislatures of 12 States defeat the amendment, but the half of the legislatures of 12 States may do so. It can be defeated in the following fashion: Each legislature has two branches of coordinate power. One branch may favor and the other oppose the amendment by the bare majority of 1, and the amendment fails in that State. The senate in Connecticut has 35 members. Eighteen members of that body can defeat the amendment there. Rhode Island has 38 senators, and 19 can thwart the will of the people in that State and disregard the amendment. New Hampshire has 24 members in her state senate, and with 13 senators can overwhelm the amendment. And so in many States. However, leave it to the people and permit them to choose their delegates with an eye single to the adoption of this amendment and they would not dare disregard a sacred trust reposed in them by the sovereign voters. When we consider the influences dominating some legislatures, this point can not be too emphatically stressed and heralded to the country. Aye, one-twelfth of the people may defeat the amendment under the plan here proposed. Undoubtedly a vast majority of the American voters favor an income tax and this amendment. It is not unconservative to say that 90 per cent of them would vote for it in a blanket election throughout the United States, and yet by this plan you are now adopting you place it in the power of a very small minority to throttle the voice of over 80,000,000 freemen, whose voices by untrammelled ballot would register a different edict.

I should feel recreant to my duty if I failed to point out the dangers and difficulties lurking in our pathway should we neglect to adopt my amendment and send the resolution directly to the people in convention assembled. In that event it will be the sole issue, uncomplicated with manifold interests and combinations in various legislatures. If you are sincere in this sudden conversion to an income tax, aid us in putting it in hospitable hands in the several States and not throw it in hodgepodge with every conceivable influence in many States. Are you willing to trust your constituencies? If you are, the prospect seems bright for affirmative action on this proposition. If not, and you insist upon denying the people a direct voice in this decisive moment, my forebodings are gloomy, and I fear the chances of an income-tax law are far removed. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It is a difficult matter to secure the ratification of an amendment under the most favorable auspices, and we should proceed with caution here if we wish our object attained, and not send this resolution to the States handicapped with enormous conditions. A convention will be responsive to the people's desires; a legislature in many States will but reg-

ister the will of politicians and questionable interests. To illustrate the delicacy of the problem before us, we have but to recur to the history of the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. This was done in conventions of the various States. In some of the States, and especially the larger ones, the vote was exceedingly close, to wit: Virginia, 89 to 97; Massachusetts, 187 to 168; New York, 30 to 27; Rhode Island, 34 to 32. A change of 2 votes to the negative each in New York and Rhode Island would have changed the destinies of this Republic. As it was, some States, notably North Carolina and Rhode Island, remained out of the Union many months. It is rarely a wise thing to engage in prophecy, and yet I can not refrain from reflecting that those of us spared to look back upon these scenes enacted here to-day may recognize the committal of a sad mistake in referring this measure to the legislatures and not to the voice of the voters.

INCOME-TAX LAW AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE.

The country should and does understand that the enactment of an income-tax law and the submission of this amendment are of distinctive Democratic origin.

While the Republican party has opposed, ridiculed, and viciously assailed them, the Democracy, undaunted, has made the fight for the people. You have voted against it in this House and not until the wrath of the public has driven you have you ever advocated it. However, when you embrace so good a measure, we rejoice in joining you while another sound doctrine of the Democratic party is indorsed by the country and forced through Congress by public opinion over the unconverted consciences of some men who are voting with us on this occasion.

In 1896 the Democratic convention pronounced unequivocally for an income tax. In plain language we said:

* * * Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such are necessary to make the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court, there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come by its reversal by the court, as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government.

From that day to this we have urged and pleaded for its adoption. The Republican party has scoffed at it and scorned to believe in it until lashed by public conscience. In 1908 the Democracy pronounced in favor of such law and amendment. We said:

We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the Federal Government.

Again the Republican party was as silent as the tombs of the Ptolemies. You did not favor it then, or you would have said so in your platform utterances. In season and out of season

Mr. Bryan and those who followed him with unflinching feet have never wavered in their devotion to this principle; and although defeat overtook him, he will live in history as a patriot and benefactor to mankind when those who scoffed at his imperishable name are buried beneath the dust of oblivion. In the Republican party campaign text-book for the year 1894 you issued this declaration to the people:

In this country an income tax of any sort is odious, and will bring odium upon any party blind enough to impose it. * * * Prepare for the funeral of the political party which imposes such a burden.

Evidently, then, your conversion dates subsequent to this announcement.

DESIRABILITY OF AN INCOME-TAX LAW.

We have now reached a point where an income tax seems an inevitable necessity. The appropriations of the Federal Government have become so great that the internal-revenue taxes and import duties no longer suffice. The Republican party must seek other sources of revenue. Dreading to embrace Democratic conventions as a temporary makeshift, they are proposing a so-called "corporation tax," which will be but shifted from the corporation treasuries to the backs of the people. The appropriations and the obligations of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, amount to the exorbitant sum of \$1,070,482,732.12. Considering postal receipts and other items that might be properly included and subtracted, this Government must raise about \$500,000,000 from customs receipts and other sources, certain items, as explained by the Secretary of the Treasury, being eliminated. The most optimistic advocate of the Payne-Aldrich bill does not contemplate, as now framed, that it will raise from customs receipts much in excess of \$350,000,000. Therefore, needing a little short of \$500,000,000 from customs receipts and otherwise to supply governmental demands, resort must be had to some source for the residue of \$150,000,000 above all the money that can possibly be brought in through the custom-houses under this Payne-Aldrich bill. Hence, we have now reached the point in our fiscal affairs when the revenues from internal-revenue laws and customs duties fail to furnish sufficient funds to run the Government. There is a shortage in that regard of more than \$150,000,000 annually. In accordance with my judgment that amount should be laid upon the incomes of the country by the enactment of a genuine income-tax law. In lieu of this some propose an inheritance tax and others a corporation tax. However, if an income-tax statute be properly drawn, it will reach, to a great extent, these sources and the three may be wisely combined in one act, the income tax embracing the corporation and inheritance tax and many other items not within their scope.

Equality in taxation should be the north star to light our pathway and direct our feet in the enactment of such statutes. No tax more equitably and wisely distributes the burdens of government than an income tax. It is resorted to in almost all civilized nations. In England the government collects a "property and income tax" amounting to £33,930,000. A little less than \$100,000,000 of this amount comes from incomes alone. In the British Empire wealth is required to shoulder its due proportion of governmental burdens. In fact, there most taxa-

tion rests upon the wealth of the Kingdom. And the following countries are among those having income-tax laws. In Prussia for more than thirty years it has been in operation. For more than that length of time Austria has tried this tax and proved it to be a success. In Italy, likewise, it has been demonstrated as a revenue measure. And so with the Netherlands. It is needless to enumerate countries embracing the doctrine, for the trend of the world is to it, and no sentiment can much longer stay it in America. If in this form it is defeated, American voters will rise up and find a way to have the wrong righted by another Supreme Court. We should lay upon the backs of those with sufficient incomes a tax of a hundred millions of dollars. The Bailey-Cummins amendment meets my cordial approval, and if I had the power, it would speedily become a law and the Supreme Court again be given the opportunity to determine its validity. I would cheerfully vote for this amendment with the belief that the Supreme Court would sustain it and obviate the submission of a constitutional amendment. My personal preference would be for a graduated income tax. Being the least inquisitorial of all taxes and based upon sounder principles of equity than all others, such a tax would have my cheerful support. No one has ever stated the best features of such a system more felicitously than Adam Smith. He said:

The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities—that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the “equality or inequality of taxation.”

It is undeniable that an income tax will reach millions of wealth—bonds and stocks—that would never be touched by a corporation or inheritance tax. It is advocating no new and strange doctrine to favor an income tax. On many occasions during great emergencies this method of taxation has been resorted to, and proved abundantly satisfactory. And now, with a depleted Treasury, with swollen fortunes all around us evading taxation and receiving the protection of the Government, and civilized communities everywhere recognizing the economic fairness of such a tax, and with the admitted contention that it contains the humane and sublime blessing of equality to all men, the time is ripe and appropriate for this Government to go forward and keep pace with the progress and civilization of mankind.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ERRONEOUS, AND SHOULD BE RECONSIDERED WITHOUT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Mr. Speaker, no member of his profession has a higher regard for the dignity of the courts than I have; but I refuse to subscribe to the doctrine that “the king can do no wrong” and that the courts are infallible. In a respectful way, as a citizen and a Representative, I have a right to challenge the decision of the Supreme Court in the Pollock Income Tax case. If any opinion of that court ever received practically the universal disapproval of the bar and the bench of the country, it is that case. The very flower of the American bar now concur with practical unanimity that the judgment of the court was erroneous. The court itself is rapidly curtailing the force of

the same and stripping it of much of its vital efficiency. It has never received the respect of the bar and country due an adjudication from that august tribunal. Consequently we are warranted in claiming the right to send another similar tax law to that court and ask that the question be reexamined and correctly decided. Such course commends itself to me with much more force than the submission of a constitutional amendment, which might be construed as an admission by Congress that it is now without authority to pass the proposed income-tax law, which acquiescence I am not willing to give.

It is no new thing to challenge an erroneous opinion of this high court. On other occasions they have been questioned, aye, bitterly assailed, and have in the end reversed themselves and righted their judgments. While my respect for the court is adequate, I hope my regard for righteous decision and the just demands of an overburdened, oppressed, and groaning people is equal thereto, and perhaps outweighs in that direction the partiality for that honorable court, who, after all, are but the creatures of government directed by sovereign men who fashioned this Republic. And for those people I have a right to speak in my place here. The court did not hesitate to overturn the established law of a hundred years, and why should we halt in asking them to reconsider, in the interests of more than eighty millions of people, their judgment so universally condemned by the American bar and citizenship? It is peculiarly appropriate here and now to recur to the familiar history of income-tax laws and the decisions of the Supreme Court touching them.

The first act was passed in 1794 and imposed a tax on carriages "for the conveyance of persons." Many Members of Congress who enacted the law had been delegates in the Constitutional Convention. Its validity was violently assailed upon substantially all the grounds raised in the Pollock case and by the ablest lawyers in the land. But in the Hylton case, determining the questions, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the act. They distinctly laid down the proposition that it was not a direct tax and not subject to apportionment under the Constitution. They undeniably held that the only taxes required to be apportioned were a capitation or poll tax and the tax on land. Although Rufus King asked in the Constitutional Convention, "What is the meaning of a direct tax?" and no one answered him, yet the delegates to that convention, the country at large, and the Supreme Court, some of them coming from the convention, did not doubt that the "direct taxes" referred to by the fathers were capitation taxes and taxes on land, and none other.

It was then the universal belief and acceptance, and of their correctness I have not the slightest doubt this day. In order to get the true proposition in our minds, we can not do better than to quote from the great constitutional lawyer, Mr. Cooley. After maturely considering the question, he writes:

The term "direct taxes" as employed in the Constitution has a technical meaning, and embraces capitation and land taxes only.

In holding the carriage tax of 1794 constitutional and as blazing the way in jurisprudence, I can not do better than quote from Justice Patterson, one of the four judges unanimously

handing down the opinion, and assuring the bench and bar of the validity of the tax and thus setting up a landmark:

I never entertained a doubt that the principal—I will not say the only—objects that the framers of the Constitution contemplated as falling within the rule of apportionment were a capitation tax and a tax on land.

Thus early the people had the confidence and faith instilled in them by this great court that only two kinds of taxes fell under the apportionment clause of the Constitution—capitation taxes and land taxes; that the others must yield to uniformity alone. Hence, for all the years to come this court heralded to the country that duties, imposts, excises, and incomes should fall under the head of indirect taxes and be uniform. In Congress, Madison opposed this carriage tax as unconstitutional, but afterwards as President approved acts of Congress containing the identical principle. The Government began to collect money under such laws, and for a hundred years collected many millions from the people; and such sums have not been refunded and will never be returned. Thus, with such a law, a unanimous approval of the Supreme Court, and thorough executive indorsement, this Republic began its career in undoubted recognition of the principle of an income tax, and pursued its tenor for a century without a dissent from any source to the system. At the end of a century, when a divided court uproots firmly fixed jurisprudence covering all these years, we are entitled to send the great question again and again to that tribunal. Guided by previous history and such construction by the Supreme Court, Congress has several times provided for direct taxes and apportioned them according to the Constitution.

In 1793 the total amount was fixed at \$2,000,000. In 1813 the second tax fixed the sum at \$3,000,000. The third tax, in 1815, fixed it at \$6,000,000; in 1816, at \$3,000,000. Then the law of 1861 came and put it at \$20,000,000, and made it annual. By constitutional rule these taxes were duly apportioned among the States. They were upon lands, improvements, dwelling houses, and slaves in 1793, 1813, 1815, and 1816; in 1861, upon land, dwelling houses, and improvements. Analyzing and weighing these things, Chief Justice Chase said:

It follows, necessarily, that the power to tax without apportionment extends to all other objects. Taxes on other objects are included under the heads of "Taxes not direct," "Duties," "Imposts," and "Excises," and must be laid and collected by the rule of uniformity. The tax under consideration is a tax on bank circulation, and may very well be classed under the head of "Duties." Certainly it is not, in the sense of the Constitution, a direct tax. It may be said to come within the same category of taxation as the tax on incomes of insurance companies, which this court at the last term, in the case of *Pacific Insurance Company v. Soule*, held to be a direct tax.

Thus repeated acts of Congress and decisions of the Supreme Court thoroughly fixed the definition of "direct taxes" mentioned in the Constitution. Following these precedents the Supreme Court, in the *Pacific Insurance Company* case, held valid a tax "upon the business of an insurance company" as being an excise or duty authorized by the reasoning in the *Hylton* case. Still adhering to these precedents, the Supreme Court subsequently pronounced, in the *Veazie Bank* case, a tax on the circulation of state banks or national banks paying out notes of individuals or state banks as falling within the meaning of

"duties" as held in the insurance case. The Chief Justice here, holding the statute valid, said:

It may further be taken as established, upon the testimony of Patterson, that the words "direct taxes," as used in the Constitution, comprehended only capitation taxes and taxes on land, and perhaps taxes on personal property by general valuation and assessment of the various description possessed within the several States.

And proceeding with the same logic, the Supreme Court, in Scholey's case, decreed a "succession tax" to be plainly a duty or excise upon the devolution of estates or incomes thereof. Constantly adhering to their former views, the same court, in the Springer case, upheld a statute whose provisions as to incomes were the same as those of the Wilson bill of 1894. In Springer's case, he was assessed for income on professional earnings and interest on United States bonds. Declining to pay, his real estate was sold. Involving every conceivable point possible to be raised against the income-tax provision, the court held:

Our conclusions are that direct taxes, within the meaning of the Constitution, are only capitation taxes, as expressed in that instrument, and taxes on real estate; and that the tax of which the plaintiff in error complained is within the category of an excise or duty.

And so, with settled jurisprudence of a century meeting our gaze, we are brought to the spectacle of a great court suddenly halting, turning backward, and uprooting the established laws of more than three generations. Is it any wonder that the populace stood aghast and the bar was amazed? With a mighty stroke, a divided court annihilates precedent and sets up an unheard of standard of law in Pollock's case, nullifying the Wilson income-tax law. In order that it may be plainly stated here, let me recite the action of the court:

First. It held that a tax on rents or income of real estate is a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution.

Second. That a tax upon income derived from interest of bonds issued by municipalities is a tax upon the power of the State and its instrumentalities and is invalid.

Third. The court in the original opinion did not decide the points pertaining to the provisions held void as invalidating the whole act, or that touching income from personal property being unconstitutional as laying a direct tax, or the point made as to the uniformity provided the tax was construed not to be direct. On these propositions the justices hearing the argument, being equally divided, could not decide the same. Avarice of wealth, not content with the adjudication, asked for a rehearing and begged that every vestige of the law that could possibly lay its hands upon their fortunes be destroyed. The rehearing was granted and the people thwarted with further judicial shifting. It is not amiss here to recite a short excerpt from Justice White in a dissenting opinion that will live in judicial annals when other contrary expressions are slumbering beneath the dust of forgetfulness:

It is said that a tax on the rentals is a tax on the land, as if the act here under consideration imposed an immediate tax on the rentals. This statement, I submit, is a misconception of the issue. The point involved is whether a tax on net incomes, when such income is made up by aggregating all sources of revenue and deducting repairs, insurance, losses in business, exemptions, etc., becomes to the extent to which real estate revenues may have entered into the gross income, a

direct tax on the land itself. In other words, does that which reaches an income, and thereby reaches rentals indirectly, and reaches the land by a double indirection, amount to direct levy on the land itself? It seems to me the question when thus accurately stated furnishes its own negative response. Indeed, I do not see how the issue can be stated precisely and logically without making it apparent on its face that the inclusion of rental from real property in income is nothing more than an indirect tax upon the land.

The rehearing was granted and the cause resubmitted. For a hundred years the avaricious and wealthy had criticised and assailed the court more violently than those challenging the first utterances in the Pollock case. By all the rules of reasoning and equity they should be estopped from criticising us for now in this single instance challenging the action of the courts.

With persistence, vigor, and ability the controverted points were again argued by both sides. Then it was upon final decree that the court, by a vote of 5 to 4 completely overturned all its former holdings. It concluded: First, that taxes on real estate being direct taxes, taxes on rents or income therefrom are also direct taxes. Second, that taxes on personal property or on the income therefrom are direct taxes. Third, that the act being for these reasons unconstitutional, there was not enough of the act left capable of enforcement, and hence the complete income-tax sections of the Wilson bill are necessarily invalid. So, again, by such decree the court overruled five unanimous opinions on the question and totally overturned the jurisprudence of all generations from the beginning of the Government. Perhaps the most important case abrogated by the Pollock decision was the Springer case. It is not inappropriate here to allude somewhat briefly to that case in order to demonstrate how sharp was the departure from previous rulings. In the Springer case the contest was as to the validity of the act of 1864 as amended in 1865. In this act there was levied a duty on profits, gains, and incomes derived from every kind of property, trade, profession, and employment. Mr. Springer alleged that the tax was direct and could not be laid except under the rule of apportionment among the States according to numbers. Here the question was presented squarely to the court and a clear-cut judgment rendered sustaining the constitutionality of the tax. In another unanimous opinion Mr. Justice Swayne, speaking for the court, said:

This uniform, practical construction of the Constitution touching so important a point, through so long a period, by the legislative and executive departments of the Government, though not conclusive, is a consideration of great weight.

And proceeding with one more great authority, Chancellor Kent said:

Our conclusions are that direct taxes, within the meaning of the Constitution, are only capitation taxes, as expressed in that instrument, and taxes on real estate, and that the tax of which the plaintiff in error complains is within the category of an excise or duty.

On the warrant of such laws wars have been fought, millions of money raised by taxation of incomes from every kind of real and personal property without apportionment according to numbers, and now this Pollock case holds all these things done in flagrant violation of the Constitution and law of the land. Then is it any wonder that many gave some evidence of mistrust and discord? It has been suggested that the way is now open to

another income-tax law, if we but invoke the apportionment clause of the Constitution and let the tax rest according to numbers. This plan would not for one moment be tolerated. Its most grievous fault would be that it favors a few in certain States, to the detriment of the many, and would be a gross discrimination. Antagonism to it would be instantly aroused, and it will never find favor in the slightest degree. Therefore, the decision, in effect, puts the dollar of the millionaire beyond the pale of being equitably taxed according to his wealth, unless a constitutional amendment be invoked. And here let me remark, with all the emphasis at my command, that I would not do violence to the rich to favor the poor. Equal laws and exact justice to both shall be my constant watchword. No man despises class legislation more than I do, and in my opinion he is a dangerous citizen who would seek to arouse one class of men against another in our country. However, there should be some method by which the untold wealth and riches of this Republic may be compelled to bear their just burdens of government and contribute an equitable share of their incomes to supply the Treasury with needed taxes. Returning to the glaring inequalities that are apparent if resort be had to an income tax under the apportionment clause of the Constitution, I can not better illustrate the point than by quoting the language used by Justice Harlan. He suggested:

Under that system the people of a State containing 1,000,000 inhabitants, who receive annually \$20,000,000 of income from real and personal property, would pay no more than would be exacted from the people of another State having the same number of inhabitants, but who receive income from the same kind of property of only \$5,000,000.

Hence, I do not hesitate to say that by this decision the Supreme Court yielded the taxing power of the Government to wealth of the country and the moneyed class in a few States.

As I see it, the fairest of all taxes is of this nature, laid according to wealth, and its universal adoption would be a benign blessing to mankind. The door is here shut against it, and the people must continue to groan beneath the burdens of tariff taxes and robbery under the guise of law. If my vote could determine the question here to-day, I would boldly challenge the Supreme Court to a correct decision and reversal of their views by instantly sending the same law before them for readjudication. And not till this course was exhausted and failed would I propose this amendment. But being powerless to make effective such alternative, as the only available avenue open to me, I shall promptly respond affirmatively when the vote is taken on this resolution.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM AND THE TARIFF.

It is not my purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the tariff, but at some future day in this session, if sufficient opportunity offers, I shall give in detail some views touching the general principles of the subject and vicious schedules of the bill.

Having on another occasion announced my allegiance to the Denver Democratic platform, I now here reassert my loyalty to its declarations. And let it here be fully understood that no planks appear to me more favorably than those unequivocally declaring for an income-tax law and constitutional amendment

to that effect and the tariff pledges. Amongst all its mandates there are none to which I yield more faithful obedience than those. When the convention avowed: "Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products should be placed upon the free list," it promulgated a wise, Democratic, and patriotic doctrine. They should reappear in every Democratic platform until their righteousness is vindicated by the enactment of such a law. Hence my convictions are unswerving and my pathway clear. And to me it is certain that I can better serve my State, my party, and country by yielding strict adherence to every decree of the Denver Democratic platform, and with unflinching fidelity this spirit shall characterize my course here and elsewhere.

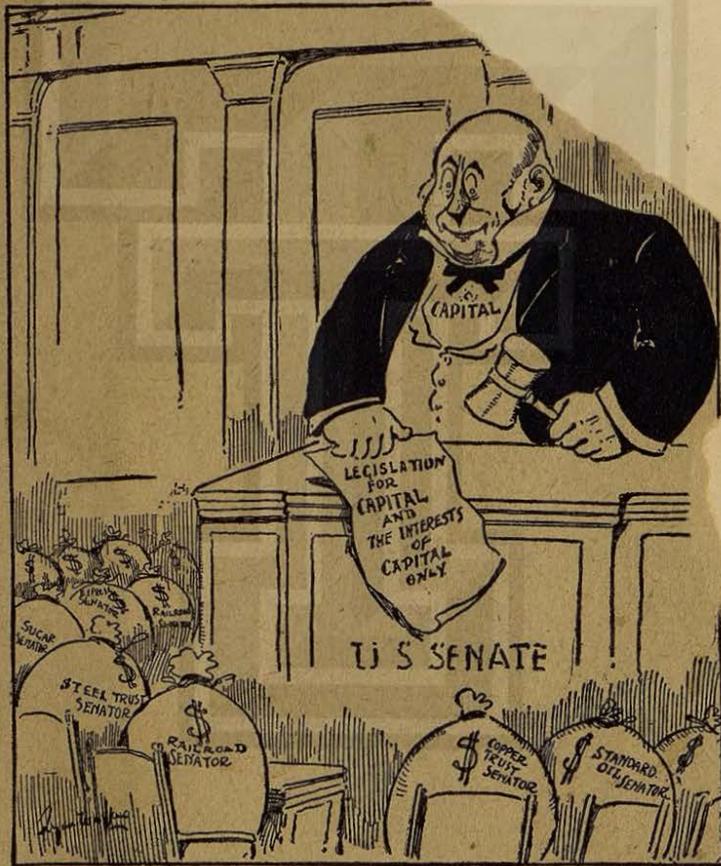
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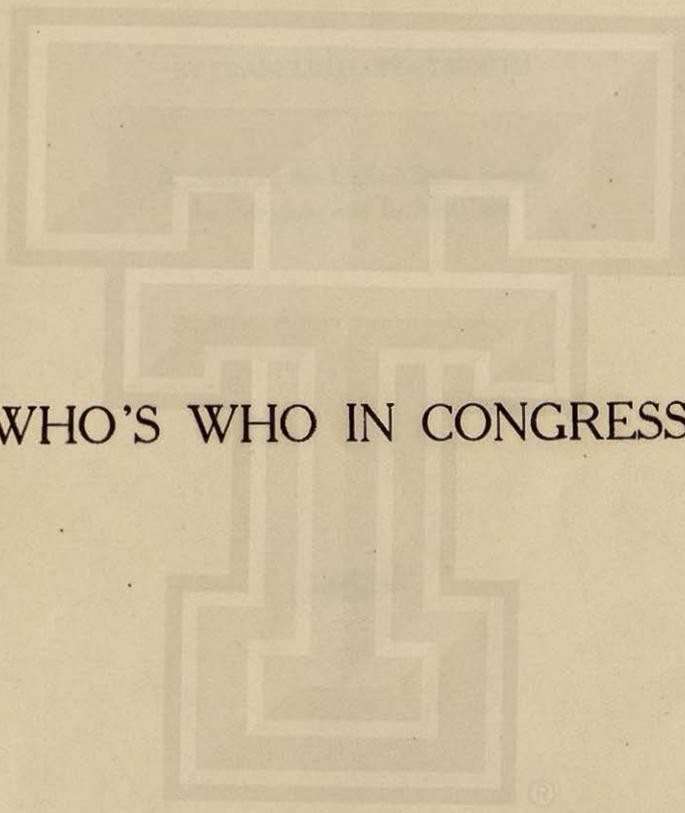
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WHO'S WHO IN CONGRESS



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Who's Who In Congress

BY FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH

A Study of the United States Senate
Its Functions and Its Members



Published by the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kans.
1906

WHO'S WHO IN CONGRESS.



O TURN a republic into a despotism the basest and most brutal it is not necessary formally to change its constitution or abandon popular elections. It was centuries after Caesar before the absolute master of the Roman world pretended to rule save by authority of a senate which trembled before him. The Roman republic was overthrown by a creeping up of despotism under the cover of familiar

forms. The mere possession of universal suffrage is not sufficient to retard the encroachments of despotism. Indeed, a ballot not intelligently used may serve as the readiest instrument for the people's enslavement; for in a republic like that of the United States the fiction

of a free ballot allays the fear of violent change and despotism thus craftily advances in the name and by the seeming will of the people themselves. Every time a citizen of a republic casts a ballot without knowing exactly what he is voting for he is driving a nail into the coffin of his liberties. Every year the paid politicians of the privileged classes deliberately agree together to secure the thoughtless vote to back their private purposes. The people may not know, but the politicians and their employers know what it is the people are voting for. Under cover of vulgar flattery and befogging presentments of principle the people are led to vote for the economic advantage of the class which employs the politicians. Under such conditions the people do not vote at all; they are voted.

The class-conscious action of the privileged class never miscarries, never fails, never slumbers nor sleeps; their fidelity to their class is unerring. It is the working class that has never yet realized the power which lies in solidarity of action. The little finger of capital has always been stronger than the loins of labor, and it is for this reason alone.

The echoes of the guns of Lexington had not died away before the small, privileged classes of America that had flourished under George III. began to plot to capture the continental government in case the revolutionists were successful. And they did capture it. The men who wrote the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the men who starved at Valley Forge,

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were not the men who made the Constitution in 1787. In these eleven years the proletarian fighters of the revolution had gone back to their farms and workshops, while the privileged classes, their mouths full of large words to allay the suspicions of the fighters and workers, deliberately set to work to defeat the ends and aims of the revolution. They were a majority in the constitutional convention and they did it. The American republic was a compromise, and among those who were conspicuous at its foundation were men who secretly ridiculed and laughed at it.

The truest and noblest minds of that period, men whose hearts were in the cause they fought for, accepted the present form of the republic only after a bitter fight. They hoped that with a free ballot the people themselves would soon eliminate those features which plutocracy had compelled them to accept. But clearer and clearer, as the years go on, we realize that the owning and aristocratic class of the revolution outwitted the patriot class, and that they succeeded in nullifying nearly everything of value in the republican form of government. Those class-conscious safeguards which they insisted upon at the beginning, and to which men like Jefferson, who saw their iniquity, had to consent in order to get any organization at all, now prove to be strong enough for any despotic purpose whatever. It is not that the American republic may be destroyed; the American republic never existed. It was still-born. In a republic

the people govern themselves, but in America the people have simply been flattered into believing they do. We have long been governed secretly and now are beginning to be governed openly by an oligarchy based upon the dollar; the most vulgar and conscienceless political organization possible to man. Even a titled aristocracy has some traditions of honor; there are some things it will not do; but a government built solely upon money, whose escutcheon bears only the mark of greed, holds nothing sacred or holy in industrial or social life.

The Constitution, the Supreme Court and the United States Senate were expressly designed and are proving adequately potent to prevent the people from governing themselves. All three of these institutions were carefully calculated as the avenues through which the usurpations of the liberties of the people might progress; and slowly, but surely, like those old hideous prisons of the middle ages, whose walls contracted day by day until they crushed the prisoner, they are demonstrating that they were not unskillfully planned. It is as certain as the coming of morning that these institutions, got under way at the inception of the republic to defeat the expansion of the democratic spirit, must become more and more tyrannous as our industrial system becomes more complex. Sooner or later they will stand as a forbidding barrier between the American citizen and his commonest rights of manhood.

Sooner or later the people must come to crit-



Senator Bulkeley, of Connecticut, who thinks it is right to buy votes. He may be said to represent the lowest type of United States Senator.

ically examine these institutions against which they must eventually contend. There should be no fear of the blusterings which issue from behind their assumptions of respectability and dignity. Either the producing classes must mold these threatening forces to their will or we soon will see in America the beginnings of a despotism more dark and conscienceless than the world has ever seen. Of what value to the working class are constitutional and legislative guarantees against the violation of their rights when the whole legislative, executive and judicial departments of government, charged with the preservation of those rights are the mere instruments of the exploiting class? Day by day the plutocratic influences in the United States are tightening the collar of servitude upon the necks of the producing classes, and it is only by understanding these influences and the subtlety of their entrenchment in the fabric of the nation's life that their further encroachments may be combatted and the producing classes kept out of more bitter bondage.

The United States Senate, counterpart of the English House of Lords, monument of unfaith in the people, bears the mark of its designers in the very manner of its election. What influence can the working class have in the senate so long as the seats in that body can be deliberately planned for and purchased by the bribery of legislatures? That seats are secured by this method is not indicated solely by the dying statesmanship of the senate; it is proven by the

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absence from Washington of the "third house"—the once-powerful lobby. The lobby is a thing of the past. The great exploiting interests no longer send their bribers to Washington; they send their senators. The United States Senate is now prepared at all times to offer a solid front against any initiative on the part of the propertyless classes. It is an almost impregnable fortress of capitalism without a single proletarian sympathy. It will nullify every effort of any value that the lower house might be frightened into making toward relieving the miseries of the producing classes. Will it vote to loan a dollar to the farmer while its Wall Street employers are in the business of usury? Will it vote for people's railroads and express service while it represents the very directories of those great monopolies? Will it show any sympathy toward the abolition of the precarious wage system of industry when it is the very barnacle which inflates itself on that system? Its ears are turned to the click of the stock-ticker and its sun rises and sets in Wall Street, not in the homes of the people.

Such, then, is the most powerful branch of modern republican government; safe, each member, for six years after the seat is purchased; paid publicly by the people thirty thousand dollars during this period and paid privately by the exploiters of the people sums which make the people's wage a bagatelle; all its sympathies against the producing classes. What legislation for the relief of the working class can get by it?

Will it consent to act against its own interest and that of the class it represents? Will it consent to pass a law for its election by direct vote of the people?

Here is an institution, class-conscious to the core, that will stand against the working class and balk its every effort at emancipation until the working class uses its ballot to abolish it. The irony of the situation is that the method of the senatorial elections cannot be changed without an amendment to the constitution, and it is too late to amend the constitution in any essential particular. Private monopoly has now grown too great in the United States and can command corruption funds too great in magnitude ever to permit a change in the constitution until the whole governmental machinery is wrested from its control. It is unlikely that the senate will ever be elected by popular vote. When the people are sufficiently aroused to control it they will abolish it. The constitution and its legal interpreters will hold these men secure in their chamber as the protectors and defenders of privilege until this takes place.

Once this body is examined in the light of social democracy it is astonishingly clear that it is an institution for which there is, nor never has been, any public necessity. The continuance of the American people to suffer the existence of this body, which is notoriously but a protector of corporate wrong and the commercial infamies of exploiting interests, proves how long the common man will suffer under familiar

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forms before he will rebel. For a dozen years the senate has really been held in public contempt, ridiculed and lampooned by the comic press, and by all honest men, until the type of man now in the upper chamber shames the early traditions of that body. A Louisiana democrat whines for a sugar bounty to please his economic masters, and an Ohio republican whines for a ship-subsidy to keep faith with the men who helped to buy his seat; but where is the senator who would vote a dollar to the wheat-grower or loan a penny to carry the mortgage upon a worker's home? Yet the treasury department deposits millions of dollars in certain private banks which is used by them for loans. The money loaned to the farmer at six per cent is loaned to the banks by the government for nothing, and it is the farmer's own money he is borrowing, money paid in by him and his kind in taxation.

It is the nature of all written constitutions to become outgrown. New times demand new considerations. When a constitution is once written it stands still; people go on growing. Hence, unless a constitution is easy of amendment private interest so fastens itself upon it that it fails to meet the new conditions and demands and has eventually to be discarded by revolution. That this is to be the fate of the American constitution one cannot say, but every indication points ominously to some such crisis. The country now has a school of jurists who, for their own convenience and to bulwark their de-

cisions, declare that the constitution is an organic growth. One of the federal judges has said that law-making by judicial interpretation is the growing necessity of the time. This means that the time is not far off when the constitution will have no meaning except that which those in power choose to give it. Already for a century this instrument has been undergoing subtle transformation by this process of judicial interpretation.

Here, then, we have on the one hand a usurpation by the courts, which interpret the constitution according to their class sympathies, and on the other a restriction in the constitution itself which prevents its amendment by the people.

An amendment to become a part of the organic law must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. In their present complexion of integrity could any amendment for working-class emancipation get through the legislatures of over thirty states? It is difficult for the working class to secure the attention of even one. But suppose by some singular awakening such an amendment to the constitution were ratified by the necessary number of states lacking two or three, one can imagine the pressure that capitalists would bring to bear upon the legislatures of these last few states to prevent ratification.

It is evident that the natural and lawful process of change through amendment is practically blocked, while changes are being effected

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with ease through usurpations of power by the courts. The voters of the country cannot change their constitution, but the courts of the country can, and the courts more and more every day are coming to interpret the law in the interest of the class from which their judges are selected.

Did not the voters declare for an income tax, and did not five men of the supreme court set aside and defeat the public will—the fifth jurist, a former corporation attorney, changing his mind over night?

This is the body of jurists who, contrary to every republican principle, are appointed for life, and whose very existence makes a farce of republican government. This is the astute body which, in the Dred Scott case, declared, in order to please its masters, that the negro was not a man. Here, then, this irresponsible court is the culminating menace to all republican liberty. Here is a thing created for life, which is but little less than the substitute for a king, whose whole sympathy turns logically to the conservation of the privileges of the class which created it.

It will thus be seen that the senate of the United States, bulwarked by the constitution, the interpretation of which lies with a few men economically secure for life, is the real government of the nation. Presidents come and go; but the senate goes on forever. No president, either in one term of office or two, can hope to have the permanent effect upon the country that a senator can; a senator, say, like W. B. Allison,

of Iowa, working quietly for over thirty years building his fences, extending his patronage year after year, until all departments of the government contain men, indebted to him for their positions, quick to respond to any of his special needs or inquiries.

It has taken twenty-five years as senator to enable Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, to arrive at his present pre-eminence as "General Manager of the United States," which he is acknowledged to be in fact. He has reached a point of confidence in his power at which he can go to Europe in the middle of a session, while the newspapers are ringing with rumors of congressional assaults upon the interests of which he is the protector, feeling quite at his ease, knowing in advance exactly the action or non-action of the senate during his absence.

The house of representatives to which the founders of the republic gave certain popular functions, all safeguarded by checks in the senate, has fallen into absolute negation. It is, therefore, not a part of my present purpose to consider that body, which represents no vital influence in the government of the United States. Occasionally an able man gets into it; but under present rules of procedure he is powerless. The speaker is a czar, receiving his instructions from a senate clique. When, therefore, one refers to congress today, and what it may do, he means the senate and what it may do. The senators are the political governors of

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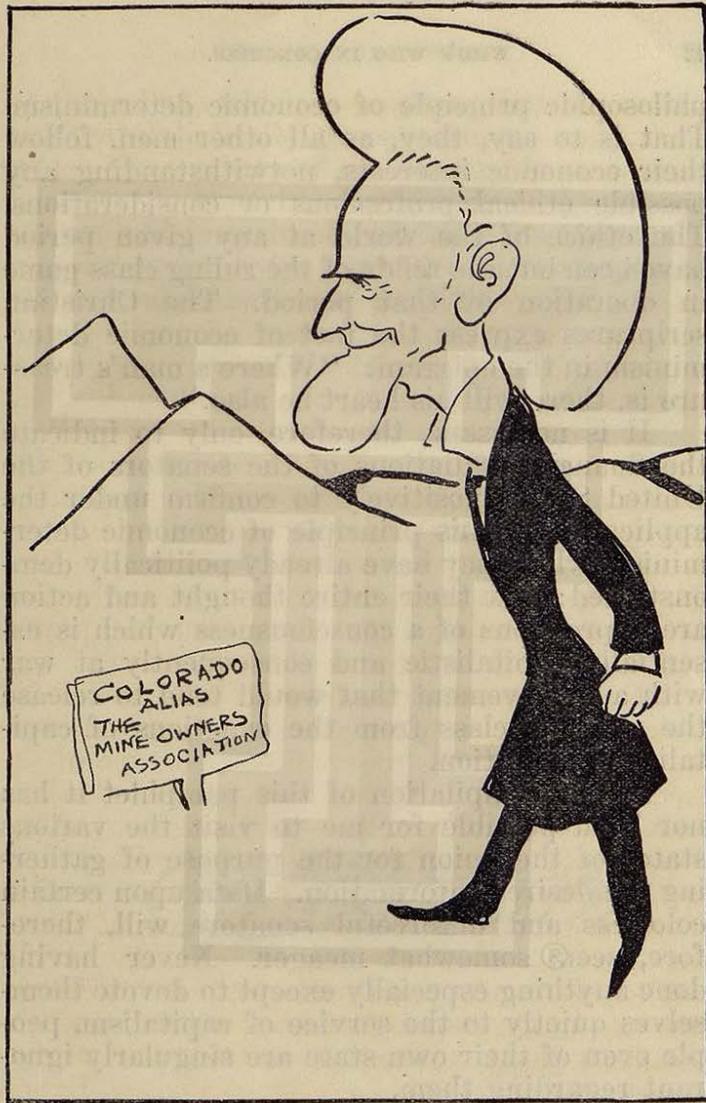
There is at present scarcely a single United States senator of all the ninety who is in any sense the representative of the producing classes; or even the middle class—the petty tradesmen. Nine-tenths of the people of the United States have no representation whatever in the upper chamber. These men stand absolutely for the numerically-insignificant owning class and its interests. No man can remain in the senate who is unfriendly to the dominant exploiting interests in his home state. He may not directly represent these special capitalists in congress, but he must at least so conduct himself as to give them no grounds for criticism, for it is these interests which contribute to campaign funds, and they expect to be protected and especially served by the government they help to pay for.

Hence the mere fact of a man's being a United States senator today convicts him of representing the exploiting class. His office carries this significance. He does not need to stand conspicuously for notorious monopolistic interests, as Mr. Aldrich the Standard Oil, Mr. Depew the Vanderbilt railroads, Mr. Knox the Pennsylvania, Mr. Platt the express companies, etc. It is sufficient, for example, that he is not warred upon by the railroads passing through his home state to prove publicly and beyond cavil that he is no disturber of privilege and hence no friend of the people. No senator ever

goes back to Washington for a second term who has in any particular manner jeopardized the "business interests" of his state by any attempted extension of the liberties or comforts of the common people during the six years of his first. Ex-Senator Pettigrew, of Dakota, represents the last experiment of a senator standing for any sort of principle out of alignment with the concensus of class-conscious capitalist senatorial opinion.

A few senators directly in the employ of the great monopolies openly and shamelessly represent the enemies of the commonwealth, but the majority do not need to do this. They merely remain silent and "vote right." Some of them are never heard upon the floor. But in the face of the giant wrongs that flourish in the nation their silence is as damning as any speech.

It is interesting to observe that the class of special avocation most prevalent in congress is not that of the direct exploiters, but one of the principle parasitic divisions of society—the lawyers, the natural retainers and servants of the exploiters. Almost all of the senators have had at some time training in the law which renders them peculiarly fit to serve the class of whose financial interests the law is only the tactful and simulatngly-just expression. If it were not for the institution of private property and the constant legal warfare it involves the profession of the law would be without a base. Hence, generally speaking, all lawyers are natural bulwarks of the private property system on the



Senator Teller, of Colorado, where statutory law is set aside and corporations rule.

philosophic principle of economic determinism. That is to say, they, as all other men, follow their economic interests, notwithstanding any possible ethical professions or considerations. The ethics of the world at any given period have been but the reflex of the ruling class game in operation at that period. The Christian scriptures express the fact of economic determinism in the epigram: "Where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also."

It is necessary, therefore, only to indicate the financial affiliations of the senators of the United States positively to confirm under the application of this principle of economic determinism what they have already politically demonstrated; that their entire thought and action are expressions of a consciousness which is essentially capitalistic and consequently at war with any movement that would tend to release the working class from the exactions of capitalist exploitation.

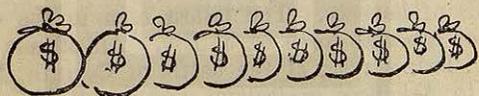
In the compilation of this pamphlet it has not been possible for me to visit the various states of the union for the purpose of gathering the desired information. Data upon certain colorless and unforceful senators will, therefore, seem somewhat meager. Never having done anything especially except to devote themselves quietly to the service of capitalism, people even of their own state are singularly ignorant regarding them.

But on the whole, enough information has been gleaned, I think, to insure the usefulness

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of the effort, which is to show that the senate is a capitalistically class-conscious body from which the workers of the country have nothing whatever to expect that will lighten the wretchedness and uncertainty of their livelihood.

For convenience, the notes are arranged by states in alphabetical succession.



ALABAMA.

JOHN T. MORGAN, *Democrat, of Selma.* LAWYER.

An old man—over eighty—who makes interminable speeches which no one in the senate listens to. Was a brigadier general in the Confederate army. He is a well-meaning old man, who, of late years, has given most of his senatorial attention to the question whether the isthmian canal should follow the Panama or the Nicaraguan route. His ideas are conventionally capitalistic, which makes him acceptable to the railroads and other dominant interests in his state.

EDMUND W. PETTUS, *Democrat, of Selma.* LAWYER.

Also over eighty years old. Was, like his colleague, a brigadier-general in the Confederate army. His law firm for many years has represented the railroad interests. He is wholly acceptable to the business interests of his state.

ARKANSAS.

JAMES H. BERRY, *Democrat, of Bentonville.* LAWYER.

Ex-governor. Politician. Has a good conventional reputation at Washington, indicating that he attains to capitalist standards of honesty. The tallest man in the senate. Not a man of especial force or ability. An officer of the Confederacy, losing a leg at the battle of Corinth, Miss. Satisfactory to Arkansas capitalists, but not to the present governor, Jefferson Davis, who aspires to fill Berry's seat.

JAMES P. CLARKE, *Democrat, Little Rock.* LAWYER.

Friend and political worker with the present Governor Davis. According to local reports Senator Clarke represents whatever interests pay him, in which he is not unlike other lawyers. While senator he was appointed receiver of the

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Little Rock Trust company, paying him \$10,000. Other reports from his state indicate that he is making politics pay. In Arkansas there is a state board of railroad commissioners which places the assessments upon railroad, telegraph and sleeping-car companies. The board consists of the governor, auditor and secretary of state. Last year this board increased substantially the assessment of the railroads and when the railroads suggested a compromise the governor suggested they employ his friend, Senator Clarke, as attorney. Senator Clarke was successful in his special pleading for the railroads before the commission, of which his friend, Governor Davis, was a member. His compensation, \$30,000, was based on the amount of the reduction made by the commission. It looks to an outsider as if Messrs. Davis and Clarke had conspired to make the railroads pay the campaign expenses of the governor when he goes after Senator Berry's seat next year, and also pay to Senator Clarke a living wage. The spectacle of a United States senator representing the railroads in an effort to escape taxation is interesting in itself. Senator Clarke is unquestionably a successful representative of the capitalist system and its ethics.

CALIFORNIA.

GEORGE CLEMENT PERKINS, *Republican, Oakland.*

Successful merchant; subsequently engaged in banking, milling, mining and the steamship business. Formerly president of the Merchants' Exchange of San Francisco. At present controls the coast-wise steamships operating on the coasts of California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska and Mexico, under the Pacific Coast Steamship company corporation. This is closely allied to the Southern Pacific Railroad company. Senator Perkins, therefore, represents his own interests in congress. California has been styled the "Southern Pacific's plantation," because the latter has always owned so many of its legislators and congressmen. No one can successfully aspire to political distinction, or even achieve conventional "business" success who is not

allowed to do it by the Southern Pacific. Senator Perkins rose from a common sailor; but all his interests today are antagonistic to equality of opportunity. He is identified with all the principal monopolies in the state.

FRANK FLINT, *Republican, Los Angeles.* LAWYER.

For years the attorney for the Southern Pacific railroad, to which monopoly he owes his election as senator. Not first-rate even in his profession. He resigned his position as railroad attorney when he made his stand for senatorial nomination. He was also attorney and vice president of the Los Angeles National bank, and since his election as senator has blossomed out as president of a newly-organized bank and trust company. He succeeds in the senate Senator Bard, whose office expired March 3, 1905.

COLORADO.

HENRY M. TELLER, *Democrat (formerly republican), Central City.* LAWYER.

Formerly attorney for the Union Pacific railroad. Attorney for large mining interests, and interested to some extent in mining. Left the republican party in 1896, as the dominant interests of his state were for free silver. A clever politician. While secretary of the interior, under President Arthur, he was mixed up in the perfecting of certain questionable land grants to certain corporations. One of these, called the "Backbone" grant, involved a large tract running north and south along the Mississippi river, and Secretary Teller was the instrument through which the patent was issued. His last election to the senate as a democrat was accomplished by arbitrarily counting out two or three members of the legislature, which has become the fashion in Colorado politics. There is no state in the union where all republican principles of government have been so ruthlessly ignored by the public employes of the ruling or owning class.

Senator Teller's landed interests in Colorado lie principally between Pueblo and Canon City.

THOMAS M. PATTERSON, *Democrat, Denver.* LAWYER.

Owner of the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Times*. Newspaper interests probably worth \$500,000. Owns valuable real estate in Denver business section.

It is reported that ten years ago his astuteness as attorney for the Denver Union Water company is responsible for the iron grip this monopoly has upon the city of Denver; but during late years he has been fighting this corporation, and most others operating under state franchises. He is an able agitator and fighter. Opposed Cleveland and championed populism in 1892 and aided in carrying Colorado for General Weaver. His papers are champions of "municipal ownership" programs and he admits to their columns the socialistic matter which appears in the Hearst papers. Several Colorado Socialists write regularly for the *News*. He poses, as does Hearst, as the "friend of the people," and so far as he fights monopolies may be said to justify his pretensions. His political enemies call him "Slippery Tom," and declare he will land with the Socialists if he does not mend his ways, but from a Socialist standpoint he has never done anything to disqualify him as a class-conscious capitalist with democratic proclivities.

CONNECTICUT.

MORGAN G. BULKLEY, *Republican, Hartford.*

President of the Aetna Life Insurance company. A corruptionist. A disgrace to the state he represents. One time governor of the state, his most distinguished action outside of direct lines of graft was the vetoing of the Australian ballot act. He prefers to know how people vote; it suits his business better. By use of the small town representatives he railroaded through the legislature a bill exempting from taxation any building occupied wholly by a single corporation, thus evading taxes on the valuable buildings of the Aetna and Travelers' insurance companies at Hartford. He believes, and publicly admits, that bribery is justifiable, and uses it regularly in his political operations.

It was during his appearance at the state house in opposition to a bill designed to prevent the buying of votes in Connecticut that the following, now familiar, passage occurred:

Mr. Cleveland—Do I infer that it's right for a candidate for office to buy a vote which is for sale?

Gov. Bulkeley—I think it's right for you as a candidate to secure that man's vote, if he is a man without principle and ignorant, by any means you can use.

Such is the United States senator from Connecticut.

He coolly ignores the law calling for an itemized account of his campaign expenditures, and thus brands the existing law as worthless. Had he been born in the days of the Spanish main he would undoubtedly have been a pirate. If he were a poor man and did the things he has he would logically be in prison. As he is a capitalist he is a member of the highest law-making body in the nation. He is still fighting all agitation for a corrupt practices act in his state. He is an anarchist without the dignity of the anarchist ideal. He is an incarnation of capitalism from which capitalism itself turns in disgust. He may be said to represent the lowest type of United States senator.

FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, *Republican, New London.* LAWYER.

Capitalist; inheriting about \$300,000. Formerly a congressman. One of those who voted for the "mileage steal." His standards of morality are made very clear at the beginning of his senatorial career by a speech at the Yale college commencement, in which he said: "Bring along your tainted money! We will purify it by the Yale spirit!" Senator Chauncey M. Depew may be said to represent the Yale spirit. The spectacle of Mr. Depew purifying tainted money should be funny enough for anybody.

Mr. Brandegee will unquestionably make a senator of usefulness to his class.

DELAWARE.

Delaware has but one senator, owing to the continual



Senator Clement Perkins, of California, and friend of the Southern Pacific railroad. No one accuses him of partiality for the working class.

deadlock in the legislature between Addicks of gas-Lawson fame and the "good citizens" of the state. (Behind which is the Pennsylvania railroad, which wants to run Delaware as it does the other states through which it passes.)

J. FRANK ALLEE, *Republican, Dover.* CAPITALIST.

President Bay State Gas company and Staten Island Brick company. A jeweler whom Addicks took up, put into the legislature and finally got into the United States senate. Addicks himself, who has lost his money and is not, therefore, to be feared, declares that he gave to Allee everything he has in the world, his "seat in the senate, his horses, his bank account and his silver inlaid hall furniture." Allee replies by saying that Addicks' hope of being elected a United States senator is dead, that the ten-year war of republican factions must end, and that, in case Addicks refuses still to accept the unalterable facts, he himself has no choice but to abandon him to his fate. "All wars must have an end," says Allee, "even Addicks', for civilization demands it."

It took Mr. Allee quite some years to attain to this high-minded view of the conflict. He has fought Addicks' battles for a long time and spent Addicks' money with a light heart, gaining for himself the senatorship which was denied his chief. Now that the private as well as the political fortunes of the eminent gas monopolist have declined Senator Allee goes over easily to "civilization." The adjournment of the recent legislature without election of a senator means that for two more years Delaware is to go without its full representation. The besetted capitalists of Delaware would never have kept Addicks out of the senate. It was the quiet opposition of the Pennsylvania railroad masquerading as pure public sentiment. There are just as vulgar and unprincipled men as Addicks in the senate. The Pennsylvania will now relieve the people of Delaware of any further trouble with their government. Undoubtedly Senator Allee will be useful. If he is not he will be replaced.

FLORIDA.

STEPHEN R. MALLORY, *Democrat, Pensacola.* LAWYER.

Florida is one of the worst-exploited and monopoly-ridden states in the union. Railroad and steamship lines unite with less obvious corporations in plundering the people. As none of Senator Mallory's public work indicates that he considers anything fundamentally wrong with the present system of society, it is obvious that he is consistently class-conscious in the service of capitalism. His re-election to the senate for a second term indicates that he is useful to the railroads and steamship lines.

JAMES P. TALIAFERRO, *Democrat, Jacksonville.* CAPITALIST;
MERCHANT; BANKER.

Senator Taliaferro is a principal stockholder in the Consolidated Grocery company of Jacksonville, Tampa and Pensacola, a combination of eight wholesale grocery firms and naval stores companies, with headquarters at Jacksonville; branch offices, Tampa and Pensacola, Fla., and Savannah, Ga. He is also a large stockholder in the Consolidated Naval Stores company, organized to take care of the naval stores business of the foregoing company, and, therefore, closely related to it. The senator is a heavy stockholder in the recently-formed Florida Bank and Trust company; capital stock, \$1,000,000; and is a director in the First National bank of Tampa. These companies work in harmony with the railroad and steamship lines, with which they are closely connected.

GEORGIA.

AUGUSTUS O. BACON, *Democrat, Macon.* LAWYER.

Friend and servant of the Southern railroad.

ALEXANDER S. CLAY, *Democrat, Marietta.* LAWYER.

Friend and servant of the Southern railroad.
The Southern railroad carries a heavy mortgage on both

these senators from Georgia. The records of railroad legislation at Washington show these gentlemen voting in the most servile manner in the interest of the railway combinations.

IDAHO.

FRED T. DUBOIS, *Democrat, Blackfoot.* POLITICIAN.

Not supposed to possess any property to speak of outside of his home; although he was one of a number of men granted a franchise for a street railway in Lewiston, Idaho, in 1903. One of the few men in the senate who is neither a lawyer nor a financier, and yet who works and votes with the financial interests in that body.

WELDON B. HEYBURN, *Republican, Wallace.* LAWYER.

Impecunious and somewhat dissolute until he was taken up by the Federal Mining company (Lead Trust; John D. Rockefeller) and groomed for the senate. By his activity as the attorney for this monopoly all the Idaho mines were brought into the combination except the Hercules mine. One Charles Sweeney, of Spokane, Wash., acted as Rockefeller's agent. Having completed the combination of mines the Federal Mining company worked through its senators at the national capital to secure the establishment of a forest reserve surrounding its Idaho properties in order that the standing army might be immediately available in any possible labor disputes with the miners. Senator Heyburn is standing with the president against the protests of the Idaho ranchmen and farmers, he, consciously, and the president, perhaps, unconsciously, in securing what the Federal Mining company is after.

ILLINOIS.

SHELBY M. CULLOM, *Republican, Springfield.* LAWYER.

A clever politician, over twenty years in the senate,

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which, itself, seems to be his principal interest. Not a rich man, but related to wealth through his son-in-law, Ridgeley, who is comptroller of the currency and a stockholder in the Ridgeley National bank and other interests in Illinois. Senator Cullom is long on patronage. He is not unfriendly to the monopoly interests of the state, among which is the Joliet Steel company, a branch of United States steel. His only ambition has seemed to be to remain in the senate, and not do anything one way or another that might jeopardize his seat there.

ALBERT J. HOPKINS, *Republican, Aurora.* LAWYER.

Capitalist. Head of firms of Hopkins & Scott, Lawyers, Aurora; and Hopkins, Pfeffer & Hopkins, Chicago. Director Merchants' National Bank, Aurora. Director and large stockholder Aurora Cotton Mills and Aurora Bleachery, Aurora. His partner, Pfeffer, is a director in the Elgin, Aurora & Chicago (electric) railway.

The Aurora firm represents the local street railway company, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad company and the Bell Telephone company.

In Chicago: The Elgin, Aurora and Chicago road, and a recently organized surety company, in which Senator Hopkins is largely interested.

INDIANA.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, *Republican, Indianapolis.* LAWYER.

The principal senatorial advocate and defender of the policy of exploiting smaller and defenseless nations, which indicates that his ethics are purely capitalistic. A young man of considerable acumen and some oratorical ability, who dresses well and is much gazed at from the galleries of the senate. None of his speeches so far indicate any moral convictions. A type of able and successful politician who may prove very useful in the service of whatever interests are in the ascendancy at the capitol. Senator Beveridge has no considerable financial interests of his own as yet.

JAMES A. HEMENWAY, *Republican, Booneville.* LAWYER.

Small capitalist and land-owner. Owns with Congressman Cannon, of Illinois, six hundred acres of land in Warrick and Spencer counties, Indiana. Principal stockholder and director of the Southern Indiana Fertilizer company, Booneville. Organizer and stockholder Intermediate Life Insurance company, Evansville.

IOWA.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON, *Republican, Dubuque.* LAWYER.

"Pussy-footed Allison," so called from the fact that he always moves silently from the losing to the winning side. It is by this tactic that he has gained the distinction of having had the longest continuous term of any present member of the senate. He is chairman of the steering committee of the republican party in the senate, for which service his cat-footed gifts peculiarly fit him.

Senator Allison is probably more regularly in his seat than any other senator, and watches the proceedings with an attention that is cat-like, in spite of his lethargic pose in his chair, and in spite of the fact that there are many who speak more often than he. In fact, he seems to have earned his nickname of "Pussy-footed" in more ways than one. When it was discovered at the famous Roosevelt white house conference that, to the surprise of the stand-patters, Senator Allison had quietly joined the president and the revisionists, it was recalled with point how the name of "the pussy-footed" was first given him. It was in the course of a struggle in the senate years ago that Gen. Logan, then senator, found, as suddenly as did the stand-patters in 1905, that Senator Allison was opposed to him when he had counted on the Iowan's support. "The senator from Iowa," declared Gen. Logan, in angry sarcasm, "could, with hobnail boots, cross a tin roof under a broiling sun and make less noise than a cat would make on a Brussels carpet."

Those who knew him when he first entered public life declare that he made a resolution at that time never to op-

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pose anybody on principle, to which resolution he has faithfully adhered, his success demonstrating the political value of such a tactic.

Senator Allison's committee does not appear in the pages of the congressional directory, despite the fact that it is the chief committee of the senate. It is the "works" of the senate and Allison is the engineer. He gives the cue to the "gang" with his "yea" or "nay" how they shall vote, so there shall be no doubt as to the wishes of their masters. The men who are associated with him upon this little-known, but most important, committee are Aldrich, Hale, Cullom, Lodge, Perkins, C. D. Clark, Elkins, Spooner, Kean and Beveridge. It is very interesting to note that his closest friend is a corrupt democrat, Senator Arthur P. Gorman.

No one could have served so long a time as senator from Iowa without sympathetic co-operation with the railroad monopolies of that state, which is owned from end to end by these corporations. Mr. Allison, owing to his peculiar soft tread, is somewhat hard to classify as to financial affiliations; but it is known he has grown rich in his notable service to the people. Most senators are easily placed by merely looking up the corporation office they were elected from or by, but Mr. Allison has been in office longer than most of the big corporations have existed. Hence his sympathies must be discovered from his public acts. His general retainer for the protected interests has been known to all; beyond this he is regarded as the representative of the western interests of the Vanderbilts. He recently served the Chicago and Northwestern railroad as its willing tool in the matter of an Iowa judgeship. President Marvin Hughitt of that company desired to elevate Judge Reed, of Cresco, to the federal bench for the northern district of Iowa in place of the man who threatened to secure it, Healy, of Fort Dodge, whom the railroads did not consider "safe." Senator Allison's influence did the job for the Northwestern. For many years the railroads have appointed all the principal judges of Iowa.

Senator Allison was at one time heavily interested in the Dubuque and East Dubuque Bridge company, which was

later absorbed by the Illinois Central railroad. He is at present interested in several Dubuque industrial enterprises and owner of local bank stocks. He is reputed a millionaire. His entire lack of conviction in matters of public principle and his subtle and wily ways make him perhaps as true a type of capitalist politician as the country affords. Although without the courage of Aldrich, Elkins, Gorman and others of the distinctly bandit type, yet his peculiar talents make him easily one of the leaders in the senate. His long incumbency, his patronage roll, his familiarity with the legislative tricks of a quarter of a century, his slyness and circumspection make him a man the organized plundering interests would find it hard to replace.

As all men must be, to succeed as Senator Allison succeeds, he is a man of kindly disposition, estimable social qualities and great personal popularity.

JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER, *Republican, Fort Dodge.* LAWYER.

Senator Dolliver apparently is not identified with any particular one of the great interests. His sympathy with the general idea of exploitation is implied by his membership in the republican party and his specious and unconvincing championship of all party measures. It is reported that he is *persona non grata* to the Iowa railroad ring and that they are going after his seat. He was originally appointed to the senatorial office to fill an unexpired term and succeeded in getting himself re-elected. He never had any law business to speak of. His career is a purely public one—in this respect resembling Senator Allison's. There is nothing, apparently, to prevent Senator Dolliver taking the side of the little capitalists against the big ones in the coming split in the republican party, should he choose to do so.

KANSAS.

JOSEPH R. BURTON, *Republican, Abilene.* LAWYER.

Senator Burton is not in his senatorial seat because of indictment by the federal grand jury for accepting unclean



Senator Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, representing J. J. Hill, the railroad magnate.

money from the managers of a St. Louis get-rich-quick concern called the Rialto Grain and Securities company. Convicted in the lower courts, the senator appealed to the supreme court of the United States, which allows him a new trial on a technicality. He is charged with having received ten checks of \$500 each for services in keeping the concern from coming in conflict with the postal laws of the United States. Senator Burton is a moving orator, and has given the republican party distinguished service on the stump in many campaigns. Although he has been relentlessly scored by the bourgeois press since his indictment, his offense is really that his graft was petty and vulgar and beneath the standard set for senatorial dignity. Senator Mitchell's offense falls into this same category. Senator Depew's \$20,000 a year from the Equitable Life Insurance company, for which he gave no service, is, on the contrary, respectable "high finance." Senator Burton's chagrin springs from the fact of knowing that many other senators are just as guilty as he, only escaping indictment by the magnitude of their operations and the foresight shown in involving in their thieving other respectable persons of influence as a shield and defense.

CHESTER I. LONG, *Republican, Medicine Lodge.* LAWYER.

Formerly attorney for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. Defeated the late Jerry Simpson for congress by the backing of the banking and monopoly interests, by which he is now considered satisfactory.

KENTUCKY.

JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN, *Democrat, Versailles.* LAWYER.

Formerly the owner of considerable real estate in Kentucky reported to have been lost through unwise capitalist management, or used up in living at too high a standard. Nothing to his discredit from the standpoint of capitalist ethics. Regarded at Washington as an agreeable gentleman of the old school, not prominent in the affairs of the senate.

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Probably satisfactory to the financial interests and railroads of his state, although a movement is now on foot among Kentucky politicians, headed by Gov. Beckham, to oust him.

JAMES B. MCCREARY, *Democrat, Richmond.* LAWYER.

About the same age as Senator Blackburn, Senator McCreary conforms to the standard of capitalist ethics and is generally favorably known as a conventional Kentucky gentleman. His influence in the senate is inconsiderable. Satisfactory to the railroads and other corporations of his state. A large real estate owner and landlord, his investments lying principally in farms of the Blue Grass region.

LOUISIANA.

SAMUEL D. MCENERY, *Democrat, New Orleans.* LAWYER.

Political agent and tool of the sugar protectionists; also the monopolists in rice and lumber. Gained his first popularity as a leader of the "White League." In principles wholly a republican, with which party he belongs more directly than most democrats. A very useful man to the capitalist class of his state.

MURPHY J. FOSTER, *Democrat, Franklin.* LAWYER.

Boss of Louisiana. A machine politician. Attorney for Illinois Central railroad, Yazoo and Mississippi Valley railroad and New Orleans Railway and Lighting company, the latter a New Jersey corporation, which has a monopoly of all local public utilities. Came into power on a "reform" ticket, leading the forces that overthrew the Louisiana Lottery company in 1890-92, and then proceeded to "out-Herod Herod" in machine rule. A "white supremacy democrat," like McEnery, but in "reconstruction" times in 1876 he traded off the white state ticket for a state senatorship from his home parish of St. Mary. He made a bargain with one of the most corrupt negro politicians in his parish, a lawyer named Patti, whereby he and Patti went to the state legis-

lature and the vote of the parish was cast against the white state ticket.

Senator Foster's law firm, besides his old partner, Milling, consists of Godchaux, a member of a rich sugar estate and mercantile owning family, who are the head and front of the capitalist class in New Orleans; and Jared Z. Sanders, the so-called "boy orator" of the machine. The machine of which Senator Foster is the ruling spirit, and with which, as in all other states, the "best citizens" are secretly identified, has succeeded in robbing Louisiana of over \$10,000,000 in public lands in the last ten years, and has stripped the city of New Orleans of every vestige of "home rule," the "cardinal principle of democracy," as it is called.

MAINE.

EUGENE HALE, *Republican, Ellsworth.* LAWYER.

A member of Senator Allison's secret "steering" committee of the senate, and one of the leaders of the republican party in that body. Closely identified in vote and action with all the plundering policies of the monopolistic senatorial ring of leaders. Married the daughter of Zachariah Chandler, the millionaire lumber baron, senator from Michigan, and is in possession of the greater part of the money. An able and successful servant of capitalism; himself a capitalist.

WILLIAM P. FRYE, *Republican, Lewiston.* LAWYER.

Chairman of the committee on commerce, and closely identified with the shipping interests. Friend of the Boston and Maine railroad, the American Line, the Pennsylvania, the shipbuilding bounty plans and all other aids to capitalist "commerce." His attitude toward the working class was recently manifested in his home state by the Hill Manufacturing company, proprietors of the Hill mills, a million-dollar corporation, of which he is a director, operating in Lewiston. The agent of these mills, W. D. Pennell, was sent to the state capital during the last session of the legis-

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lature to defeat the bill for the enforcement of the child labor law, a law which the state inspector of factories in his last report calls "a law without any teeth in it." It was to enforce this law that the legislature was considering a bill, which bill was successfully defeated by the "arguments" made by Mr. Pennell, agent of the company of which Senator Frye is a director.

MARYLAND.

ARTHUR PUE GORMAN, *Democrat, Laurel.*

One of the most interesting figures in the senate. Entered public service in 1852 as page in the senate and determined to be a successful politician, which ambition he has largely realized. Commonly called "the fox." In 1872 he secured the presidency of the quasi-public corporation, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company, a huge political machine that gobbled in its career \$29,000,000 of Maryland's revenue. He is smooth and tricky; has never been caught legally, and has more of his constituents in public office than any other two senators. He plays with the republicans or democrats, as his interests appear, and began this policy long before it came to be the recognized policy of capitalism. He has long been called the "political proprietor" of Maryland. He is astute, crafty and unscrupulous, and brought his state into such bad odor that after his reelection in 1892 the Maryland people resolved to defeat him at the next election. They succeeded, electing Senator Wellington, a republican, in his place, and the state drew a long breath. But "the fox" was not dismayed. He immediately laid his plans to capture the seat again next election. His method is interesting as an evidence of his astuteness.

After the people had risen en masse and defeated him for re-election to the senate he bided his time. In 1899 John Smith, a colorless democrat, was elected governor of Maryland. The term of Wellington was to expire in 1903, and Gorman determined to try for the place. As he feared the Maryland people would rebel he conceived it to be necessary for him to own the legislature in defiance of them.

So he got Smith to call an extra session of the existing legislature, which was safely democratic, and it passed a law providing that henceforth the names of all candidates for office should be arranged upon the ballots alphabetically. The old method of arranging the republicans under the portrait of Lincoln was swept away, and George Blackburn, republican, had to go between Henry Andrews, Socialist, and Jake Cohen, democrat. This method is the real Australian method, fair enough, demanding intelligence for its use. But Mr. Gorman's love of the scheme becomes clear when it is remembered that Maryland has 25,000 illiterate negroes addicted to the republican habit, who had voted for years by putting a cross opposite Lincoln's picture. With this law on the statute books 20,000 of the republican negro voters were disfranchised through ignorance, and the 1902 legislature came in democratic and Gorman was returned to the senate. It was as astute a bit of political manipulation as American politics has ever seen.

It was Senator Gorman who adroitly stirred up the row about Booker T. Washington dining with President Roosevelt, for a purely political purpose, the defeat of Williams, the republican candidate for governor in 1903 by Warfield, Gorman's man, in Maryland.

ISADOR RAYNOR, *Democrat, Baltimore.* LAWYER.

A very wealthy Jew, who inherited his fortune from his father; principally investments in real estate in Baltimore. He has a gentile wife, which fact admits him to the social functions of capitalism. An opponent of the Bryan democracy, he belongs logically with the republicans. Became popular as the attorney for Admiral Schley in the celebrated naval inquiry. Being a capitalist he may be expected to represent his class in the senate, for which his legal abilities very well fit him.

MASSACHUSETTS.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, *Republican, Nahant.* LAWYER.

Millionaire, principally by inheritance. Author of many

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books, principally biographical. A man of no ability as a lawyer or a statesman, his skill being almost wholly literary. He is the instrument of the protective tariff crowd in New England. He is a senator by inclination and class interest, not being fitted for any especial service in the senate, or any other deliberative body. District Attorney Jerome, of New York, recently paid Senator Lodge the following interesting tribute: "Does anyone that knows Massachusetts believe that he could be elected to anything in which the people had a voice? I don't mean that there's anything wrong with Cabot Lodge; he's about as broad as the edge of a knife-blade, but God made him for a man, so let him pass."

WINTHROP MURRAY CRANE, *Republican, Dalton.* MILLIONAIRE PAPER MANUFACTURER.

The Crane mills manufacture the paper for the United States government bonds, bank notes and other money purposes. His company has made millions out of government contracts, but legitimately, according to capitalist ethics. One of the principal holders of stock in the American Bell telephone monopoly. A large holder of stock in the Boston and Albany railroad at the time of the absorption of that road by the New York Central. His brother, Zenus, is now supposed to hold all stocks in corporations dealing with the government, the holding of which in his name would make government trading illegal while acting as senator. Senator Crane is an official in many banking and other corporations in western Massachusetts.

MICHIGAN.

JULIUS C. BURROWS, *Republican, Kalamazoo.* LAWYER.

Senator Burrows represents in the senate the lumber corporations and the railroads of Michigan, and has done lobby work for the beet sugar interests, being one of the senators who endeavored to defeat the reciprocity promised to Cuba. He has no conspicuous means of support outside of his salary as senator, as he has practically no law practice.

He is the protege of John W. Blodgett, of Grand Rapids, and it is probable that Blodgett, who is a multi-millionaire, puts him in the way of making a dollar now and then. Blodgett always finances Burrows' campaigns, and their social relations are very close. Senator Burrows married into the Peck family, which made a fortune in land speculation and now owns several banks in Michigan and much property in various parts of the country.

RUSSELL A. ALGER, *Republican, Detroit.* LAWYER.

Multi-millionaire lumber and railroad owner. Head of Alger, Smith & Company and Manistique Lumbering company, which owns and operates extensive timber tracts and mills in Michigan and Minnesota. He was one of the circle of half a dozen men who cut off the pine of Michigan and now is the owner of large tracts in the South and West. Was an owner of the Canada Southern railroad, and built the Detroit and Mackinaw railroad, though his principle activity outside of politics has always been in lumber. Before he grew old he was ambitious to be president, and with the help of his brother-in-law, Langdon, attempted to buy the republican nomination in 1888, the year Harrison received it. Langdon bossed the job, and botched it, as the delegates he purchased did not stay bought. General Alger was McKinley's secretary of war, and, by his neglect and ignorance of his office, brought upon that administration the odium of the embalmed beef and other scandals. After resigning his office he wrote a book, "The Spanish-American War," as a defense of his incompetence. His local reputation in Washington is for good-natured stupidity. While secretary of war he would leave his official mail unopened for hours while he chatted with political cronies. He was regarded by agents having things to sell to the war department as a "good thing," as he would buy anything a friend could be brought or bought to recommend. He was appointed senator by the republicans as a sort of party vindication, and was again elected by the legislature. His retirement is announced for the expiration of his present term.

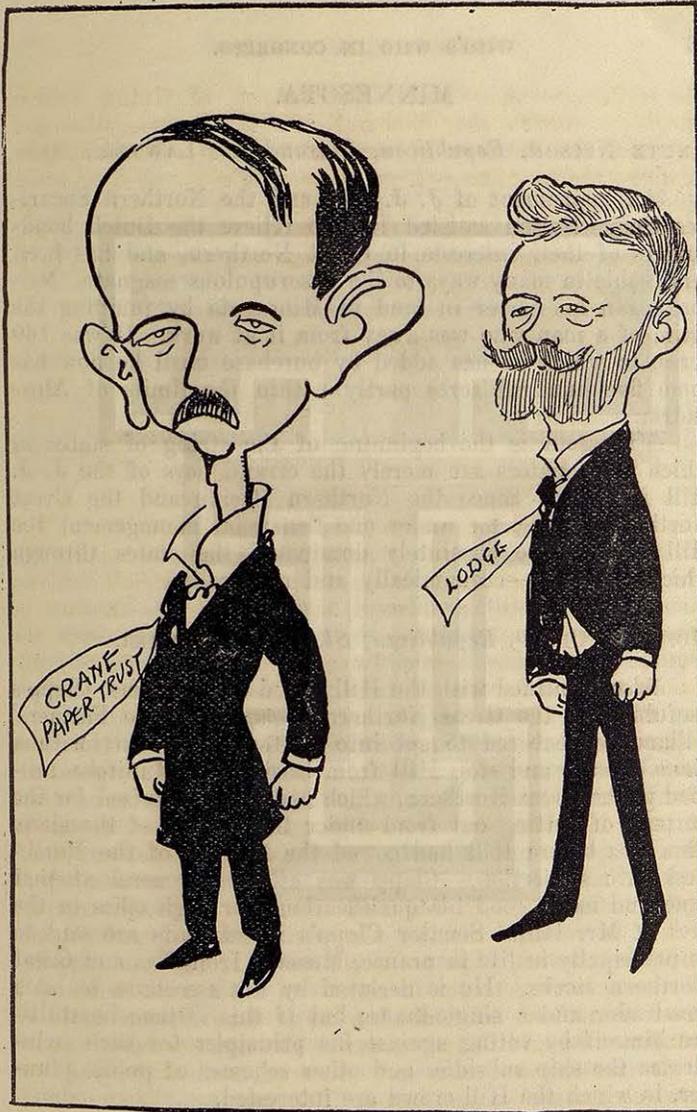
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Senators Crane and Lodge, of Massachusetts. Crane represents the Paper Trust, and Lodge the high tariff interests of the East.

MINNESOTA.

KNUTE NELSON, *Republican, Alexandria.* LAWYER.

An instrument of J. J. Hill and the Northern Securities ring. Nelson assisted Hill to relieve the Dutch bondholders of their interests in Great Northern, and has been serviceable in many ways to the unscrupulous magnate. Nelson began his career in land in Minnesota by jumping the claim of a man who was away from it at work. It was 160 acres, to which he has added by purchase until he now has some five hundred acres partly within the limits of Alexandria.

Minnesota is the beginning of the string of states in which the senators are merely the errand boys of the J. J. Hill interests. Since the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern roads came under one financial management the Hill crowd have absolutely dominated the states through which they run—economically and politically.

MOSES E. CLAPP, *Republican, St. Paul.* LAWYER.

Also identified with the Hill crowd of exploiters. Clapp's usefulness to the Great Northern began when the Farmers' Alliance endeavored to get into the supreme court with a *quo warranto* and stop Hill from leasing the Manitoba railroad to the Great Northern, which had been organized for the purpose of getting out from under the control of the state. This was before Hill had cowed the farmers of the Northwest into subjection. Clapp was attorney general at that time and made good his qualifications for high office in the eyes of Mr. Hill. Senator Clapp's investments are said to be principally in life insurance, Messaba Iron Ore, and Great Northern stocks. He is declared by his associates to be a free-trader and a single-taxer; but if this is true he stultifies himself by voting against his principles for such swindles as the ship subsidies and other schemes of public plunder, in which the Hill crowd are interested.

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MISSISSIPPI.

HERNANDO D. MONEY, *Democrat, Carrollton.* LAWYER.

Is a planter, also, and represents the interests of his class—the interests of the cotton belt—in the senate, so far as he represents anything. Exercises but little influence in congress. Quarrelsome when intoxicated, recently assaulting a street-car conductor in Washington with a knife.

ANSELM J. McLAURIN, *Democrat, Brandon.* LAWYER.

Not influential in congress, but, like his colleague, relegated to unimportant committees of the senate. Represents the interests of the plantations.

MISSOURI.

WILLIAM J. STONE, *Democrat, St. Louis.* LAWYER.

Familiarly known as "Gum-Shoe Bill," on account of his sleek and noiseless methods. Agent for Foreign Securities company in Missouri; attorney for Brewing interests and street railway companies of Missouri.

In 1899 the street railway companies of St. Louis were assessed upon \$7,000,000 and Senator Stone protested at their "over-valuation." As they are now paying upon \$20,000,000 the overvaluation at that time could not have been very considerable.

Senator Stone's services to the Baking Powder Trust, made public by an investigation, are interesting as showing his capabilities as a special pleader. The sales of the Baking Powder trust in Missouri aggregate from three to four millions annually. In 1899 a law quietly passed prohibiting the sale in the state of baking powders containing alum. This law was ostensibly in the interest of public health, but really because all baking powders not made by the trust contain a small, but harmless, per cent of alum. The trust attempted similar legislation in twenty-seven states. When repeal was attempted in Missouri the trust flooded the state senate with bribe money. One vote, that of State Senator Farris, cost

\$2,500. The lieutenant governor, then presiding officer of the senate, was paid \$1,500. Others were paid \$1,000. Repeal legislation was again attempted at the 1901 and 1903 sessions, but defeated each time by boodle. Mr. D. J. Kelly, of New York, proprietor of a so-called health society journal, manipulated the trust's operations, and declared "the legislature of 1903 was the highest-priced legislature I ever ran up against." One senator deposited seven \$1,000 bills in his bank the day after the legislature adjourned.

As this was expensive business the trust concluded to hire Senator Stone to "make public sentiment." Senator Stone, therefore, addressed the legislature—and the newspapers—in the bunco role of outraged citizenship. "I appear before you," said he, "at the request of the Health society of Missouri. This association is composed of Missouri people—good people, both men and women—living in different parts of the state, with headquarters at St. Louis."

Then, after expatiating with bitterness upon the selfish efforts of the rival baking powder companies to repeal the law which kept them from selling their products within the state and gave the whole field to the trust, he exclaimed in an outburst of splendid indignation, "Can greed put on a more ghastly aspect than this?"

When the grand jury found that this \$20,000,000 baking powder trust had used boodle to keep their graft law on the books, they incidentally investigated this "Health association" which Senator Stone so righteously represented. The "good people, both men and women," who made up the "association," were just three in number—D. J. Kelly, prime lobbyist for the trust, a wandering Baptist preacher, and William J. Stone; while the headquarters of the society in St. Louis were none other than the personal offices of "Gum-Shoe Bill" himself.

The grand jury could not reach Mr. Stone. He had played the game within the law. He is a legal adviser; and the money he received from the trust—\$5,000 for his little helpfulness—was a "retainer," or fee; it was not a bribe.

"We both suck eggs," exclaimed the notorious Bill Phelps—for fifteen years Stone's political partner—"but Stone, he hides the shells."

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WILLIAM WARNER, *Republican, Kansas City.* LAWYER.

From the capitalist standpoint a clean man. Was chosen as a compromise to defeat the notorious Missouri ringsters, Niederinghaus and Kerens, who were struggling for the senatorial prize. In a speech at Kansas City soon after his election he said: "The burning issue of the day is that of setting proper metes and bounds to corporate power and the suppression of the unlawful encroachment upon the rights of the people by organized capital." It remains to be seen what he may say in Washington. The democratic papers do not take him very seriously. For example, the *Hartford Times* asks: "Now, will Major Warner lend a hand in taking off the tariff that protects the products of the Standard Oil company, the steel corporation and the beef trust? We guess not. When a man out west lifts up his voice against the monopolies it is usually safe to suppose that he does not really intend to do them any harm." Major Warner is not rich and he may stand with the little capitalists against the big ones if there is any considerable movement in the country in the interests of the former.

MONTANA.

WILLIAM A. CLARK, *Democrat, Butte.* CAPITALIST. BANKER.
COPPER KING.

Owns the street railways of Butte. Owns the principal newspaper of Butte, *The Miner*. President of the United Verde Copper company of Arizona. Owner of the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad, the recently built line from Utah to California. Friend of J. J. Hill and partner in some of his enterprises.

Was elected three times to the United States senate, but was denied his seat the first and second times, the second election declared after investigation to have been fraudulent. The third time he landed the seat which he now enjoys.

He got possession of fifteen thousand acres of Montana timber land by buying of dressmakers, school teachers and clerks who had taken claims simply to sell them out. The defense of this wily person, who so notoriously bought his

way into the senate, was that he was an innocent purchaser and the land must not be taken away from him. Fifty-four persons were indicted before Judge Hunt of the United States court at Helena, charged by the government with being agents of Senator Clark in the fraudulent acquisition of this land.

Senator Clark has had so much ill-gotten money that he has been led into singular excesses in spending it. His remarkable residence at 175 West Fifty-eighth street, New York, is decorated in so singularly lavish a manner that it is commonly pointed out as the mansion of "frozen hysteria." He wanted bronze statues and other things for the inside and outside of this hysterical house, but the bronze works could not turn them out fast enough. He, therefore, spent several hundred thousand dollars in the purchase of a private bronze foundry.

He is exceedingly vain, personally. He has a fondness for taking up women of the light opera and helping to perfect their education.

He seems a singular compound of vanity, dishonesty, shrewdness and business acumen, and so far has not played the game even to the level of capitalistic ethics. It is singular that he should be seated in a chamber that is too holy for a man like Burton.

THOMAS H. CARTER, *Republican*. LAWYER.

Former senator from Montana, who was defeated for re-election by Clark's money, now again returned to the senate in place of Paris Gibson. Senator Carter's ability as a politician made him chairman of the national republican committee, which office he held from 1892 to 1896. It is admitted, however, that he is somewhat too astute to thoroughly inspire the confidence of his colleagues—especially those who pay for the republican campaigns. It is related of him that in the campaign of 1892 the Cramp Shipbuilding company contributed \$400,000 to his committee, and, wishing to make sure the money was spent according to what they considered their best interests, they had him shadowed by detectives and found that their fears were well founded.

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JOSEPH H. MILLARD, *Republican, Omaha.* BANKER.

Director in the Union Pacific Railroad company. Exploited government land before going into banking, and has used his influence at Washington to keep cattlemen in possession of government land unlawfully fenced off, and prevent its entry by homesteaders. A conventional capitalist with all the earmarks of his class. President of the Omaha National bank. Largely interested in mining at Virginia City, Montana, where his son is in charge of a sixty-ton stamp mill.

ELMER J. BURKETT, *Republican, Lincoln.* LAWYER.

Formerly a member of the house of representatives. Proving himself "safe," he was taken up by the Union Pacific and Northwestern railroads and elected to the senate. The railroad monopolies dictate all political preferment in Nebraska. Burkett possesses little property at present. He declared to the legislature which elected him that he intended to vote for the "Roosevelt reforms," which indicates either that he is prepared to break with the corporations which gave him his seat, or that he believes Mr. Roosevelt's campaign to be merely verbal.

NEVADA.

FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, *Democrat, Reno.* LAWYER.

Capitalist. Landowner. Millionaire. Married the daughter of old Senator Sharon, the "mining king" of Nevada, and is principal owner and administrator of that vast estate, which includes nine or ten valuable mines in the vicinity of Gold Hill, and other choice property of various kinds.

Owner of the *Weekly Nevada State Journal*, his personal organ. Owner of valuable tracts of land near the Carson and Truckee rivers. Part owner of the V. and T. railroad. Ranchman. Has been speculating in Washington

City real estate since his election as senator, using his influence to procure certain public improvements in the vicinity of his holdings.

GEORGE S. NIXON, *Republican, Winnemucca.* LAWYER.

Attorney and lobbyist for the Southern Pacific railroad. Entering the employ of that company as a telegrapher, he was transferred to Winnemucca bank as cashier, and after studying law became the attorney for the Southern Pacific. Made a fortune in exploiting public lands and is now rated a millionaire. Landowner and ranchman. Owns mines in the southern part of the state, and blocks of stock in many desirable properties.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JACOB H. GALLINGER, *Republican, Concord.* PHYSICIAN.

Forsook the practice of medicine for republican politics. Is satisfactory to the Boston and Maine railroad, which directs the political action of the state. Senator Gallinger is an ardent advocate and supporter of the annually attempted ship-subsidy steal. May be depended upon to further any policy which the capitalists of his party indicate as desirable.

HENRY E. BURNHAM, *Republican, Manchester.* LAWYER.

Mr. Burnham was put into the senate by the influence of the Boston and Maine railroad monopoly, to which corporation his predecessor, Senator Chandler, was not satisfactory. He is not a leading member of the senate, his service being principally confined to looking after the interests of the capitalists of his own state.

NEW JERSEY.

JOHN KEAN, *Republican, Ursine.* LAWYER.

Capitalist. President of the National State bank of Elizabeth, N. J. Vice president Manhattan Trust com-

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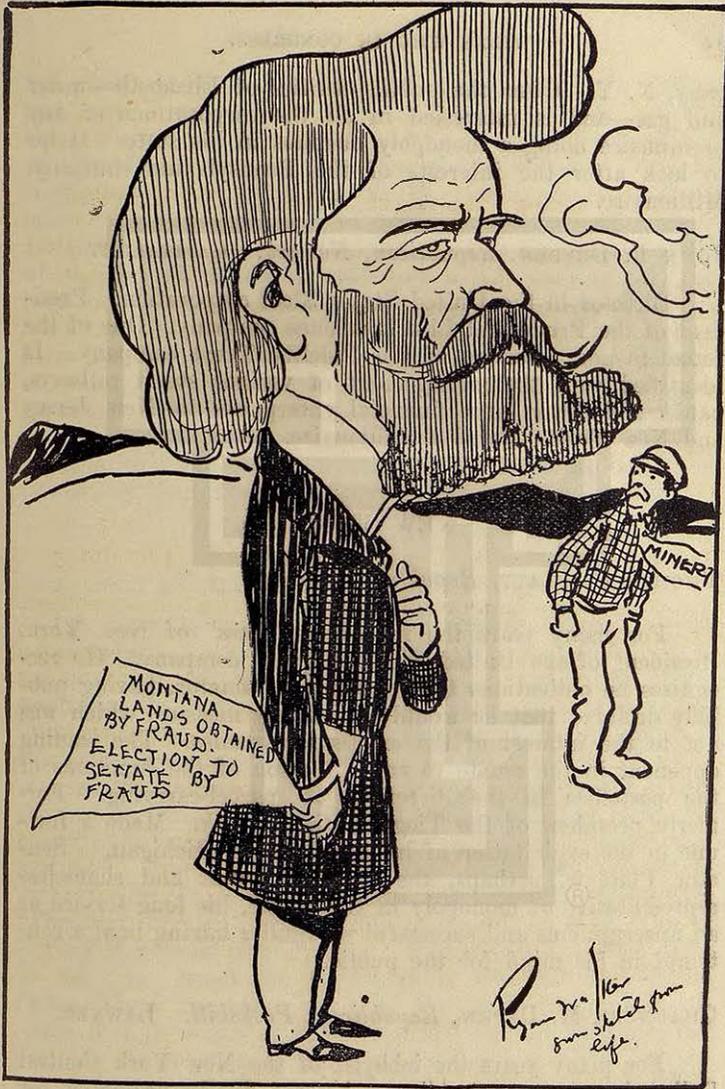
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Senator William A. Clark, of Montana, who lives in New York. What law in favor of labor do you suppose this mine king and millionaire would support?

pany, N. Y. Owns the public utilities of Elizabeth—water and gas—and is interested in all the corporations of any prominence doing a monopoly business in his state. Helps to look after the interests of the Pennsylvania company. Millionaire.

JOHN F. DRYDEN, *Republican, Newark.* CAPITALIST.

Director in the United States Steel corporation. President of the Prudential Life Insurance company. One of the founders and directors of the Fidelity Trust company. Is identified with the management of various street railways, banks and other large financial enterprises in New Jersey and New York. Rated a millionaire.

NEW YORK.

THOMAS C. PLATT, *Republican, Owego.*

For many years the republican "boss" of New York. President of the United States Express company. He recognizes no obligations to the people as senator, having publicly declared that he would oppose any measure which was not to the interest of the express companies. The leading opponent in the senate to any extension of the functions of the postoffice in the direction of parcel-carrying. Formerly president of the Tioga National bank. Made a fortune in the exploitation of lumber lands in Michigan. Senator Platt is, perhaps, the most impudent and shameless representative of monopoly in the senate, his long service, as an unscrupulous and successful wirepuller having bred a contempt in his mind for the public.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, *Republican, Peekskill.* LAWYER.

For many years the lobbyist of the New York Central Railroad company, at Albany, he was finally promoted for most distinguished service by the Vanderbilt interests. He is chairman of the board of directors of the New York Cen-

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tral, Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, Michigan Central and New York, Chicago and St. Louis railroads. A specious, shrewd, but shallow, man, who is but little thought of as a statesman even by his senatorial colleagues. Owes his re-election to the senate to E. H. Harriman, the railroad magnate, and may be said to represent the railroad interests exclusively. An unenviable figure in the Equitable scandal, which exposed him as a grafter upon the funds of that corporation to the extent of \$20,000 a year, for which he gave no service. A member of the Yale corporation, of which college he is the distinguished product. Senator Depew is a director in seventy-two corporations besides the Equitable, and is regarded as a "master of corporation law." He has never been known to stand for any dignified principle. He is simply a good natured and bland servant of a family of capitalists, rewarded by them for his political work in their interests.

NORTH CAROLINA.

FURNIFOLD M. SIMMONS, *Democrat, Raleigh.* LAWYER.

A conventional lawyer of little income beside his senatorial salary, whose mind is fixed upon the upbuilding of the capitalist interests of his state by the exploitation of immigrants. In a recent interview in Washington he declared: "We could use for immediate employment in my state, as official reports show, as many as 60,000 laborers. I doubt very much whether this army of wage-earners would satisfy the urgent demand for help that comes from the farm, the factory, the lumber camps, the railroads, and a dozen other sources." The senator follows this astonishing statement with an interesting exposition of his capitalist philosophy. "The hope of the South at this moment," he says, "lies in getting European immigration. Henceforth an effort is to be made to attract the hard-working Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Finns and other north of Europe immigrants to the states that lie south of the Potomac. In this direction lies not only the solution of the southern labor problem, but the future well-being of our section is bound up in it." The senator's idea of well-being is a capitalist prosperity built upon the backs of wage-earners.

LEE S. OVERMAN, *Democrat, Salisbury.* LAWYER.

Small country capitalist. President Salisbury Savings bank. Principal investments in real estate, reported as aggregating some \$75,000. Neither of the North Carolina senators cuts much of a figure in the senate.

NORTH DAKOTA.

HENRY S. HANSBROUGH, *Republican, Devil's Lake.* NEWS-PAPER MAN.

Proprietor of the Devil's Lake *Interocean*. Protege of J. J. Hill and the Hill railroads through the influence of "Boss" Alexander McKenzie, Hill's lieutenant. Real estate owner and exploiter of government land, after the manner of most northwestern politicians.

When, owing to such disclosures as the fraudulent land purchases of Senator Clark, a movement was made to have some of the objectionable features of the land laws repealed, Hansbrough, who was chairman of the committee on public lands, did all he could to "chloroform" it. He succeeded in getting his committee to report unfavorably upon the measure.

PORTER J. McCUMBER, *Republican, Wahpeton.* LAWYER.

Protege of Alexander McKenzie, republican boss of North Dakota, lieutenant of J. J. Hill. Reputed to be interested in several small banks in the central and northwestern parts of the state. Land owner. The Hill railroads own and administer North Dakota through McKenzie, the political slate being made up annually in the West Hotel in Minneapolis, where Mr. Hill makes his wishes known.

OHIO.

JOSEPH B. FORAKER, *Republican, Cincinnati.* LAWYER.

Foraker has been a corporation lawyer ever since he has been prominent in politics. His services, however, have been principally as a lobbyist. He worked with the notorious

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"Boss" Cox, of Cincinnati, for the passage of the Rogers law which permitted cities to grant franchises for a fifty-year term. He has generally appeared before the supreme court of Ohio—which is known as a political court—whenever the interests of the gas, street railway or telephone monopolies have been attacked. It has not been unusual for him to leave Washington during the session of congress to appear before some Ohio board to urge the reduction of taxes of one of these corporations. It is reported that he received \$500,000 in stock for his services in securing the fifty-year franchise law.

He started the negotiations which led to the leasing of the Cincinnati street railway system to the Elkins-Weidener syndicate, in which combination he is interested. He still seems to represent the principal corporations of Ohio when it comes to legislative or political work. He rarely appears for them in the regular practice of law until the case reaches the supreme court, and there his argument is generally perfunctory.

In his youth Foraker started out to be a reformer. He was called the "Fire Alarm." But he discovered Boss Cox, and, together, they sold out the people.

CHARLES DICK, *Republican, Akron.* LAWYER.

Dick was Mark Hanna's boy, and handled the money which put Hanna into the senate. When Mr. Hanna died the Ohio political machine decreed that Ohio should send his faithful lieutenant, Major Dick, to the senate. A committee of investigation which took evidence after Mr. Hanna's election reported to the senate as follows: On or about January 9, 1898, an attempt was made to bribe John C. Otis, a member of the house, to vote for Marcus A. Hanna, and that Major Charles Dick and another were agents of Marcus A. Hanna and procured, aided and abetted the crime.

It was Major Dick who gave his name to the military bill which was designed to make the state militia part of the regular army in time of peace for the suppression of working-class aspirations.

Senator Dick is vice president of the Goodyear Rubber

company, and is said to be interested in Colorado mines and Canadian nickel mines.

OREGON.

CHARLES W. FULTON, *Republican, Astoria.* LAWYER.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BOIES PENROSE, *Republican, Philadelphia.* LAWYER.

A man whose character does not conform even to the capitalist code of ethics. Successor to "Matt" Quay as ringster and agent of the dominant corporations and dishonest, plundering cliques of Philadelphia, to whose support he at once rallied when they were attacked by Mayor Weaver. Morally fully as much in the mire as Senator Burton, of Kansas. Made by the Quay machine, he naturally is loyal to it and its methods. As head of the machine he is logically the servant of the Pennsylvania railroad, which corporation, in conjunction with the steel combination, rules Pennsylvania.

PHILANDER C. KNOX, *Republican, Pittsburg.* LAWYER.

Knox and Reed, attorneys for the Carnegie company (the steel trust) and the other great corporations of Pennsylvania. Representative in the senate of the Pennsylvania railroad interests and the Frick and Carnegie crowd. The men who picked out Mr. Knox, and by their predominating influence were able to translate him from the cabinet to the senate, were Mr. Frick, of Pittsburg, a prominent director of the steel trust, and President Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania railroad. These men, or the corporations behind them, rule Pennsylvania. The Quay regime and the Cameron regime back of it was founded on the alliance that it was possible to make with these huge transportation and industrial monopolies, whose highly-wrought concentration of management renders them a tremendous power in the politics of the state. It suits such corporations as the Pennsylvania Railroad company to have one man supreme in the govern-

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ment of the commonwealth; they can hold him responsible for an unceasing protection of their interests by always sustaining him in his schemes for plunder or power. The real rulers of Pennsylvania appeared quickly in the rearrangement of affairs rendered necessary by the death of Quay.

These interests wanted Attorney General Knox transferred to the senate very badly—so badly, in fact, that the requirements of the Pennsylvania state constitution were set aside in order to make sure of the job. That constitution contains the following provision:

"In case of a vacancy in the office of United States senator from this commonwealth in a recess between sessions, the governor shall convene the two houses by proclamation, on notice not exceeding sixty days, to fill the same."

There is no ambiguity about this. But Gov. Pennypacker, who was sworn to uphold that constitution, did nothing of the kind in this case of vacancy left by the death of Quay. He proceeded himself to make the appointment of Mr. Knox after a conference with these officials of the Pennsylvania railroad and the United States Steel corporation.

RHODE ISLAND.

NELSON W. ALDRICH, *Republican, Providence*. "GENERAL MANAGER OF THE UNITED STATES."

So-called from being the head and front of monopoly-representation in congress. Is chairman of the finance committee of the senate, and sees that the government finances are administered in the interests of the capitalists. An anarchist in philosophy, but without the anarchist's ideal of a better social order. Has amassed millions without being in any business save that of United States senator.

Rhode Island, being a small state, with a scattered population, making manipulation of its politics an easy matter, is especially advantageous as a point of operation for an unscrupulous politician.

While Gen. Brayton is the resident "boss" of the state, Senator Aldrich is the real power—the source of supplies. He organized in 1893 the street railway syndicate, which

acquired possession of all the Rhode Island traction lines, equipped them with electricity and increased their capitalization from \$2,500,000 to \$40,000,000, while only increasing their length threefold. At the behest of Aldrich, but through the boss and the machine, the rotten borough legislature passed exclusive franchises and special laws of the nature of contracts, *which, according to their terms, cannot be repealed except by consent of the traction company itself.* Intrenched by special privilege in this manner, the possessor of a perpetual franchise, the traction syndicate has made millions of dollars in profits and by stock issues of paper having only monopoly value, out of which the promoters, Senator Aldrich among the number, have become millionaires.

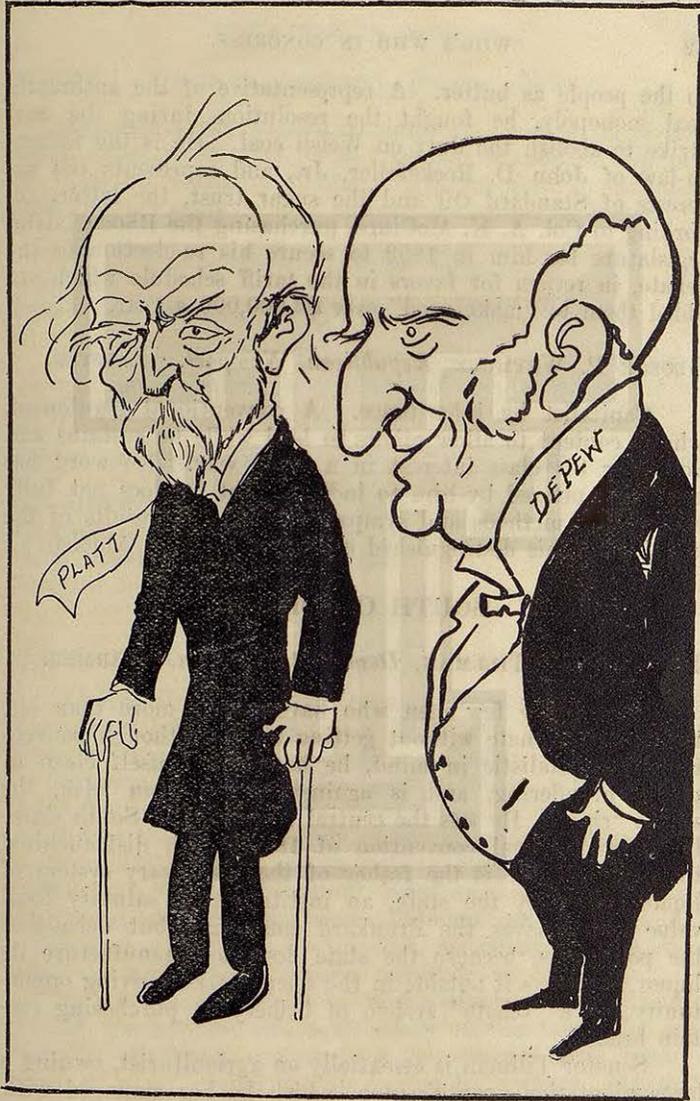
Aldrich, the anarchist, was exhibited in connection with the floating of the traction securities. To pacify public outcry and organized labor, a ten-hour law was enacted by the local legislature, with the consent of Senator Aldrich, in 1892. The Philadelphia syndicate, which was to furnish the money for equipping the road electrically, objected, saying they had bargained for an 11-hour road. The company, therefore, *refused to obey the law it had passed.* The men struck. In Pawtucket the sympathy of the police was with the men; so the traction company appointed deputy sheriffs, and Senator Aldrich sent the militia to Pawtucket, *crushing and winning the strike by breaking the law.* The next legislature repealed the law. The governor of Rhode Island has no veto; and as a single-taxer named Garvin threatened to be elected governor, the legislature, by Senator Aldrich's direction, took from the governor the appointing power and placed it with the state senate, thus wholly emasculating the office of governor.

But aside from Rhode Island, which is his private property, Senator Aldrich's principal service to capitalism is outside his own state. In the senate he does not deal with underlings, but directly with the "captains of industry"—Rockefeller, Morgan, Hill, Vanderbilts, Carnegie and Armour, Swifts and Cramps. He is the political agent of the United States Steel corporation, as well as the beef trust, and fought to allow the Swifts and Armours to sell their oleomargarine

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A Precious Pair From New York—If either of them love any-
thing more than themselves, it is the dear corporations that placed
them where they are.

to the people as butter. A representative of the anthracite coal monopoly, he fought the resolution during the coal strike to abolish the duty on Welsh coal. He is the father-in-law of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and represents the interests of Standard Oil and the sugar trust, the latter, according to Col. A. K. McClure, purchasing the Rhode Island legislature for him in 1892 to secure his re-election to the senate, in return for favors in the tariff schedule which enabled them to "make good" over \$3,000,000 a year.

GEORGE P. WETMORE, *Republican, Newport.* LAWYER.

Capitalist by inheritance. A conventional gentleman, who is content to allow others to lead while he sustains and votes for his class interest in a quiet way. No word has ever been uttered by him to indicate that he does not fully endorse the methods and sympathize with the results of the activities of his distinguished colleague, Senator Aldrich.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, *Democrat, Trenton.* FARMER.

One of the few men who have served more than one term in the senate without getting rich. Although conventionally capitalistic in mind, he has kept himself clean of public plundering, and is against, rather than with, the senate "ring." He was the central figure in the South Carolina constitutional convention of 1895 which disfranchised the negroes. He is the father of the dispensary system of liquor-selling by the state, an institution of salutary local value which saves the drunkard somewhat, but debauches the politicians, because the state does not manufacture its liquor, but buys it outside in the open market, giving opportunity for a "rebate" system of bribery in purchasing certain brands.

Senator Tillman is essentially an agriculturist, owning a large plantation near Trenton, which he has managed with great success.

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ASBURY C. LATIMER, *Democrat, Belton.* FARMER.

Represents the plantation interests, and is an enthusiastic advocate of good roads. Devotes himself to agriculture, like his colleague, Tillman. Is reported to be interested in the exploitation of mining properties in Mexico.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

ROBERT J. GAMBLE, *Republican, Yankton.* LAWYER.

Succeeded Senator Pettigrew, who was not considered "safe." South Dakota is another state controlled in the interest of the Hill railroads.

ALFRED B. KITTREDGE, *Republican, Sioux Falls.* LAWYER.

Attorney for Great Northern and C. M. and St. P. railroads, and generally the servant of the northwestern railroads known as the Hill interests.

TENNESSEE.

EDWARD W. CARMACK, *Democrat, Memphis.* LAWYER.

Afterward a newspaper man. Editor of the *Memphis Commercial*. Viciously attacked Eugene V. Debs during the American Railway Union strike; and after, when running for congress, made a public apology to the working class of his district and got their votes.

Up to the last campaign he was an ardent supporter of Bryan radicalism, but swung over to Parker and made the perfunctory "safe and sound" speeches. As Senator Carmack must know Pat McCarren, Belmont and Hill, and that Judge Parker was their instrument, his change to conservatism does not indicate especial sincerity of conviction.

As no man could be elected senator from Tennessee without the support or acquiescence of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad company, it is evident that Senator Carmack is no special foe to monopoly interests, and that his occasional radical utterances are for public consumption and not to be taken seriously by those who know.

JAMES B. FRAZIER, *Democrat, Chattanooga.* LAWYER.

Well-to-do, but not considered a rich man. A politician, principally, who will do what those in his party desire him to do. No opposition by the L. and N. railroad to his election. Formerly governor of Tennessee.

TEXAS.

CHARLES A. CULBERSON, *Democrat, Dallas.* LAWYER.

Formerly attorney-general of Texas, during which time his intimate relations with the Southern Pacific railroad were evident. Son of David Culberson, who represented the Huntington railroad interests in congress for many years, he succeeded to the confidence of this monopoly interest.

JOSEPH W. BAILEY, *Democrat, Gainesville.* LAWYER.

A protege of "Gum-Shoe Bill" Stone, of Missouri, who put Mr. Bailey in touch with Standard Oil.

Mr. Bailey was sent originally to congress by a clique of cattle men who wished to fence off some government land and desired representation by a congressman who would not stand in their way. Soon after the Hogg party of Texas forced a bill through the legislature excluding the Standard Oil company from the state. Mr. Bailey was instrumental in securing the repeal of this measure and blossomed out suddenly as a capitalist, buying a ranch in Dallas county of Barney Gibbs, for which he paid some \$35,000.

It was after buying this ranch and making other manifestations of sudden opulence that he entered the senatorial race and was elected. It is reported from Texas that the Standard Oil company was not pleased with his want of discretion, and that a man is being groomed to take his place in the senate at the expiration of his present term.

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REED SMOOT, *Republican, Provo City.* BANKER AND WOOLEN MANUFACTURER.

Capitalist. Inherited from his father a large fortune derived from the increase of real estate and commercial values, due to the growing population of the state. President Provo Commercial and Savings bank; vice president Grand Central and Victoria mining companies; director in the Clarke-Eldredge wholesale house; director San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad; president of Smoot Investment company, Smoot Drug company, Provo Electric company; manager and director Provo Woolen Mills company; director Zion's Co-operative Mercantile company; director in Deseret National bank and Deseret Savings bank.

GEORGE SUTHERLAND, *Republican.* LAWYER.

Railroad and corporation attorney. Represents generally the interests of Utah capitalists and monopolies. Wishing not to appear in any way connected with the Mormon church, he made the statement in Washington that he "did not have directly or indirectly the aid of the Mormon church or any of its leaders" in his recent campaign for office, upon which statement the Salt Lake *Herald* comments as follows: "Senator George Sutherland knows as well as he knows he is living that he could not have won a place in the world's greatest law-making body if he had not had the earnest, cordial, active good-will of Apostle Reed Smoot. Smoot could have beaten Sutherland the night before the republican caucus met if he had desired to do so. He could have beaten him an hour before the caucus. Senator Sutherland is Senator Smoot's selection. If Sutherland thinks otherwise he is the only man in Utah who does."

This indicates that the financial sympathies of Senator Sutherland lie along the line of the Smoot properties.

VERMONT.

REDFIELD PROCTOR, *Republican, Proctor.* CAPITALIST.

Owner of the celebrated Vermont stone quarries. Advocate of high tariff, especially on marble. Used the consolidated marble interests of Vermont to gain control of the marble output of the entire country, which he now controls by ownership or trade agreements. After becoming a member of the public buildings committee of the senate Senator Proctor transferred his holdings in the marble trust to his son, Fletcher D. Proctor, by whom they are now managed. Fletcher D. Proctor is also on the boards of directors of the Rutland and Central Vermont railroads, and is closely related to New York Central. By the transfer of his quarry interests to his son, Senator Proctor has been able legally to furnish the government with a vast amount of marble for postoffices, custom houses and other government buildings. That Senator Proctor is considered a perfectly "safe" representative of capitalism in the senate is evidenced by the fact that in the canvass of the Vermont legislature before his last re-election the Vermont Marble company, the Rutland railroad, the Central Vermont railroad and the Boston and Maine railroad were conspicuous in the lobby.

WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM, *Republican, Montpelier.* BANKER.
CAPITALIST.

President Waterbury National bank. Acceptable to the Central Vermont railroad, which made his father governor in 1865-7. Was supported for the senate by the Vermont Marble company, assisted by the Central Vermont railroad in the person of Edward C. Smith, son of John G. Smith, its former president.

VIRGINIA.

JOHN W. DANIEL, *Democrat, Lynchburg.* LAWYER.

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his official salary is derived from the sale of law books written by him. As the Southern railroad dominates Virginia politics Senator Daniel's re-election indicates that he is content not to disturb monopolies.

THOMAS S. MARTIN, *Democrat, Scottsville.* LAWYER.

By the help of railroad influence Mr. Martin won his first election to the senate over the late Gen. Fitzhugh Lee. Senator Martin is a machine politician, something of a new species in Virginia. As the state the past twenty years has developed in wealth the character of its politics has changed. The growth of two or three cities, such as Richmond, as manufacturing communities, and the increasing power of the railroads that cross the old state have introduced what is familiarly known in the North as "corporation influence." With these changes have come hand in hand the corporation, the plutocrat, and Thomas S. Martin, the new, silent, machine type of Virginia statesman. Mr. Martin is principally the property of the Southern railroad.

WASHINGTON.

LEVI ANKENY, *Republican, Walla Walla.* BANKER. CAPITALIST.

Owner and president of seven banks in Washington and Oregon, among which are the First National bank of Walla Walla; First National bank of Pendleton, Oregon; First National bank of Baker City, Oregon; First National bank of Colfax, Washington. Also a heavy stockholder in the Traders' bank of Spokane; Vancouver National bank of Waitsburg, Wash.; Seattle bank and Columbia National bank of Dayton, Wash.

He is a millionaire in land value alone, having secured immense tracts in Walla Walla, Columbia, Benton and Franklin counties. Is called the owner of the southeastern part of the state. Is closely allied to the railroad monopolies and all other corporations of the state which need money in their business.

SAMUEL H. PILES, *Republican, Seattle*. LAWYER. CORPORATION ATTORNEY.

Lieutenant of J. J. Hill, whose attorney he has been in the service of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern railroads and Hill's Pacific coast interests. Has defended the Seattle Electric company, the local street-car monopoly, in a case since his election as senator, offering his critics the explanation that \$5,000 a year salary is insufficient for providing for himself and family at the national capital. Not yet a rich man. The railroad monopoly which employs him indirectly as its representative in congress shows considerable faith in his fidelity, as it authorized him to name the entire delegation to the state convention of the republican party which boosted him for senator. A thoroughly class-conscious servant of capitalism.

WEST VIRGINIA.

STEPHEN B. ELKINS, *Republican, Elkins*. LAWYER. CAPITALIST.

Millionaire. Monopolizes most of the state of West Virginia with his father-in-law, Henry Gassaway Davis, democrat, recently candidate for vice president. Investments in railroads, timber and coal lands and mines in the state. Vice-president of the West Virginia Central and Pittsburg railroad. Has consistently fought anti-trust legislation. Elkins is the beet-sugar lobbyist who introduced Havemeyer to Gorman and helped to fix up the sugar tariff by which so many senators made fortunes at the expense of the people. It was his senatorial influence in the interest of the beet-sugar crowd that delayed and defeated Cuban reciprocity so continuously. When he finally turned and began to work against his old friends in the sugar trust many were puzzled until they learned he had quarreled with the Havemeyers after he had brought them and Gorman together during Cleveland's administration. It finally appeared that the sugar trust senators were using Cuban reciprocity as a club to beat down beet-sugar stocks so they could be bought in cheaply.



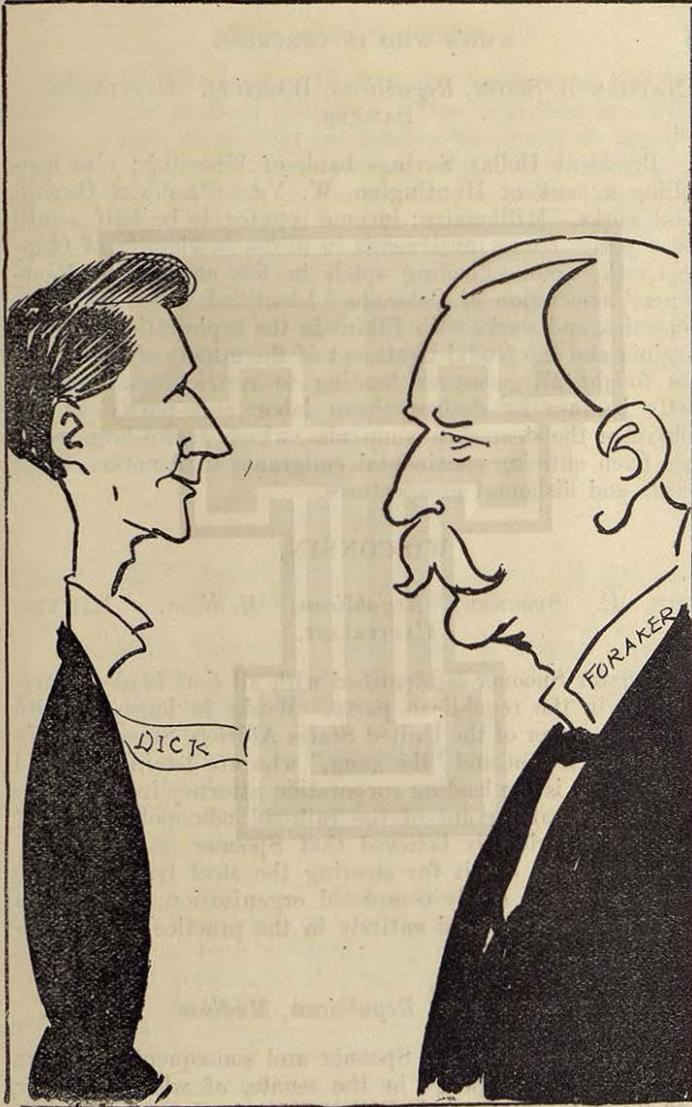
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Senators Dick and Foraker—Dick is author of the infamous Dick Military law, and Foraker represents capitalism in its worst form.

NATHAN B. SCOTT, *Republican, Wheeling.* CAPITALIST.
BANKER.

President Dollar Savings bank of Wheeling; also controlling a bank at Huntington, W. Va. President Central Glass works. Millionaire; income reputed to be half a million a year. Large investments in mines in vicinity of Cripple Creek, Colo. Leading spirit in the anarchistic Mine-Owners' association of Colorado. Identified with the Elkins properties, and works with Elkins in the exploitation of West Virginia and the feudal treatment of the miners of that state. Has fought all measures tending to restrict immigration, partly because he desires cheap labor and partly as the lobbyist of the steamship companies, which derive large revenues from enticing continental emigrants to America under roseate and dishonest prospectuses.

WISCONSIN.

JOHN C. SPOONER, *Republican, Madison.* LAWYER.
CAPITALIST.

Senator Spooner is identified with all that is most un-republican in the republican party. Works in harmony with General Manager of the United States Aldrich, Steering Committeeman Allison and "the gang," who are let in on "good things." He is the leading corporation attorney in Wisconsin and is the local servant of the railroad monopolies in that state. It is privately believed that Spooner and not Gary should have the credit for steering the steel trust into the calm waters of a safely completed organization. Reputed a millionaire, accumulated entirely in the practice of his profession.

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, *Republican, Madison.* LAWYER.

A political enemy of Spooner and consequently *persona non grata* to the "gang" in the senate, of which Spooner is an intimate member. LaFollette has stood for and forced anti-pass legislation and other restrictions of monopoly while

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governor of Wisconsin. His financial interests are not considerable, his personal character is free from taint and there seems nothing to prevent his leading the revolt of the little capitalists in the republican party against "the gang." Unless, after taking his seat in the senate, he makes peace with Spooner there is nothing for him to do except to fight the "gang" on the floor of the senate. The senate being a sort of padded cell for the LaFollette kind of reformer it is possible that the new senator from Wisconsin may tire out. If he does not he will at least furnish interesting matter for the newspapers, being, as he promises to be, the only senator of the lot who is interested in telling the truth. He has been speaking at Chautauquas throughout the country and is far ahead of Bryan in his analysis of conditions and his forecast of the future.

WYOMING.

FRANCIS E. WARREN, *Republican, Cheyenne.* MILLIONAIRE RANCHMAN AND MONOPOLIST.

President Cheyenne Light, Fuel & Power company. Somewhat below the standard of common capitalist morality. An anarchist, having no regard for laws that conflict with his personal interests.

Ugly stories are told by his neighbors regarding his land-grabbing in the state.

During his service in the senate he has had upon the government payroll two of his employes, all the time engaged at his business house in Cheyenne, who were never at Washington, one of them his brother-in-law. His son, Fred Warren, has also been upon the senate salary list as folder, although he has been attending Harvard college. A recent exposition of these mild thievings by the senator was made in the local legislature last winter, and tales of it came by telegraph to Washington, but were scorned by the senator, although the charges were specific. The resolution offered regarding the senator's dishonesty, introduced in the Wyoming senate, was quickly smothered by the senator's local henchmen.

Senator Warren has been the complaisant tool of the trusts and the local corporations, in most of which he is a stockholder, if not supreme owner, and he stands high in the estimation of the Union Pacific railroad. He owns the principal public utilities in the state and furnishes electric light and other commodities to the United States military stations and rents his buildings to the government in defiance of law, not taking cognizance of the letter of the law, as Senator Crane has in Massachusetts and Senator Proctor in Vermont.

Senator Warren has secured a number of positions in the department of the interior for his henchmen, including Ex-Governor William A. Richards, who is now commissioner of the general land office, and no investigation of Warren's company, which has fenced in a tract of land twenty miles long, south of the Union Pacific railroad, in violation of the act of congress against unlawful fencing of the public domain, has been suggested. The United States attorney for Wyoming is a friend of the senator, and law cannot stand between friends.

Senator Warren is liable to continue in office and smother investigation of his local performances as long as the Mormon vote, the Union Pacific and three or four coal monopolies control the politics of the thinly-populated state. He declared after the assassination of McKinley, in a public speech, that "Socialism is a mild type of anarchy and both lead to murder." Being an anarchist himself, he could hardly be expected to do justice to the philosophy of Socialism, which is the peaceful antithesis of anarchy.

There is a growing restiveness among the republicans of Wyoming at his brutality, his brazen trickery and his alleged malfeasance in office, and it may be possible that his own party may finally spew him out, especially if the prosecution of the land fraud cases should extend to Wyoming.

CLARENCE D. CLARK, *Republican, Evanston.* LAWYER.

Called locally "the brother to the Union Pacific," as he has a brother who is, or has been, high in the councils of that monopoly. An amiable gentleman of mediocre abil-

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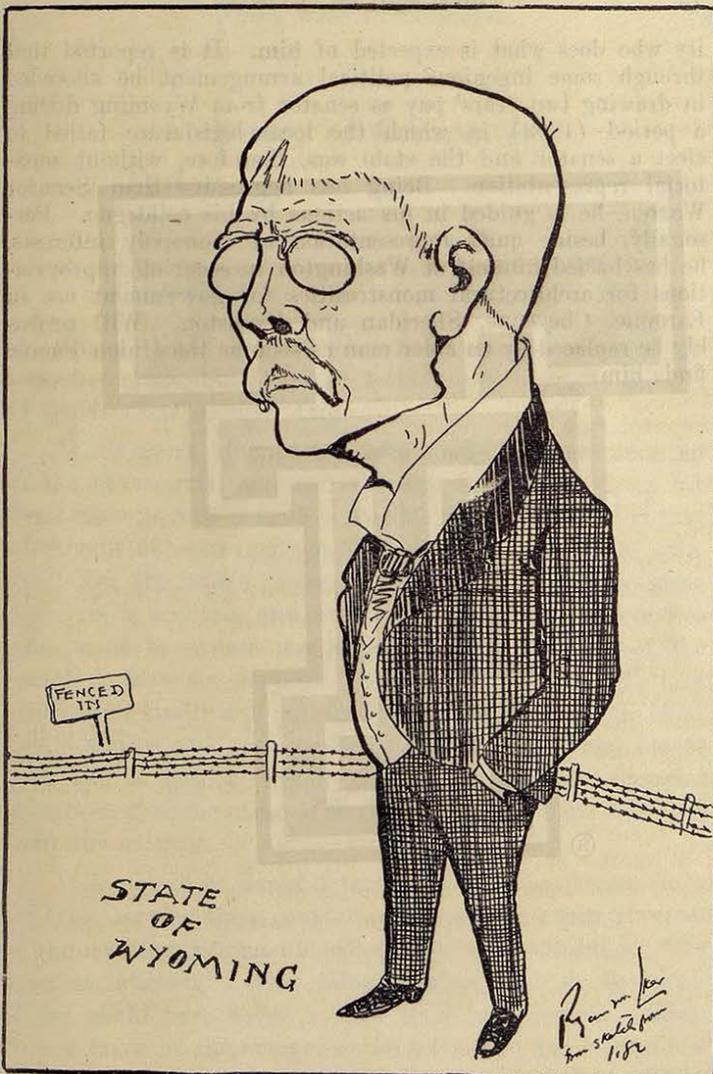
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Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, land grabber and friend of the Union Pacific.

ity who does what is expected of him. It is reported that through some ingenious political arrangement he succeeded in drawing two years' pay as senator from Wyoming during a period (1893) in which the local legislature failed to elect a senator and the state was, therefore, without senatorial representation. Being less aggressive than Senator Warren, he is guided in his actions by his colleague. Personally, beside quiet representation of monopoly interests, he has busied himself at Washington in securing appropriations for architectural monstrosities for government use in Laramie, Cheyenne, Sheridan and Evanston. Will probably be replaced by an abler man as soon as the Union Pacific finds him.



Senator E. W. Warren of Wyoming, first elected 1890
Member of the Union Pacific

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Summary of Occupations.

Lawyers	67
Bankers	7
Capitalists	9
Farmers	2
Unclassified	4

There should be ninety senators, two for each of the forty-five states, but Delaware has but one, owing to the war of the factions in that state.

While every attempt has been made to insure accuracy in the above data, and correspondence is on file from the home state in each case, it is possible that trifling errors may have crept in regarding specific investments of certain senators. On the whole, however, the capitalist setting given each one is accurate and can be verified. No attempt has been made to expose the personal habits and life of the senators; they are largely like other men, some of them lovable and kindly and personally attractive. It is with their public service and predispositions that this pamphlet has to deal, and it may be readily inferred from their financial affiliations that the cause of the people has but little to expect from any of them.

It is not to be doubted that many of them believe they are truly serving their country in serving the capitalist class of the country, commonly called in senate vernacular, "the business interests." The claims of those who do the work of the world have never entered their consciousness. They do not know of the struggles, the trials and the aspirations of the working class. Of conventional and shallow education, they assume that the "business interests" are the ones

upon which the whole social fabric rests and hence the only ones worthy of attention. This justifies their conduct and attitude in their own eyes and in the eyes of their immediate associates, blunting their moral perceptions and blinding them to the fact that their whole psychology is fundamentally immoral.

With the growth of the huge industrial monopolies, however, the rapid impoverishment of the little capitalists has forced an alignment in the ruling class itself, which offers a slight menace to the absolute sway of the senate. President Roosevelt is undoubtedly the representative of the little capitalists, known upon the continent of Europe as the bourgeoisie. His nomination was forced by them and they today represent what the capitalist press calls "public opinion." President Roosevelt has undoubtedly attempted to justify his selection by the little capitalists and has crossed swords with the senate in their interests, but without substantial effect. The coolness between the president and Senator Hanna was caused by Roosevelt's desire to stand for the little capitalists, which, in his psychology, means "the people."

Hanna had the "gang" with him on the emphatic ground that there should be no more anti-trust legislation. The "gang" at that time was composed of Senators Aldrich, Spooner, Quay, Allison, Elkins, Foraker and Fairbanks. Quay has since died and his place is filled by Knox.

When Roosevelt declared in favor of further legislation which would bring the great combinations of capital under the authority of the federal government all these senators lined up in opposition. Roosevelt had given a shock to Wall Street and the men of wealth who had been buying protection and legislation from congress by means of campaign contributions when he ordered Knox, then attorney-general, to proceed by a bill in equity against the consolida-

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Senator Smoot, of Utah, Mormon, banker and manufacturer,
who votes for capitalism and the Mormon church.

tion of the Northern Pacific railroad and the Great Northern in the Northern Securities merger. This was enough. When he began to talk in favor of more legislation all these senators protested. They lined up against him and he had to back down.

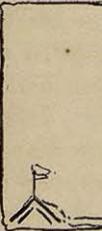
Originally his scheme had been to pass a bill which would require all corporations doing an inter-state commerce business to make public their reports showing the intrinsic value of the business and its prospect of dividends and thus enable the purchaser of their securities to judge for himself whether they were genuine or spurious. The senators quietly got hold of Knox, who advised his chief to compromise, which he did. The compromise involved an amendment to the inter-state commerce law by which the criminal clause was repealed and an abandonment of the publicity feature of the anti-trust bill. The whole thing frittered into the creation of the department of commerce and labor, whose duty is to collect data which the corporations are obliged to furnish.

But the "gang" would not agree to even this. The corporations they represent did not want any anti-trust legislation at all, and some of them decided to make a final stand. They hired Ex-Speaker Thomas B. Reed to go to Washington to work against any legislation which might be proposed to curb the trusts. He worked just three days around the committee-rooms of the house and the marble room of the senate, when he was stricken ill and died. If he had succeeded in beating the anti-trust legislation he would have been nominated for president by the republicans in 1904. Reed's death inclined the trusts to let the bill go, but the Standard Oil company protested. Just before the bill came up in the senate telegrams began to pour in from New York saying that the Standard did not approve of the clause in the de-

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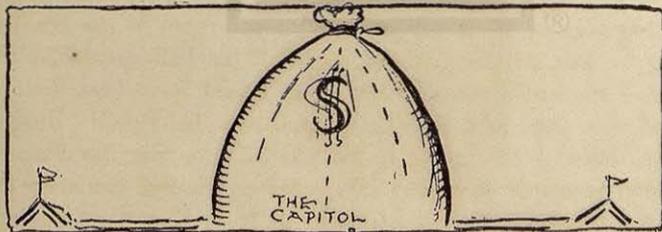
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partment of commerce and labor bill which required corporations to make reports, and that it must not pass. Some of these telegrams were signed J. D. R., some by J. D. R., Jr., some by J. D. Archbold, some by Rogers. They were received by Lodge, Wetmore, Kean and others. General Manager of the United States Aldrich was called up by long-distance telephone. Then came the slip. Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts showed the telegram he had received to the president, and Mr. Roosevelt, quick to see its strategic value, gave it to the press. Afraid of the public, the gang then laid down and the bill passed.

President Roosevelt thus saved his face, but gained practically nothing for the little capitalists.

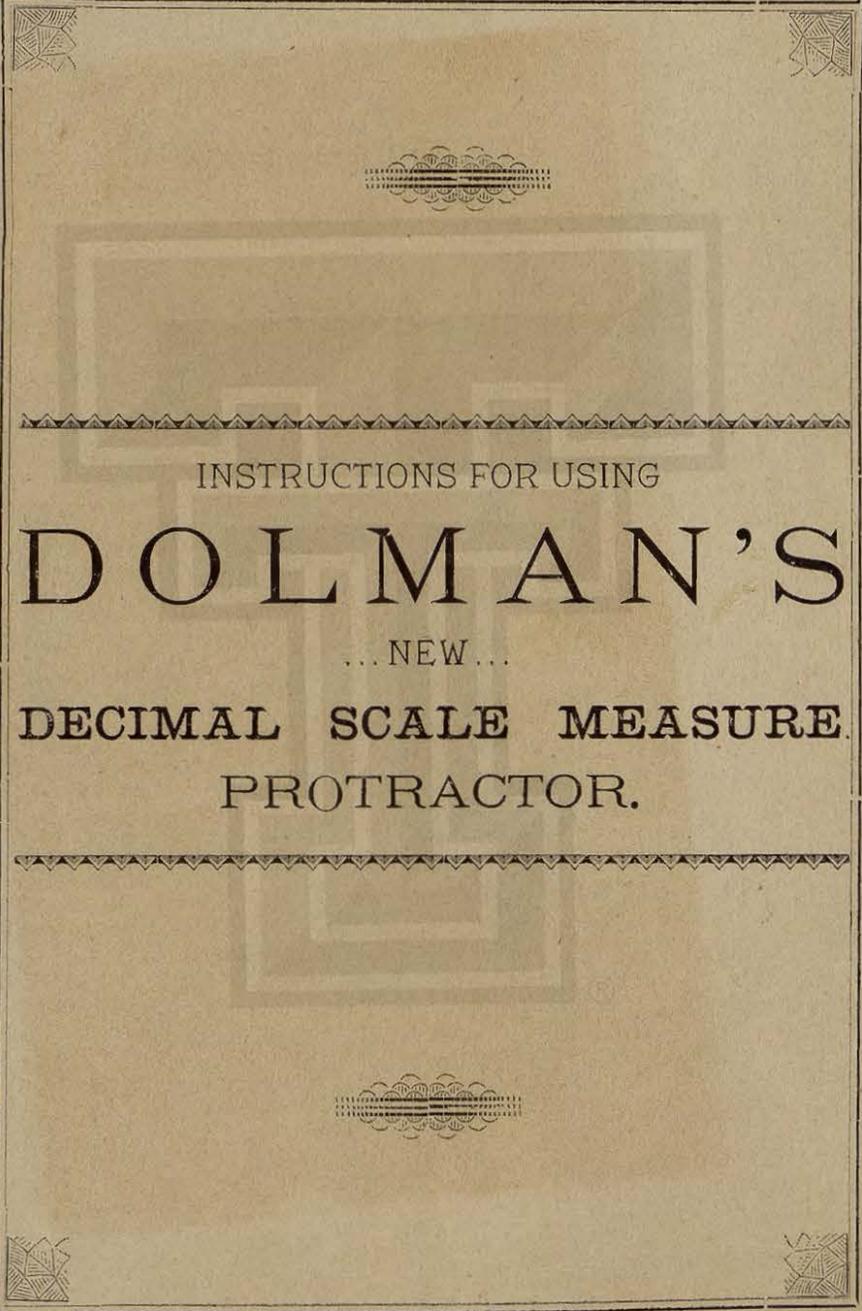
Such conflicts as this are interesting as the preliminary play of forces that must eventually come into open conflict. We have already predicted that this conflict will eventuate in the abolition of the United States senate. It may occur in a decade; it may not come for a century, but upon the annihilation of this political oligarchy depends the life of the people and the perpetuity of all that is best in the republic.



Alta McLeod

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR USING

DOLMAN'S

...NEW...

DECIMAL SCALE MEASURE
PROTRACTOR.



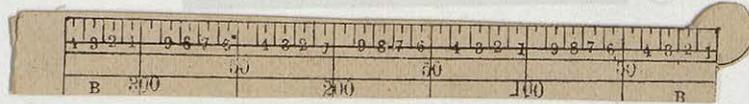
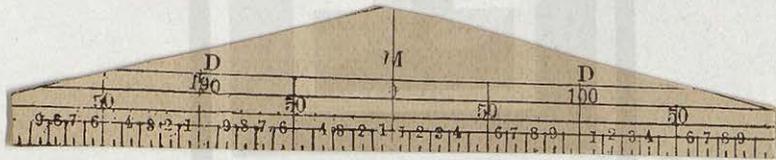
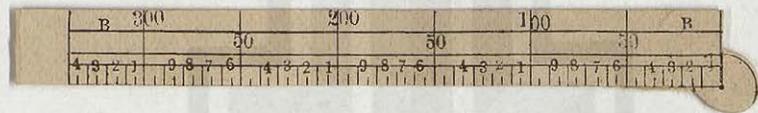
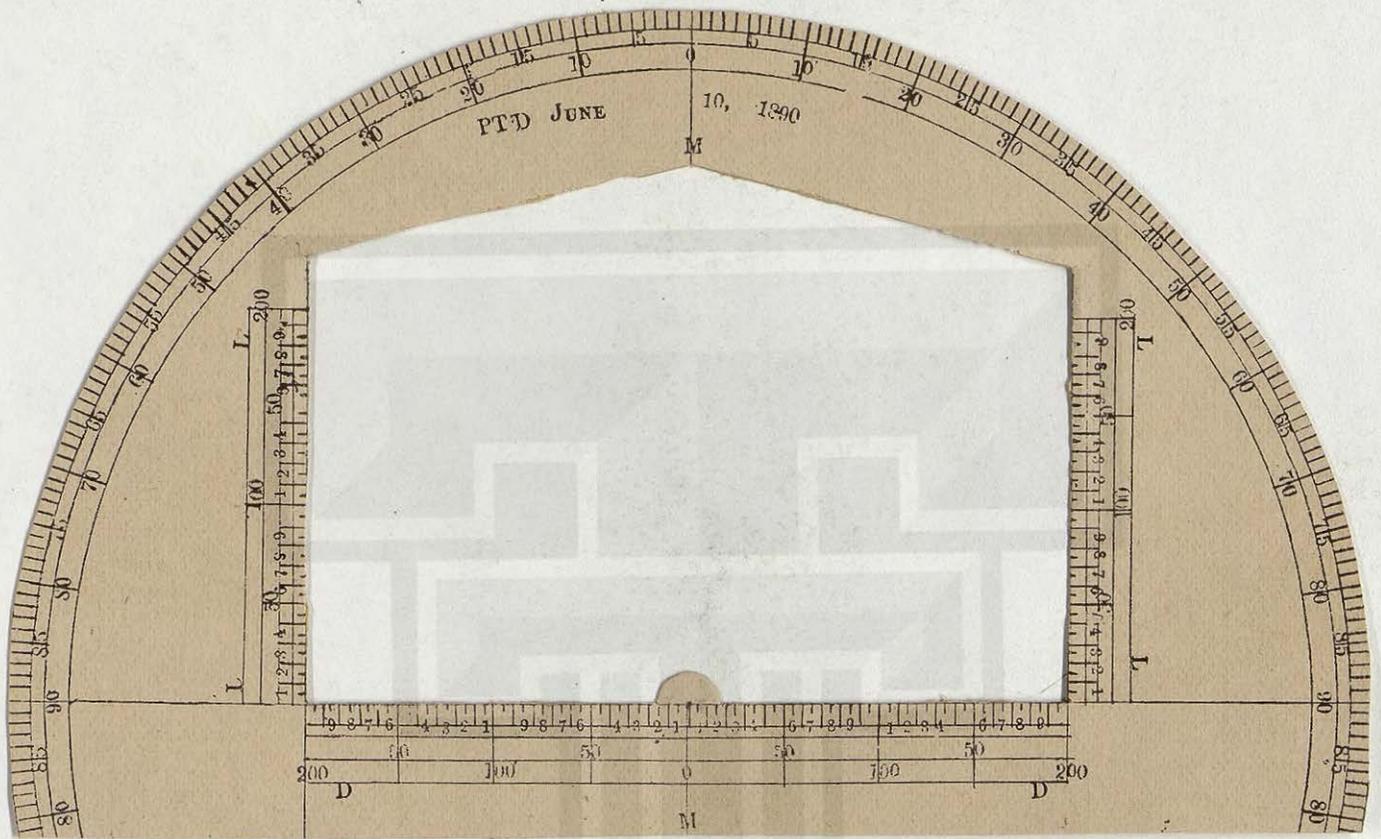
INSTRUCTIONS FOR USING

DOLMAN'S

... NEW ...

DECIMAL SCALE MEASURE PROTRACTOR.

This protractor produces length and position of all lines and degrees of angles required by algebra and calculus by practical object lessons in scale measure, thereby solving millions of problems by measurement in constructive geometry without algebra or calculus.



DESCRIPTION AND USE OF DOLMAN'S NEW DECIMAL SCALE MEASURE PROTRACTOR.

This protractor is a semi-circle with the semi-circumference of the protractor graduated 90 degrees from OM line to the right, and left to the bottom line DD of the protractor. The OM, or meridian line, meets bottom line, DD, at the middle, and in the centre of the small semi-circle and at right angles to line DD.

The two arms, BB, BB, must be fastened by a needle at the intersection of lines DD and O. M. in the small semi-circle. A parallelogram two by four inches, is cut out of the middle of the protractor parallel to sides LL, LL and DD, DD, and from equi-angular parallels, and by revolving the protractor one-half around, using the needle as a pivot, a four inch square, and a circle can be formed with a common centre to square and circle. The movable bar, DD, moves parallel to bottom line, DD.

An elastic scale, seven inches long, is for measuring arcs, or any other measurement of lines. The inside edges are graduated to twenty spaces to one inch, and sides LL LL read from one at bottom line, DD, up to 200 on outside lines, and 40 on inside lines.

Bottom and top lines, DD DD, read right and left from OM line 200 on outside lines and 40 on inside lines. Arms BB BB read from center needle outward 350 on outside lines and 70 on inside lines. All in edges are graduated to twenty spaces to one inch. The graduations of degrees on the semi-circle are not units of length. Their departure of length of arc depends on the length of the sides and number of degrees of the angle.

USE OF THE DECIMAL SCALE MEASURE PROTRACTOR.

This protractor measures degrees of angles and gives the length of every line to scale measure, and is a guide to draw every line by, without calculating the length of any lines. No other instrument in use at this time gives degrees of angles, length of lines and a guide to draw the lines of every polygon.

Decimal is a scale of which the order of progression uniformly is ten. A scale is a system of measurement that small spaces are used to represent larger units of measure and greater numbers of units proportionally, viz: To represent large area on small space, as maps, charts, plots, diagrams, &c.

A decimal scale progresses thus: If one-tenth of one inch represents one unit, one inch in length would represent ten units of length, and one square inch would represent one hundred squares of one-tenth of squares of one square inch, and ten square inches, or 3 16-100 inches square would represent one thousand one-tenths of inches in two dimensions. If we assume that one-tenth of one inch of scale in one dimension shall represent \$1,000, then one inch in one dimension would represent \$10,000, and one square inch in two dimensions would represent \$100,000, and ten square inches, or 3 16-100 square would represent \$1,000,000, and one hundred square inches, or ten inches square would represent \$10,000,000, and one thousand square inches, or

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31 62-100 inches square would represent \$100,000,000, and ten thousand square inches, or one hundred inches square, would represent by scale measure, \$1,000,000,000.

The above explanation of decimal scale measure as applied to quantity, by numbers of units compared with extension of lines and angles are given to assist the mind to comprehend quantity and magnitude as multiplied by 10, 100, 1,000 &c.

Arithmetic is the science of numbers applied to units of quantity.

Geometry is the science of measurement.

Measurement is, first, ascertaining the number of units in a line by comparison in extension in one dimension called distance; second, by comparing square units with area in two dimensions called square measure; third, by comparing square units with thickness extension in three dimensions called cubic measure.

Algebra is the science of ascertaining unknown numbers of units of quantity by subtracting one known number of units from other known numbers of units, or by adding, multiplying or dividing or all combined.*

The following tables of units are in common use in the United States, and are in the arithmetic, viz: First, units of length, as inches, feet, miles, &c. Second, units of area, or square units, as square inches, square feet, square acres, &c. Third, units of volume, or cubic measure, as cubic inches, cubic feet, &c. Fourth, units of angles 360 degrees in every circle, and each degree may be considered an angle; 21,600 minutes in every circle, and each minute may constitute a separate angle. Every circle is divisible into (1,296,000) one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand angles of one second each, or any number less than the angular space may be an angle. Fifth, units of gravity (weight) determined by comparing the volume of water as a standard of $28\frac{1}{2}$ cubic inches of water equals one pound avoirdupois weight and also equals one pint of liquid measure.

The Winchester Bushel contains 2150 42-100 cubic inches, or 77 627-1000 pounds of water avoirdupois, or 5760 grains apothecary weight.

One ounce of Troy equals 480 grains, and also equals $437\frac{1}{2}$ grains avoirdupois weight.

Sixth, units of duration of time determined by motion of the planets, and are units of seconds, minutes, hours, days and years.

Seventh, units of value are created by law, and may be cents and dollars, shillings and pence, or any other unit desired. Degrees of angles have no proportion of length as to scale measure of departure of the arc of any angle. The right angled triangle is a unit of comparison of degrees of angles, and measured departure of angles.

Every right angled triangle is the one-half of a square, provided the two short sides of the triangle are of equal length, and one angle of the triangle will contain 90 degrees, if the short sides of the right angled triangle are of different length, the triangle is the one-half of an equiangular parallelogram.

A right angle has two sides and always contains 90 degrees, no more, no

*The remainder after subtraction is the unknown quantity.

less.

Every right angled triangle has three sides and three angles, and one of the angles is always equal to 90 degrees, and the other two angles are equal to 90 degrees.

Every equilateral triangle has three sides of equal length, and three angles of 60 degrees each.

Every scalene triangle has three sides of unequal length and three angles, and the three angles combined equal 180 degrees, and the scalene triangle can always be divided into two right angled triangles of unequal dimensions.

Problems have but one demand—that is how much—and that demand is satisfied by adding quantity to quantity, or by subtracting quantity from quantity.

All lines must have position, and that position and the relation to the position of other lines give names to the lines and cause the names of lines to change.

The triangle, square and hexagon, are the only regular polygons by which the angular space about a point can be completely filled up.

Quantity is a general term applied to every thing which can be increased, diminished, measured, compared, or estimated. It embraces numbers and magnitude.

DEFINITION.

RADII IS THE PLURAL OF RADIUS.

A radius is any straight line passing from the centre of the circle to the circumference of the circle.

Diameter is any straight line passing through the centre of a circle from one side of the circumference to the opposite side of the circle, or any polygon.

Circle, or circumference, is a line which is equal distance from a point within, called centre.

Perimeter, is any number of straight lines that enclose a polygon.

A polygon is any diagram with three or more sides.

A diagonal line is a straight line drawn from one angle to an opposite angle.

A vertex is the point where two lines meet, that form angles.

Base line, or meridian line, is the beginning line, or line that all other lines conform to.

A perpendicular line is a line that meets another line at right angle, called departure.

A hypotenuse line is the longest line of every right angled triangle, and forms the third side of the triangle, and in surveying land is called the bearing line.

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Square the two short sides, add their products and extract the square root of the product.

This earth is, in geometry, conceived to be the centre of space, and all conceivable lines that start from the centre of this earth are considered in geometry as perpendicular lines, and all lines produced at right angles to the perpendicular lines are considered as horizontal lines. The lines that are conceived to pass from the centre of the earth to its surface are represented by a plummet, and the horizontal lines are represented by the level, and are also called tangents, if continued in a straight line, and are known as apparent levels, or horizontal lines.

The lines produced on the circumference of the earth by the level when taken at different points of the earth's surface, produce circular lines, called true level, and are always at right angles to the plumb lines caused by the change of position of the level on the circumference of the earth as the level will be at right angle to every plumb line at every point of the earth's surface and the plumb line changes toward the centre of the earth when moved from one point to any other point on the earth's surface. Apparent level, or tangent lines only change four times, until they meet and form a square whose sides are equal in length to the length of the diameter of the inscribed circle.

The centre of diagram No. 1, as a plane, represents the beginning point of measurement by lines and angles.

TO ADJUST THE PROTRACTOR FOR PLOTTING AND MEASURING LINES AND ANGLES.

Insert a needle or pin into the holes in the centre of the half circles on BB, BB, with the graduated edges of the arms right and left, then insert the needle into the hole in the half circle on bottom line DD, place movable bar DD, inside the square with the graduated edges parallel to bottom line, DD, then insert the point of the needle into the paper, and proceed to construct lines and angles according to requirements of the parts of diagram as required by terms of the problem.

Meridian, or latitude line, is a line produced, or conceived north and south. A longitude, or departure line, is a line produced east or west, and departs from a latitude, or base line, at right angle.

Sine of arc, is the number of degrees and length of the perpendicular line to a radius of a circle.

Co-sine, is the degrees and length of the adjoining side of the triangle of which the radius is a parallel, and the perpendicular is the sine.

Secant, is the hypotenuse of the right angled triangle of the radius and tangent.

Co-secant, is the hypotenuse of the complement angle.*

Tangent line, is a line that is produced at right angle to a radius, and if the secant is at an angle of 45 degrees to the tangent line, the tangent and radius will be of equal length. Otherwise, the tangent will be longer than

*When the degrees of an angle are subtracted from 90. degrees, the remaining degrees are called the complement; and when the degrees of an angle are subtracted from 180 degrees, the remainder is called the supplement angle. See co-sine, co-tangent, etc., in diagram No. 4.

the radius.*

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To construct protractor, place arm, move parallel the given line, number of gradu BB and the two two sides of the

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*Secant line

the radius.*

To trace the lines of diagram No. 1, with the protractor as an object lesson in drawing, adjust the protractor as instructed. then insert the needle into the centre of diagram No. 1, place the bottom line, DD, of the protractor on one of the diameters of the circle and movable bar, DD, will be parallel with the tangents and chords of the square. Sides LL, LL, will be parallel at right angles to lines DD, DD, and arms BB, BB, will be movable to coincide with radius or bearing lines. Movable bar DD, will indicate departure, tangents and chords, and sides LL, LL, can be moved to indicate latitude and BB, BB, will represent meridian lines.

The OM line will always be at right angles to DD, DD, and parallel to LL, LL, and to mark opposite parallels must not be omitted when bearings change angles, and the protractor is to be moved to another bearing. The elastic scale will give the length of all lines and arcs to scale measure.

A thorough knowledge of geometry can only be acquired by producing lines and angles to scale measure.

To construct a circle, use a strip of card board for a radius, use a needle for a centre pivot, get the length of the radius from any part of the protractor, except the degrees; make a small hole in the card board for a pencil point to mark the circumference of the circle and a needle for a centre.

To form a square, use bottom line, DD, of the protractor one side of the square, and one of side LL for the next side, then invert the protractor and use the same sides and same length of lines to construct the other sides of the square.

To construct parallels, move bar DD the distance from bottom line DD that the parallels are required apart, and see that both ends of bar DD are the same distance from bottom line DD.

To construct a right angled triangle, place one arm on the OM line of the protractor, place the other arm the given number of degrees from the first arm, move parallel bar DD to the given number on the arm that represents the given line, or if the given line is departure, move bar DD until the given number of graduations on bar DD fills the space between the two arms BB, BB and the two arms from bar DD to the needle will be the length of the other two sides of the right angled triangle.

When the bearing of a right angled triangle is given, that is the number of degrees of departure from the meridian line, and the length of the bearing line given to obtain the length of the latitude line, and the length of the departure line of the right angled triangle, place one arm on the OM line of the protractor, and place the other arm the number of degrees to the right or left of the OM line, then move bar DD parallel until the number of graduations given is found on the arm that is not on the OM line, then the arm on the OM line between the bar and needle will be latitude, and the distance on bar DD between the two arms will be the length of departure, and the other arm will give bearing distance.

To construct an equilateral triangle, place one arm 30 degrees to the right

*Secant lines pass outside of the circle and meet the tangent line.

of the OM line and the other arm 30 degrees to the left of the OM line; move bar DD until the distance on bar DD is equal to the length on each arm. Then will the three sides be of equal length, and the three angles contain 60 degrees each. Move one arm to OM and it gives the perpendicular of the triangle.

To construct a tangent square, or described square, to a circle, construct two diameters at right angles to the circle, dividing the circle into four equal parts; place bottom line DD and side LL on the outside of the circle, so that the length of the radius of the circle on DD and LL will meet two ends of the diameters will produce the first one-fourth of the square. Then move the protractor to the ends of the next diameters, and so on until the square is completed.*

A line from the centre of the circle to the angle of the described square will be a radius that will double the area of the first circle, and the diagonal of the described square will be the length of a square double the area of the described square.

RULES FOR CALCULATING LENGTH OF LINES, NUMBER OF SQUARE UNITS IN AREA AND CUBIC UNITS OF VOLUME.

The diameter of a circle given, required the length of the circumference of the circle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the length of the diameter of the circle by 3.1416; point off four figures on the right of the product for decimals, and the remaining figures will be whole units. The circumference of a circle given, required the diameter of the circle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Add four ciphers to the circumference, then divide by 3.1416, and point off four right hand figures for decimals in the quotient. The diameter of a circle given, required the area of the circle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply one-half of the diameter by one-half of the circumference, or square the diameter of the circle, and multiply that product by the decimal .7854. Point off four right hand figures for decimals.

The two short sides of a right angled triangle given, required the area of the triangle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply one short side by one-half the length of the other short side. The two short sides of a right angled triangle given, required the length of the bearing or hypotenuse.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

*see Diagram No. 1.

Square the root of the product.

Place one arm of the given number until the number of the needle to bar DD. The diameter of the greatest inscribed square.

Multiply the length of the diameter by the circumference.

Construct a square on the diameter of the circle into four equal parts. The length of the diameter will be the length of the square drawn between the four sides of the circle.

Multiply the area of the circle is equal to the square of the diameter.

Multiply the decimals on the diameter whose area is equal to the area of the circle.

Multiply the diameter by the circumference. The length of the perpendicular of the triangle.

Multiply the diameter by the circumference. The length of the hypotenuse.

Construct a square on the diameter of the circle. The length of the hypotenuse is equal to the length of the diagonal of the square.

*To multiply the length of the diameter by the circumference.

Square the two short sides, add their products and extract the square root of the product.

RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Place one arm of the protractor on the OM line, place the other arm on the given number of degrees of departure of the angle, move bar DD parallel until the number given for latitude on first arm, and the other arm from needle to bar DD will be the length of the bearing line.

The diameter of a circle given, required the length of the side of the greatest inscribed square.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the diameter by the decimal .7070, and cut off four decimals.

RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Construct a circle, construct two diameters at 90 degrees, dividing the circle into four equal parts. The distance between any two ends of the diameters will be the length of the sides of the inscribed square. Straight lines drawn between the ends of the diameters will construct the inscribed square, and the four sides will be four chords to the four arcs made by the two diameters of the circle.

The length of the side of a square given, required the area of the square.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the length of the side by its own length.*

The area of a square given required the area of a circle, whose diameter is equal to the side of the square.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the area of the square by the decimal .7854, and point off four decimals on the right.

The diameter of a circle given, required the length of the side of a square whose area equals the area of the circle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the diameter of the circle by the decimal .8862, and cut off four decimals.

The length of the side of an equilateral triangle given, required the perpendicular of the triangle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the length of the side by the decimal .8660, and point off four decimals.

RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Construct the triangle and measure the distance from any one of the angles to the center of the opposite side.

*To multiply a number by its own length is called squaring a number.

The circumference of a circle given, required the length of the side of a square equal in area to the area of the circle.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Add three ciphers to the circumference, then divide by 4.442, and point off three decimals in the quotient.

The diameter, or base, and length of a cylinder given, required the volume or cubic contents.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the square of the base by the decimal .7854, and that product by the height of the cylinder, point off four decimals.

The diameter and height of a cylinder given, required the superficial contents (area) of the cylinder.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the diameter of the cylinder by 3.1416, and multiply that product by the height of the cylinder; point off four decimals, and that product will be the perpendicular superficial contents of the cylinder, less the two ends of the cylinder; multiply the squares of the diameter of the cylinder by two, and multiply that product by the decimal .7854; point off four decimals.

The area of a sphere is equal to the area of four circles, whose diameters are equal to the diameter of the sphere.

The diameter of a sphere given, required the area of the sphere.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Square the diameter of the sphere, multiply that product by four, and multiply that product by the decimal .7854, and point off four decimals.

The area and diameter of a sphere given, required the volume, or cubic contents of the sphere.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the area of the sphere by one-sixth of the diameter of the sphere.

The perpendicular of an equilateral triangle is three-fourths the length of the diameter of its described circle, and two-thirds the distance from the vertex to the opposite side on the perpendicular will be the centre of the described circle.

Multiply the length of the side of an equilateral triangle by twenty and divide that product by twenty-three. This will very nearly give the length of the perpendicular of the triangle.

RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Measure the perpendicular of the triangle with the protractor.

The length of radius and degrees of arc given, required the length of the arc.

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the radius by 3.1416, divide that product by 180, and multiply that quotient by the number of degrees of the arc. This will give the length

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of the arc. Point off four decimals in the last product.*

Every square is divisible into two right angled triangles of equal dimensions and the two short sides of each triangle will be of equal length, and the diagonal line that separates the two right angled triangles will be the hypotenuse to both right angled triangles. If one short side of the right angled triangle is longer than the other short side of each right angled triangle, its polygon is an equiangular parallelogram.

The side of a sector whose angle is 60 degrees given, required the length of the arc.†

RULE BY CALCULATION.

Multiply the length of the side of the sector by 3.1416; divide that product by three, and point off four decimals in the product.

Co-ordinate angle means another angle equal to the first angle with opposite bearings.

The decimal scale measure protractor does not give area and volume of quantities. This protractor gives length of lines and degrees of departure of angles, and the form of all angles and diagrams.

All area and volume are ascertained by multiplying the length of a line by its own length, called squaring a line, and multiplying the square product by the thickness gives volume, or cubes.

Multiplying one long side by one short side gives area of equiangular parallelograms

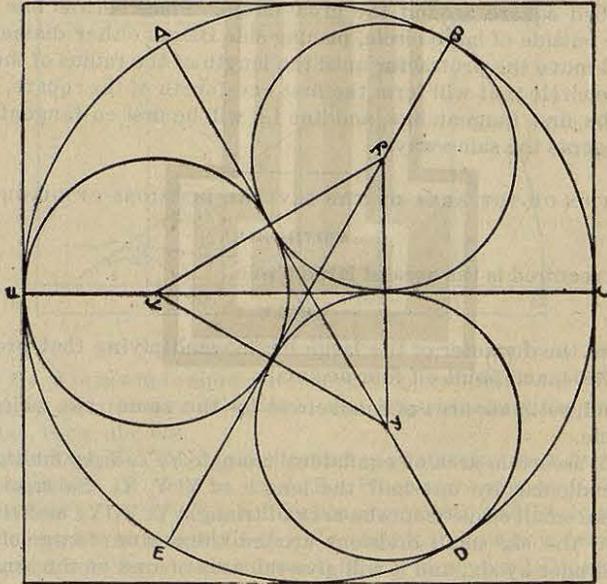


DIAGRAM NO. 2.

*Rule by Protractor.—Measure the arc with the elastic scale.

†Rule by Protractor.—Measure the arc with the elastic scale.

on OM line on line A, D, N, and bar DD will indicate 40 east from D to C. Move the protractor centre to C, place line DD of protractor on D of diagram and OM line on C, B. Move bar DD parallel to A, B; then will C, B indicate south latitude from C to B, and bar DD will indicate west departure 40 from B to A. The solid line, A, C; C, B; B, A, may represent a right angled triangle of land, or any other quantity of area and the length of the lines may represent feet, miles, or any other units of measure. The dotted lines A, D; D, C; C, A, represent the co-ordinate triangle A, D, C, and the arc N, C, E represents the one-fourth of a circle or 90 degrees from meridian line A, D, N, to east line A, B, E, and C, A will be bearing south 53 degrees, west, 50.

The five divisions of equal distance in triangle A, C, B, are given to show the similarity of right angled triangles. Multiply the three sides of the first triangle, 10, 8, 6, by 2, and the triangle is increased to 20, 16, 12. Multiply triangle 10, 8, 6, by 3, and the triangle sides will be 30, 24, 18. The multiplication of the length of the three sides of any right angled triangle does not alter the degrees of the angles; it only increases the area in proportion to the increase of the length of the three sides, and to divide the length of all the sides of a right angled triangle by the same number, decreases area without changing the degrees of the angles.

Hence, to divide the length of any one of the three sides of a right angled triangle by any number that will divide without a remainder; then find the length of the other two sides of the reduced triangle by the division. Then multiply the other two sides of the reduced triangle by the same number that the first side was divided by, and it will increase the right angled triangle to its original dimension, and the number used as a divisor and multiplier will be a base. (Logarithms, have a base of 10, 100, 1,000, that is generally used as a basis of logarithmic sines, tangents, etc., which is a decimal basis of the radius of a circle.)

Take C as beginning of diagram No. 3; then line C, A, would read south 53 degrees, west, 50. By application of the protractor to the lines, would show that angle A, B, C is 37 degrees, which would also be found by subtracting 53 degrees from 90 degrees. Thirty-seven degrees are the complement of 53 degrees. A, B would be departure east 40, and B, C, would be latitude north 30 degrees.

The area of triangle A, B, C, is found by multiplying line A, B, by one-half of line B, C, or multiply one short side of the triangle by one-half of the other short side. See rule.

The elastic scale will measure the length of arc N, C, and arc C, E. See rule for finding length of arc by protractor and by calculation.

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*See diagram

The radius of the circle in diagram No. 4 is taken as unity, and sine and tangent form sides of similar right angles. Latitude in diagram No. 3 corresponds with sine in diagram No. 4, and departure in No. 3 corresponds with co-sine in No. 4.

The length of all lines of diagram No. 4 can be constructed and measured with the protractor by similar instructions as given for constructing diagram No. 3. Practice drawing tangents and secants to the radius of a circle to every five degrees of the 90 degrees of the circle, and note the rapid increase in the length of the tangent and secant when the secant and tangent angle approaches 90 degrees.

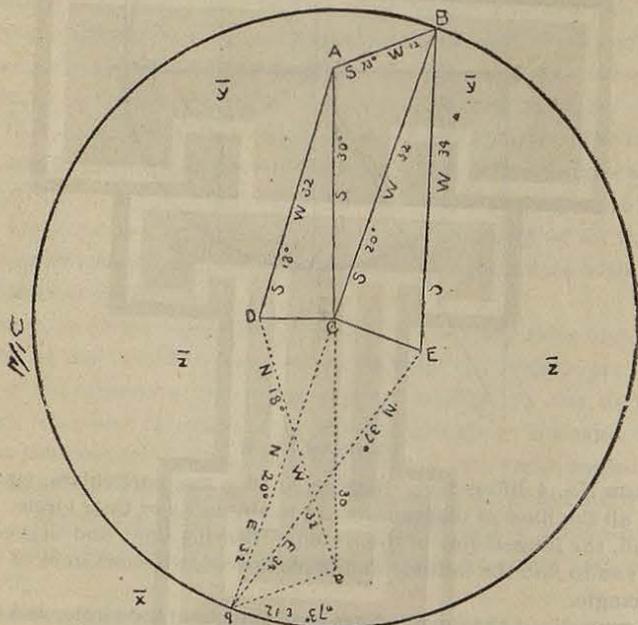


DIAGRAM NO. 5.

Diagram No. 5 is given to show how to obtain distance to inaccessible objects by the right angled triangle as given in co-sines in diagram No. 4 C is first point of observation; A is first inaccessible object; D is second point of observation to object A. C is first point of observation to B, or second inaccessible object, and E is second point of observation to object B. Required the distance from C to A and the distance from C to B and the course and distance from A to B.

We have a compass to give angles,* and chain to give distance, C, D, the compass says, course C, A, is south, and the line D, A is south, 18 degrees

*Measured line must always be taken at right angle to the line from observation to object.

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west, and the chain gives measure eight to line C, D. Now we have a co-sine of 18 degrees and eight measurement of sine. We now place centre of the protractor on A; place one arm on OM line; place the other arm on 18 degrees from OM line, move bar DD parallel until eight spaces on bar DD fills the space between the two arms.

The arm on OM line from needle or center to bar DD will be 30, the distance from C to A in the same unit of measure that C, D was measured with on the ground. We find by compass that the course from C to B is south, 20 degrees west, and course from E to B is south, seven degrees west, giving a co-sine of seven degrees and measured line C, E is 10. Place centre of protractor on B and place one arm on OM line of the protractor and the other arm seven degrees from OM line; move bar DD until 10 graduations on bar DD fill the space between the two arms. The arm on OM line from bar DD to centre will be 32, the distance from C to B; the other arm will give distance from E to B.

To obtain course and distance from A to B, construct right angled triangles C, D, A, and C, E, B; place side LL of protractor on line C, A; move protractor until bottom line DD meets A; then mark Y. Change sides of the protractor and mark Y on the other side of line C, A, and Y, Y is parallel to C, D. Place centre of protractor on A; move bottom line DD of protractor on Y, Y; place arm on B, and course from A to B will be south 73 degrees, west; and distance from A to B will be twelve on the arm. Line D, C must be taken at right angle to C, A, and line C, E must be constructed at right angle to C, B. Thus, we see that having, the length of one line, and two angles of any right angled triangle, or two lines and one angle given, the decimal scale measure protractor can give length of the other two sides and angle, or two angles and one side.

The dotted lines in diagram No. 5, are given to show co-ordinate angles and opposite bearings of the diagram. To prove the angles A, C, D, and B, C, E, take same amount of distance and area of the circle, or opposite directions, that triangles C, E, a, and C, E, b take from the circle.

Any course may be taken from point of observation. Measured line must always be constructed at right angle to object line. The names that line takes in the different diagrams should be remembered, to prevent error in calculation.

Note in plotting field notes of land opposite parallels must be made at every angle that is less or greater than 90 degrees, viz: First, to have a parallel mark to adjust the protractor at the next angle. Second, to find latitude and departure to the angle.

No survey is correct unless the lines close by latitude and departure, extend as far north as south, and as far east as west, called in surveying, north-
ing and southing, and easting and westing.

This rule should be well understood. The bearing of a right angled triangle given, required the latitude and departure.

FIRST RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Place one arm on OM line and place the other arm on the number of de-

degrees of departure of the angle; move bar DD parallel to the number on the arm that is not on the OM line, and bar DD will be departure, and the arm on OM line will be latitude.

The latitude and degrees of departure of a right angled triangle given, required the bearing and departure of the right angled triangle.

SECOND RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Form right angled triangle on protractor, and the arm on OM line will be latitude, bar DD will be departure, and the other arm will be bearing.

The departure of a right angled triangle and degrees of departure of the angle given, required the latitude and bearing of the right angled triangle.

THIRD RULE BY PROTRACTOR.

Form triangle as before. The first rule applies to line A, C, diagram No. 3. Rule second applies to perpendicular in triangle, diagram No. 2, and line A, B, in diagram No. 3, and tangent A, I in diagram No. 4, and lines C, A, and C, B, diagram No. 5.

Third rule applies to co-sine in diagram No. 4, etc. Line C, D and C, E in diagram No. 5 coincides with co-sines in diagram No. 4 and line C, B, in diagram No. 3.

Dolman's New Decimal Scale Measure Protractor, patent June 10th, 1890, produces length and position of all lines and degrees of angles required by arithmetic, algebra and calculus by practical object lessons scale measure, thereby solving millions of problems by physical measurement in constructive geometry without the assistance of algebra and intricate calculus.

This protractor conveys the idea of numbers and magnitude as applied to practical architecture, mechanics, land surveying, civil engineering, navigation, mine surveying, irrigation, hydrography and astronomy.

It is protractor is a complete drafting outfit for the student, and when made of metal and graduated to 100 to 1 inch with vernier to read minutes, it is the best and most convenient practical protractor in use. The Decimal Scale Measure Protractor gives double parallel lines and when connected form right angles.

All angles of every polygon that are less or greater than right angles must have a right angled triangle constructed or conceived to that angle before the area of that polygon can be ascertained, and the area of the constructed right angled triangle must be ascertained separate from the area of the other parts of the polygon, and added to complete the area of the polygon.

When constructing polygons with the protractor, every angle of the polygon that is less or greater than a right angle must have a latitude and departure line ascertained by leaving the bearing arm on the line of the polygon, then place the other arm on the OM line of the protractor; move bar DD parallel until the end of the line is met by bar DD. The distance between the two arms on DD will be departure, and the distance from the centre will be the latitude and departure of every right angled triangle. The latitude and departure of every right angled triangle are the two short sides of the triangle.

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When the protractor's centre is moved to the end of the line to construct another line and angle to the polygon, the bottom line DD must be placed on the departure line to preserve the parallels to the meridian or base line of the polygon, and when the course reverses, the top of the protractor must be turned one-half around, so that the parallels may not be lost in returning to the beginning point of the polygon.

No polygon is completed until the last line meets the beginning point (called closing the survey or polygon.)

The latitude and departure lines of a polygon should be indicated by dotted lines, and the length of the latitude and departure lines should be noted, that the area of the triangle may be computed.

The latitude and departure should be on the outside of the polygon to continue the parallels with the protractor. Co-ordinate latitude and departure lines may be constructed on the inside of the polygon to prevent confusion and error by adding area to the polygon whose angles of the polygon are less than right angles.

The length of either side of a right angled triangle of any conceivable length may be reduced by dividing the length of the side of the triangle by any number that will divide it without a remainder, to a number less than the graduations on the protractor; then find the other two sides of the triangle on the protractor, and multiply the two sides thus found on the protractor by the same number that the side of the large triangle was divided by. This will give the length of the other two sides of the large triangle, which is all there is in similar right angled triangles of latitude and departure, logarithmic sines, tangents, etc.

Dolman's New Decimal Scale Measure Protractor produces length and position of all lines and degrees of angles required by arithmetic, algebra, and calculus by physical lines and angles, solving and proving millions of problems.

The question is asked "How does the Decimal Scale Measure Protractor solve and prove an infinite number of problems?" We answer that the right angled triangle is a unit of comparison of measure between regular and irregular polygons.

All polygons are divisible into some number of right angled triangles of equal or different dimensions, and to multiply one short side by one-half the other short side of any right angled triangle gives the area of the triangle.

The Decimal Scale Measure Protractor can be made to give the length of all three sides and the three angles to every right angled triangle if the length of one side and one angle are given.*

All areas are determined either directly or indirectly by multiplying one short side of a right angled triangle by one-half of the other short side. See rule.

Multiplying the length of a line by its length gives the area of a square whose side equals the length of the line, and whose area is equal to the two

*The right angle is always understood without giving it when a right angled triangle is given.

right angled triangles of that square, and the same rule applies to equiangular parallelograms.

The Decimal Scale Measure Protractor gives double parallel lines to a meridian or base line, and double parallel lines form right angles.

All angles of every polygon that are less or greater than right angles must have a right angled triangle constructed to that angle before the area of that polygon can be ascertained, and the area of the constructed right angled triangle must be ascertained separate from the area of the other parts of the polygon and added to complete the area of the polygon.

When constructing a polygon with the protractor, every angle of the polygon that is less or greater than a right angle must have a latitude and departure line ascertained by leaving the bearing arm on the line; then place the other arm on the OM line and move bar DD parallel until the end of the line of the polygon is reached. Then the distance between the two arms will be the departure and the distance from the centre to bar DD will be the latitude of the right angled triangle. The latitude and departure of every right angled triangle is the two short sides of the triangle. When the centre of the protractor is moved to the end of the line to construct another side and angle to the polygon, the bottom line DD must be placed on the departure line last made to preserve the parallels to the meridian or base line, and when the course reverses, the top of the protractor must be turned one-half around, so that the parallels may not be lost in returning to the beginning point of the polygon or survey. No survey, or polygon is correct unless the lines close by latitude and departure. The latitude and departure lines of a polygon should be designated by dotted lines, and the length of latitude and departure should be noted, that the area of the triangle may be computed.

The versed sine, or perpendicular line between arc and chord, is changeable in length, viz: First, the length of the versed sine is always equal to the difference in the length of the two longest sides of the right angled triangle. Second, when the length of the sine is added to the length of latitude, their sum would equal the radius of their circle. Third, when the versed sine is added to the one-half diagonal of an inscribed square, that line will equal the radius of a circle that will describe the inscribed square, and the area of the last circle will be double the area of the first circle; and the area of inscribed and described circles can be doubled, and the area of inscribed and described squares doubled ad infinitum. See diagram No. 1.

The length of either side of a right angled triangle of any conceivable length may be reduced by dividing the length of the side of the triangle by any number that will divide it without a remainder to a number less than the number of graduations on the protractor; then find the other two sides of the triangle on the protractor and multiply the two sides thus found on the protractor by the same number that the side of the large triangle was divided by and it will give the length of the other two sides of the large triangle, which is all there is in similar right angled triangles of latitude and departure, logarithmic sines, tangents, etc.

Dolman's New Decimal Scale Measure Protractor produces length and position of all lines and degrees of angles required by arithmetic, algebra and

calculus by phy
TEXAS LAND

The Standard
ure is the 10 va
links.

6 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches equa
1 vara equals 5
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950 4-10 "
1900 8-10 "
75 13-100 "
1000 "
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calculus by physical lines and angles; solving and proving millions of problems.

TEXAS LAND MEASURE TABLE.

The Standard of Texas Land Measure is the 10 vara chain containing 50 links.

6 2/3 inches equals 1 link.
 1 vara equals 5 links.
 33 1/3 inches equal 1 vara.
 237 2-10 varas equal 1/8 mile.
 475 2-10 " " " 1/4 " "
 950 4-10 " " " 1 " "
 1900 8-10 " " " side of 1 acre.
 75 13-100 " " " " 1 labor.
 1000 " " " " 2/3 league.
 4080 2-10 " " " " 1/3 " "
 3555 5-10 " " " " 1/2 " "
 2886 " " " " 1/4 " "
 2500 " " " " 1 " "
 5000 " " " " 1/2 section
 1344 " " " " 1/2 section

NUMBER OF SQUARE VARAS IN SURVEYS.

25,000,000 sq. varas equal 1 league.
 16,666,866 2/3 sq. " " 2/3 " "
 12,500,000 " " " 1/2 " "
 8,333,333 " " " 1/3 " "
 6,250,000 " " " 1/4 " "
 1,000,000 " " " 1 labor.
 3,613,040 " " " 1 section.
 1,806,520 22-100 sq. va. equal 1/2 section.
 903,260 16-100 " " " 1/4 " "
 451,630 8-100 " " " 1/8 " "
 602,173 44-100 " " " 1-6 " "
 5,645 " " " 1 acre.
 4428 697-1000 acres " 1 league.
 177 " " " 1 labor.
 1111 1/2 sq. in. equal 1 square vara.
 7 sq. ft. & 103 1/3 sq. in. equal 1 sq. vara.

TABLE OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL MILES IN A DEGREE OF LONGITUDE AT EVERY DEGREE OF LATITUDE ON THE TERRESTRIAL SPHEROID, THE ELLIPTICITY BEING ASSUMED 1-300.

Lat. 1° Long.	Lat. 1° Long.	Lat. 1° Long.
0 Miles.	0 Miles.	0 Miles.
1 59.991	31 51.475	61 29.162
2 59.963	32 50.929	62 28.241
3 59.918	33 50.369	63 27.311
4 59.855	34 49.793	64 26.373
5 59.773	35 49.202	65 25.426
6 59.673	36 48.596	66 24.472
7 59.556	37 47.975	67 23.510
8 59.421	38 47.339	68 22.541
9 59.267	39 46.689	69 21.565
10 59.095	40 46.025	70 20.581
11 58.905	41 45.346	71 19.592
12 58.698	42 44.654	72 18.596
13 58.472	43 43.948	73 17.595
14 58.229	44 43.228	74 16.589
15 57.969	45 42.496	75 15.576
16 57.690	46 41.750	76 14.560
17 57.395	47 40.991	77 13.539
18 57.081	48 40.220	78 12.514
19 56.751	49 39.437	79 11.485
20 56.403	50 38.641	80 10.452
21 56.038	51 37.834	81 9.416
22 55.656	52 37.014	82 8.378
23 55.258	53 36.184	83 7.337
24 54.842	54 35.342	84 6.293
25 54.411	55 34.491	85 5.247
26 53.962	56 33.628	86 4.199
27 53.497	57 32.754	87 3.149
28 53.015	58 31.870	88 2.100
29 52.518	59 30.977	89 1.050
30 52.004	60 30.074	90 0.000

To reduce equatorial miles to statute miles:

RULE.—Multiply the equatorial miles by 69 1-6 and divide the product by 60.

To reduce varas to acres,

RULE.—Multiply the number of varas by 177 1/8, cut off 6 decimals from the product, the remaining figures of the product will be acres and the decimals will be fractions of an acre; or divide number of square varas by 5,645.

Measure all lines of the diagram with the protractor to learn its use.

Every School Teacher, Mechanic and Scholar should have one of these protractors with which to practice drafting.

The Wise County Protractor Publishing Co., want an agent in every city, town and county in the U. S. to sell Dolman's Protractor.

Reserved territory and a liberal commission given to agents. Write for special terms to J. H. Dolman, Abilene, Texas., General Agent.

The price of the protractor is \$1, postage free. Address all orders for protractors to Roy B. Bradley, Abilene, Texas.

HATHAWAY'S IMPROVED TRAVERSE TABLE, WITH RULES FOR OBTAINING NATURAL SINES, TANGENTS, ANGLES, ETC

Copyright, 1896, by C. F. HATHAWAY.

Polman's New Decimal Scale Measure Protractor is graduated to degrees and whole units of linear measure. The following rules and table are given with reference to the application of the Scale Measure Protractor to diagrams Nos. 3 and 4 in instructions for using the Protractor in constructive geometry and trigonometry. The table shows latitude and departure to four decimal places for linear bearing 1.00 and for angular bearings from 0 to 90 degrees.

If the angular bearing is less than 45 degrees the angle will be found in the 1st., 5th., or 9th. column of the table, and the linear bearing at the top (or bottom) of the column; the latitude will be found in the column headed lat. at the top of the table, and the departure in the column headed dep.

If the angular bearing is more than 45 degrees the angle will be found in the 4th., 8th., or 12th. column of the table. The latitude will be found in the column marked lat. at the bottom, and the departure in the column marked dep. at the bottom. The latitude, departure and linear bearings for different distances with the same angular bearings are proportional. Linear bearing = unity, radius, secant and co secant. Latitude = natural sines and tangents. Departure = co-sines and co-tangents. Verse sine = the difference in linear bearing and latitude. Angular bearings = the number of degrees, minutes and seconds that measure the angle.

EXAMPLE FIRST.

Example 1st: Given the angular bearing 11 degrees and 45 minutes and linear bearing 31; required the latitude and departure of the triangle. Rule 1st.: In the table opposite 11 degrees 45 minutes we find the decimal .9790 in the latitude column and decimal .2036 in the departure column. Multiply .9790 by bearing 31 = 30.3490; and .2036 by 31 = 6.3116 required latitude and departure.

EXAMPLE SECOND.

Example 2nd: Required the latitude and linear bearing to given linear departure 25 and the angular bearing 19 degrees and 15 minutes. Rule 2nd: In the table opposite to 19 degrees and 15 minutes we find decimal .9441 in the latitude column and .3297 in the departure column. Divide the given departure 25 by .3297 = 75.8265 the required bearing. Multiply 75.8265 by .9441 = 71.5877 latitude required.

EXAMPLE THIRD.

Example 3rd: Latitude 16.34 and angular bearing 37 degrees and 30 minutes given; required linear bearing and departure. Rule 3rd: in the table opposite to 37 degrees and 30 minutes in latitude column we find decimal .7934 and .6088 in departure column. Divide the given latitude 16.34 by .7934 = 20.5949 the required bearing, and multiply the linear bearing 20.5949 by .6088 = 12.5381 the required departure.

EXAMPLE FOURTH.

Example 4th: Given linear bearing 600 and linear departure 100; required the angular bearing. Rule 4th: divide the given departure 100 by given latitude 600 = .1666. In the table we find the nearest number to the quotient to be the decimal .1650 opposite to 9 degrees and 30 minutes, and .1693 opposite to 9 degrees and 45 minutes, subtracting the quantities we have 15 minutes equals .0043; divide .0043 by 15 minutes equals .00028666 the tabular difference for 1 minute. Subtract .1650 from .1666 equals .0016 divided by .00028666 equals 5.5815 minutes. .5815 multiplied by 60 equals 34.89 seconds. Combining the quantities we have 9 degrees, 35 minutes and 34.89 seconds for the required angular bearing.

EXAMPLE FIFTH.

Example 5th: First operation: Required the verse sine, (the verse sine is the difference between the latitude and linear bearing) for linear bearing 31 and angular bearing 11 degrees and 45 minutes. By rule 1 we find the latitude to be 30.3490 subtract, and the difference .6510 is the verse sine. Second operation: required co-tangent to the same linear and angular bearing. The given bearing 31 becomes latitude and is worked by rule 3rd. The co-tangent is 6.4469 and the co-secant 31.6650; third operation: required the natural tangent and secant to the same linear and angular bearing. Substitute the linear bearing 31 for latitude to natural tangent and secant. The angular bearing of the tangent and secant is found by subtracting the given angle 11 degrees and 45 minutes from 90 degrees equals 78 degrees and 15 minutes, therefore read the columns from the bottom and proceed as in rule 3rd. tangent is 149.0618, and the secant 152.2593.

The latitude and departure given to find linear bearing; rule square the latitude and departure add them and extract the square root.

Dep	Lat	Course
996	0	15
996	15	45
996	30	30
996	45	15
996	60	0
996	75	45
996	90	30
996	105	15
996	120	0
996	135	45
996	150	30
996	165	15
996	180	0
996	195	45
996	210	30
996	225	15
996	240	0
996	255	45
996	270	30
996	285	15
996	300	0
996	315	45
996	330	30
996	345	15
996	360	0
996	375	45
996	390	30
996	405	15
996	420	0
996	435	45
996	450	30
996	465	15
996	480	0
996	495	45
996	510	30
996	525	15
996	540	0
996	555	45
996	570	30
996	585	15
996	600	0
996	615	45
996	630	30
996	645	15
996	660	0
996	675	45
996	690	30
996	705	15
996	720	0
996	735	45
996	750	30
996	765	15
996	780	0
996	795	45
996	810	30
996	825	15
996	840	0
996	855	45
996	870	30
996	885	15
996	900	0
996	915	45
996	930	30
996	945	15
996	960	0
996	975	45
996	990	30
996	1005	15
996	1020	0
996	1035	45
996	1050	30
996	1065	15
996	1080	0
996	1095	45
996	1110	30
996	1125	15
996	1140	0
996	1155	45
996	1170	30
996	1185	15
996	1200	0
996	1215	45
996	1230	30
996	1245	15
996	1260	0
996	1275	45
996	1290	30
996	1305	15
996	1320	0
996	1335	45
996	1350	30
996	1365	15
996	1380	0
996	1395	45
996	1410	30
996	1425	15
996	1440	0
996	1455	45
996	1470	30
996	1485	15
996	1500	0
996	1515	45
996	1530	30
996	1545	15
996	1560	0
996	1575	45
996	1590	30
996	1605	15
996	1620	0
996	1635	45
996	1650	30
996	1665	15
996	1680	0
996	1695	45
996	1710	30
996	1725	15
996	1740	0
996	1755	45
996	1770	30
996	1785	15
996	1800	0
996	1815	45
996	1830	30
996	1845	15
996	1860	0
996	1875	45
996	1890	30
996	1905	15
996	1920	0
996	1935	45
996	1950	30
996	1965	15
996	1980	0
996	1995	45
996	2010	30
996	2025	15
996	2040	0
996	2055	45
996	2070	30
996	2085	15
996	2100	0
996	2115	45
996	2130	30
996	2145	15
996	2160	0
996	2175	45
996	2190	30
996	2205	15
996	2220	0
996	2235	45
996	2250	30
996	2265	15
996	2280	0
996	2295	45
996	2310	30
996	2325	15
996	2340	0
996	2355	45
996	2370	30
996	2385	15
996	2400	0
996	2415	45
996	2430	30
996	2445	15
996	2460	0
996	2475	45
996	2490	30
996	2505	15
996	2520	0
996	2535	45
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996	2610	30
996	2625	15
996	2640	0
996	2655	45
996	2670	30
996	2685	15
996	2700	0
996	2715	45
996	2730	30
996	2745	15
996	2760	0
996	2775	45
996	2790	30
996	2805	15
996	2820	0
996	2835	45
996	2850	30
996	2865	15
996	2880	0
996	2895	45
996	2910	30
996	2925	15
996	2940	0
996	2955	45
996	2970	30
996	2985	15
996	3000	0

Example 6th: R
Example 7th: I
Example 8th: F
Example 9th: E
Example 10th: L
Example 11th: S
Example 12th: D
Example 13th: A
Example 14th: N
Example 15th: W
Example 16th: E
Example 17th: S
Example 18th: W
Example 19th: E
Example 20th: S
Example 21st: W
Example 22nd: E
Example 23rd: S
Example 24th: W
Example 25th: E
Example 26th: S
Example 27th: W
Example 28th: E
Example 29th: S
Example 30th: W
Example 31st: E
Example 32nd: S
Example 33rd: W
Example 34th: E
Example 35th: S
Example 36th: W
Example 37th: E
Example 38th: S
Example 39th: W
Example 40th: E
Example 41st: S
Example 42nd: W
Example 43rd: E
Example 44th: S
Example 45th: W
Example 46th: E
Example 47th: S
Example 48th: W
Example 49th: E
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Example 51st: W
Example 52nd: E
Example 53rd: S
Example 54th: W
Example 55th: E
Example 56th: S
Example 57th: W
Example 58th: E
Example 59th: S
Example 60th: W
Example 61st: E
Example 62nd: S
Example 63rd: W
Example 64th: E
Example 65th: S
Example 66th: W
Example 67th: E
Example 68th: S
Example 69th: W
Example 70th: E
Example 71st: S
Example 72nd: W
Example 73rd: E
Example 74th: S
Example 75th: W
Example 76th: E
Example 77th: S
Example 78th: W
Example 79th: E
Example 80th: S
Example 81st: W
Example 82nd: E
Example 83rd: S
Example 84th: W
Example 85th: E
Example 86th: S
Example 87th: W
Example 88th: E
Example 89th: S
Example 90th: W
Example 91st: E
Example 92nd: S
Example 93rd: W
Example 94th: E
Example 95th: S
Example 96th: W
Example 97th: E
Example 98th: S
Example 99th: W
Example 100th: E

Course	Dist. 1.		Course	Dist. 1.		Course	Dist. 1.				
	Lat.	Dep.		Lat.	Dep.		Lat.	Dep.			
0 15	1.0000	0.0044	45	15	0.9648	0.2630	45	15	0.8633	0.5033	45
30	0000	0087	30	30	9636	2672	30	30	8616	5075	30
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15	9998	0218	45	15	9600	2798	45	15	8549	5188	45
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30	9990	0436	30	30	9537	3007	30	30	8434	5373	30
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15	9984	0567	45	15	9497	3132	45	15	8363	5483	45
30	9981	0610	30	30	9483	3173	30	30	8339	5519	30
45	9979	0654	15	45	9469	3214	15	45	8315	5556	15
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15	9973	0741	45	15	9441	3297	45	15	8266	5628	45
30	9969	0785	30	30	9426	3338	30	30	8241	5664	30
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15	0.9958	0.0915	45	15	0.9382	0.3461	45	15	0.8166	0.5771	45
30	9954	0958	30	30	9367	3502	30	30	8141	5807	30
45	9950	1002	15	45	9351	3543	15	45	8116	5842	15
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15	9941	1089	45	15	9320	3624	45	15	8064	5913	45
30	9936	1132	30	30	9304	3665	30	30	8039	5948	30
45	9931	1175	15	45	9288	3706	15	45	8013	5983	15
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15	9920	1262	45	15	9255	3786	45	15	7960	6053	45
30	9914	1305	30	30	9239	3827	30	30	7934	6088	30
45	0.9909	0.1349	15	45	0.9222	0.3867	15	45	0.7907	0.6122	15
8 0	9903	1392	82 0	23 0	9205	3907	67 0	38 0	7880	6157	52 0
15	9897	1435	45	15	9188	3947	45	15	7853	6191	45
30	9890	1478	30	30	9171	3987	30	30	7826	6225	30
45	9884	1521	15	45	9153	4027	15	45	7799	6259	15
9 0	9877	1564	81 0	24 0	9135	4067	66 0	39 0	7771	6293	51 0
15	9870	1607	45	15	9118	4107	45	15	7744	6327	45
30	9863	1650	30	30	9100	4147	30	30	7716	6361	30
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30	9833	1822	30	30	9026	4305	30	30	7604	6494	30
45	9825	1865	15	45	9007	4344	15	45	7576	6528	15
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15	9808	1951	45	15	8969	4423	45	15	7518	6593	45
30	9799	1994	30	30	8949	4462	30	30	7490	6625	30
45	9790	2036	15	45	8930	4501	15	45	7461	6659	15
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15	9772	2122	45	15	8890	4579	45	15	7402	6724	45
30	9763	2164	30	30	8870	4617	30	30	7373	6758	30
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15	9734	2292	45	15	8809	4733	45	15	7284	6852	45
30	9724	2334	30	30	8788	4772	30	30	7254	6884	30
45	9713	2377	15	45	8767	4810	15	45	7224	6915	15
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15	9692	2462	45	15	8725	4886	45	15	7163	6978	45
30	9681	2504	30	30	8704	4924	30	30	7133	7009	30
45	9670	2546	15	45	8682	4962	15	45	7102	7040	15
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Has the lofty standard of a profession whose esthetic dignity forbids it to advertise in the newspapers at last sunk to the level of fraud and deception in order to successfully fasten its poisonous fangs upon society? If not, why this glaring falsehood with which, in the first line of this bill, they have so cunningly disguised this odious conspiracy against the people?

Protect the public health, indeed. It is nothing of the sort. This measure, when properly named, is "A fraud upon society; a scheme to clothe three schools of medical doctors with a legalized monopoly; protect men who are notoriously guessers in the administration of poison against the competition of the superior members of all schools of healing; to fine and jail honest men and women for curing disease; to shut out every natural method and curative agent known in this enlightened age and tie the people of Colorado down to the medical fetichism and poisonous hoodoos of the dark ages." (Applause.)

It restricts investigation within the narrow confines of the drug delusion, and virtually decides that certain medical schools have exhausted all science in the treatment of disease, and that no other can, or may, be developed in this state.

It imposes upon the citizen the necessity of employing medical men and methods which may be distasteful to him, or going without medical aid altogether.

It recognizes certain theories of cure as perfect and condemns all others as frauds and impostures.

It would render Christ and the apostles amenable to the criminal law, or jail the Good Samaritan under the guise of protecting the public health.

Mr. Chairman, is this what we call liberty? Is this the hand of fellowship which these medical men are extending to their fellow-men who are doing good in the world?

Gentlemen, it would be no idolatry to bow down and worship this bill, for there is nothing like it in the heavens above, in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth. (Applause.)

This craftily-worded imposition provides that the governor of this state, a man who may know nothing about medicine, shall appoint from three medical schools a so-called medical board, on whom the provisions of this act confer more arbitrary powers than can be exercised by the Supreme Court of these United States.

What right has the governor to select any doctor or define the size and quality of the pill which I shall take? (Applause.)

If he may restrict me to the use of the big or little pill of this tripartite drug monopoly why may he not select my cheese, my beefsteak and the manufacturer my cigars? (Laughter.)

In the selection of this board only three medical schools are entitled to recognition, the allopathic, homeopathic and the eclectic. We must suppose that this is because they have soaked up all medical knowledge, else the governor would be allowed some latitude in making these selections.

We charge that this bill was prepared under the direction of medical doctors, that it was presented here under their supervision, that they have log-rolled and lobbied for it ever since its introduction, and that 95 per cent. of the population of this state are emphatically opposed to its passage. (Applause.)

This board, when appointed, is clothed with the powers of court, judge and jury. It may rob a man of his life's work and study by refusing him the right to practice in this state. It may decide which are and which are not reputable colleges, vary its rules so as to conform to the convenience of its pets, determine who may treat disease and who may not, direct what system of treatment or cure may be legally employed by the citizen, and from its arbitrary decision there is no right of appeal.

Is there any other tribunal in the land which is clothed with such unwarranted and arbitrary power?

When once this tribunal is established the governor's hands are tied, for there is no power conferred upon him to remove a member of this board unless the removal is recommended by a certain number of these medical censors, whose powers are so extraordinary that we have nothing so manifestly indecent in the annals of history.

And what is the past history of the three schools from which these men are to be selected? For fifty years they have been exhausting the English vocabulary to find billingsgate and vituperation sufficiently vile and vindictive to express their utter contempt and disregard for each other. Each school has vied with the other in denouncing the ignorance and incompetence of their opponents. Their wranglings have been carried to the degree that neither school would consult with the other at the bedside of a dying patient. But now behold the sudden transformation. All their lies and slanders are forgotten, and we gaze upon "three hearts that beat

as one," "three souls with but a single thought," and that thought, how to best skin the people. And we are confronted with the phenomenal spectacle of these three old medical stiffs crawling into one little couch together, and with tears in their eyes and uplifted hands imploring this intelligent body to spread the broad mantle of the law over their medical miscegnation and shut out the intellectual development of the nineteenth century. (Great applause.)

Are the people of this state ready? Are they anxious to confer any such special privileges upon a mere handful of men?

Is there any censure too severe to be used in condemning a professional dwarf who would hide behind such a measure as this while forcing the public to patronize a system in which the intelligence of this age has long since lost confidence? (Laughter.)

I shall say but a word as to the constitutionality of such measures, for the reason that there are a number of good lawyers who will discuss that point at the proper time.

In the McCoy case in Illinois and the O'Leary case in the state of California such laws were held to be in flagrant violation of the rights of the people. The fundamental law of our land guarantees to the citizen the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Will it be conceded that a man has any chance for his life when turned over bound and handcuffed, to the tender mercies of this monopolistic combine? (Applause.) What style of liberty is that which denies to the people a free choice in selecting one to administer to their family in the hour of sickness?

Mr. Chairman, there comes a time in the history of every man's life when the icy finger of death hovers over the pallid brow of one who is dear. Can you conceive of any liberty more sacred at such a time than the liberty to resort to any and all means to save a friend or relative? On the other hand, can the mind of man imagine a restriction more brutal, or a decree more devilish than a medical tyrant standing by the deathbed armed with a legal weapon, which is always the coward's club, and in defiance of all that is just and humane, fastening such legal shackles upon you?

This, gentlemen of the committee, is the iniquitous class legislation which the medical guessers of Colorado propose to torture us with under the wicked and dishonest pretense of protecting our health. (Great applause.)

Another objection to this bill is, that it is made more of a crime to cure a person than to kill him. And it contains absolutely no provisions for punishment for malpractice, mistakes or criminal negligence, which, however, being confined to their own schools, they have no thought of punishing. (Applause.)

Under this measure the most incompetent quacks and imposters may continue to practice without limit provided they work for nothing. "Gratuitous" services are allowed. Has it come to pass that one class of men in this state may dictate when and how other men may work, and when they shall work for nothing?

I have supposed that since the days of Christ the laborer was worthy of his hire, and I deny the power of any body of men, either legislative or other, to make my contracts, define the limit of my employment or regulate the price of my services. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, I find you out in the mountains by the roadside with a broken leg. There is no medical aid at hand. You have lain there for days and are famishing for food and water. You beseech me to remain with you, to nurse and care for you. No, this is not a "case of emergency." You have been here several days. You offer to pay me for my services if I will but stay and save your life. I may remain with you for a month, feed and nurse you, and help save your life, and under their medicinal contrivance, in contravention of all that is humane, honest and decent, I dare not receive a farthing for my services. This is protection to public health. (Laughter and applause.)

It is urged that one mission of this law is to regulate the practice of medicine. Gentlemen, do you know what medicine is? During the fifty years' fight between the old school and the two medical kids who have just crawled under their wing, the doctors have been engaged in writing dictionary definitions for the word medicine, so that it now includes about anything under the sun.

I ask you gentlemen to look at your dictionaries and you will discover why these drug doctors are so tenacious about having this word "medicine" appear in all these measures instead of the word "drugs," which they use most exclusively in their practice.

These definitions have been forged out to meet emergencies where healers were curing by methods which doctors denounce as "irregular," so as to give them a

chance to turn on the inquisitorial thumb-screws when a man was so unprotected as to get cured without any poison. (Laughter.)

The old definition of medicine was "A substance supposed to have curative power." "A physic." Now, you will find that in addition to that it is "Operating upon," "Anything supposed to have supernatural power," "Anything which prevents disease or sickness." And here we have the phenomenal spectacle of these grafters pretending to protect public health, and at the same time they would put people in jail and fine them for doing anything that would prevent sickness. Isn't this pretty small business for our neighbors to be engaged in? (Applause.)

It is apparent that under this bill you could not pare a corn, give a health bath, teach physical culture, give electricity or even advise dieting or breathing without coming under the censorship of these sleek friends of yours who are protecting your health. (Applause.)

Of course it is not claimed that medical men employ such rational methods as osteopathy, hypnotism, electricity, mental science and the like. Those things are "irregular," don't you know. But you will observe that while their arrogant presumption has been relegating these methods to the field of quackery for ages, and their schools, in the meantime, defining them as medicine, they are taking good care that no one who knows anything about these methods shall practice them. And so with a dog-in-the-manger policy they say what we are too ignorant to do we will allow no one else to do. So we have two kinds of medicine, poison which medical doctors propose to make us take whether we will or no, and several natural and rational methods of cure which they declare we shall not use because they are ignortant of such matters. (Applause.)

Is medicine such a science that we should bow down before it and stultify ourselves by such laws as these?

If medicine is a science why does it need any more protection against the science of quacks and ignoramuses? Do the artisan and the mechanic who produce the wealth of the nation ask for any protection? No, and they don't get any either. We tax the peddler, the expressman and other poor people who don't make as much money in a month as do these doctors in a minute. Yet these fellows have the frontless impudence to take \$500 at a time out of our treasury with which to wine and dine the medical men whom they invited to come to Denver and whom they are too niggardly and pusillanimous to entertain after they come.

Do you know of any other profession which calls on the city treasury to feed and entertain their visitors? (Applause.)

Now, a word about the science of medicine. John Mason Good, M. D., F. R. S., says: "The science of medicine is a barbarous jargon." The famous English surgeon, Sir Astley Copper, says: "The science of medicine is founded on conjecture and improved by murder." Hundreds of like opinions from the best brains of the medical doctors and medical schools confirm the statement that diagnosis is simply guess work and the practice of medicine a fraud upon the people. (Applause.)

Let me read you a few stanzas from the science of the seventeenth century. This was pure allopathy then. Those were the days when the medical hyenas of Europe were persecuting Mesmer, Greatrakes, Gasner and other grand men, and hounding them from their homes and countries.

I quote from "Praxis Medica," page 451, this remedy for jaundice: "Volatile salts of earthworms, hogs' lice, serpents and toads, or skins of hens' gizzards and their feet. Volatile salts of urine, earthworms and of millipeeds of each one scruple."

Now, if there was ever a thing on earth that would effectually protect public health this was certainly the dose to do it. (Laughter.)

Paracelsus recommends the juice from the excrement of animals, sweetened with molasses. Willis commends "Nine lice at a dose." Silvius commends the volatile spirits of urine for jaundice. Now, how much had this science changed down to the eighteenth century? Everything was simon pure allopathy then. Sydenham was the father of allopathy. In his "Processus Integri," page 177, we find a most scientific remedy for palsy. Here is science pure and undefiled: "Mercurial purgatives made from powder of vipers' flesh and vipers' bones, volatile salts of earthworms, man's hair and of dried human flesh."

Gentlemen, is there any doubt but what this was pure science?

On page 86 of the same work is a cure for epilepsy: Man's skull, elk's hoofs, powder of the heart and lungs of a mole." Here is one for nosebleed: "Powder of man's blood, powder of dried earthworms, ashes of an old hat and hog's excrement," and so on for pages we have the most scientific prescriptions by a school which for that hundred years never encountered an original idea. (Applause.)

Come down a hundred years, which is only like unto a day to such scientific

gentlemen, and we find a mixture of calomel, jalap, arsenic, strychnine, ipicac and asafetida that would nauseate the most unclean thing.

Then came the science of bleeding. For whatever ailed a man from ague to erysipelas, he was bled. This was to give him strength. Then if he didn't die they blistered him. Then he was starved, then frozen, then purged and sweat, so that if the scientific racket didn't kill him he always wished that it had.

Gentlemen, I know that for the last fifty years those homeopaths who have just joined this medical funeral have loudly declaimed to the world that allopathy was long on impudence but that she was short on science. (Laughter.)

It is for the purpose of refuting this calumny that I beg your kind indulgence while reading you a few more choice extracts from the works of the only school in the world which ever was afflicted with such a superabundance of science. (Applause.)

"Collectanea Medica," published in London in 1703, at a time when the allopathic school was fairly bubbling with science, gives us the following scientific formulas for quinsy: "One swallow's nest, cats' brains, powder of an owl and of swallows burnt." For colic they gave wolf's guts in wine. Science pure and undefiled. (Applause.)

In a standard French work, published in 1714, there is prescribed for cancer, "A decoction of vipers, crabs' eyes, adders and toads, both for internal and external application."

Now, is there an homeopath who is so bereft of scientific attainment that he will question the efficacy of powdered vipers, birds' nests and human hair? Would he deprive the public health of cats' brains and the skins of hens' feet and gizzards? Will he contend against the soothing influence of the excrement of animals and the intestines of reptiles and vipers? Perhaps not, but I can tell you, gentlemen, that the common people have had enough of such noxious stuff shoved down their throats with Latin prescriptions, and they are declaring all over the world, in no uncertain tones, that they will free themselves from the clutches of this medical monster. (Great applause.)

Yet the homeopaths have done some good. I want to give them credit where they deserve it, and God knows that they will need it with their present associations. (Applause.)

That fine looking, gray haired gentleman sitting there can remember with me the time when they used to take us by the nose and strangle us till we swallowed the vile stuff which these superstitious fellows supposed to be medicine. Then along came the homeopath with his sweet little pills and the children cried for them. The allopath had to change, and he did it. I will give them credit for that. They always change when they are forced to. The result is that to-day you may go to any drug store in the land and buy the most nauseating and loathsome stuff which was ever compounded on God's earth, and have it put in a capsule.

Now, this is what I call progress. Let us be humane at least. If men must be drenched and drugged with soul-harrowing and stomach-disturbing nastiness, I say do it with moderation, and if necessary by stealth with a greased capsule.

Still the old fellows came to the thing by degrees, and not in a graceful manner either. It would be a little too severe on science to drop down from forty grains of calomel to a two-hundred-thousandth part of a microscopic suspension, so they divided the misery and went slowly but scientifically. (Applause.)

I hold in my hand what I suppose to be one of their first concessions or deviations as applied to surrounding their death-dealing dope with a capsule. You will see that it is seven inches long and an inch in diameter. Anywhere from fifteen to sixty of them was a dose. One end was filled with human hair, the other with powdered vipers, and deftly sandwiched between them was a conglomeration of toad lozenges and crabs' eyes. This thing was whitewashed with cod liver oil and driven into the patient with a hand-spike. (Uproarious laughter.)

If the patient rebelled they bled him. This was to give him strength. When he complained they blistered him. This was done to increase the albumen in his blood. If he showed life for any unnatural period or shut his mouth on any of these things, then they slugged him with buckets full of mercury, shook out his teeth, filled his joints with mercury and turned him out on the cold world as a limping monument to that mummified science whose God is calomel and whose religion has always been a brutal hatred of progress. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, look back over the medical fads of the last forty years; gaze upon the monstrous absurdities at which medical men have grasped as drowning men grasp at straws. Bleeding, blistering, starving, freezing, inhalation, blueglass, elixir of life, Koch's "lymph," purging, sweating, vomiting and that glorious boon, cod

liver oil, now scattering along the highway of human misery like the bleaching bones on a deserted oasis, and from the whole conglomeration we are unable to extract a single rational medical idea which would rise above the dignity of a fleeting phantasm. (Applause.)

Is this science? Yes. It is a science which needs the protection of a strangler and a dishonored grave. (Prolonged applause.)

Is the intelligence of our people so far below mediocrity, their conception so obtuse and their notions of liberty so low and debasing that they will tolerate an inquisitorial tribunal, composed of the riff-raff which hangs on the tail end of the medical profession and which arrogates to itself the proud prerogative of superintending our private and domestic affairs against our wishes? (Applause.)

Yes, these gentlemen are manifesting an unwarranted interest in the dear people. They assume that we need a quinine and mercurial guardian who may, under this impudent class legislation, confine us to this monopoly of the big and little pill, and shut us out from more natural and rational methods of cure which are driving the drug monopoly from the face of the earth.

Now, gentlemen of the committee, a word about diagnosis. Do you know what diagnosis is? Well I will tell you. It consists in four or five medical doctors, whose faces denote condensed death, sitting around a sick man and guessing that they don't know what ails him. After that has been performed they guess at what will cure the first guess. (Applause.)

A few years ago a New York journal wanted to get at the inside workings of their insane asylum. Like other institutions of the kind which are under the supervision of doctors, it was charged with harboring and breeding about every crime known to criminal jurisprudence. Under the corrupt management of that concern it was impossible to get at the bottom facts from the outside.

Nellie Bly, a brave little reporter on that paper, volunteered to go insane and get into this den of crime, where she could write up the facts in full detail.

This venture might be considered by some to be more or less hazardous, but not so. This bright woman knew that the average insanity expert couldn't tell insanity from indigestion. She knew that all that was wanted was a wild rumor about her mental condition to secure the most scientific testimony sworn as to her being insane.

Well, she went insane—in your mind. The great medical insanity experts of that doctor-damned state, the medical wolves who are hounding and deviling the life out of decent people, were called in, examined this woman and pronounced her insane.

Think of that, gentlemen. It might have been your wife or my daughter. A sane woman sworn behind the bars of a maniacs' prison by these protectors of our health. (Applause.)

Once inside of the asylum her task was easy. We remember the harrowing details of that terrible story. Rape, infanticide, murder and criminality that would bring the blush of shame to the face of fiends incarnate. And side by side with these hell-begotten crimes were innocent women doomed to these tortures who were as sane as Nellie Bly herself. Nellie's friends afterwards got her out and she subsequently went around the world. Gentlemen, this is protection to public health, and regulating the practice of medicine by confining it to guessers and ignoramuses. (Applause.)

Not long ago a notorious criminal was confined in a penitentiary. He took some kerosene oil, rubbed it on his arm and chest and set fire to it. This phenomenal disease baffled the medical profession of the state. Experts were called in and the man was diagnosed to have smallpox. He was removed to the pest house, from which he escaped the same night. Moral: When you want smallpox, use kerosene oil. (Laughter.)

A few years since, four doctors in the state of Iowa where they have one of the meanest medical laws in the world, went out in the country and performed a surgical operation on a woman. After getting their long green they got in their carriage and rode away. A few hours later the lady was taken with spasms which were brought on by her severe pain, and it was thought that she would die before medical help of the protected kind could be had. A shoemaker, formerly a magnetic doctor, who had been driven out of his business by their medical law, was called in. He put his hand upon the woman, and in a minute told her that there was some foreign substance in the abdominal cavity. With a shoe knife he cut open the stitches and there, in the abdominal cavity, he found a pair of eight-ounce steel forceps. He removed them, sewed up the incision and the woman got well. Moral: When you want scientific surgery get a shoemaker. (Applause.)

We all remember the insanity case in the school for boys at Chicago. In order to avoid going to an early breakfast the lads determined to go crazy. Their plan was worked until a large number of the pupils were supposed to be insane. The medical incompetents who crouch behind that cowardly assassination of liberty known as the Illinois Medical Law, were called in to exercise their guessing propensities. They diagnosed the ailment to be a contagious form of insanity. It's a wonder that they didn't vaccinate it into the rest of the inhabitants. But they didn't, but it was advised that these insane boys be distributed among the other schools of the state. I suppose that this was done to quarantine the epidemic. You know there is no accounting for the variations of such a science. Well, a drunken reporter on a Chicago paper wrote a little squib for his paper, recommending the application of Birch Bark to the hides of these boys as a cure for this newly discovered epidemic. The medical experts fairly raved at the audacity which questioned their science, but the birch was applied, and the novel and contagious form of insanity faded from the school like dew before the morning sun.

Now, gentlemen, here was a long range diagnosis, by a man who had never seen the patients, and a prescription that cured. Moral: When you want insanity experts, employ drunken newspaper reporters. (Laughter and applause.)

Here is a case right at home, and there are five hundred people in this audience to-night who will recognize the case without my mentioning a name. A wealthy Denver citizen took his wife to a doctor who proved to be one of those butchers who stands on the street corners with his jackknife in his hand offering to spay every woman who passes by. He can't help it. He is a degenerate. He was born with that mania. During pregnancy his mother was engaged in cutting skins from chickens' gizzards and their feet for medical use, and he was birthmarked. He's a freak, and like all monstrosities of his kind, should have been killed at birth. (Applause.) Of course he advised removing her ovaries, before she had a chance to spend her money for anything else. He always does. But the husband was rich. It wouldn't do to kill the woman. So after several grave bogus consultations with some of the schemers who are sitting on the back seats here, all swelled up with pride over the justice of this rotten measure, they resolved that she had better go to Chicago, where they have a more odious law than ours, and be chopped up. Well, at Chicago the scientists guessed that they didn't know what ailed her, and she was sent to New York. There, where they are cursed with another infamous medical law, she was accused by another dignified herd of guessers of harboring a tumor, and she was sent to Boston for further torture. From there she was sent home to have a baby, which she did in a few months.

Gentlemen, I am not arguing that the thousand dollars which this gentleman spent upon these guessing freaks was wasted. Far from it, it is simply a tribute which we gladly yield up in exchange for the glorious protection of a science which can't tell a tumor from a turnip.

This bill starts out with a "Whereas, the safety of the public is endangered by incompetent physicians and surgeons."

I wonder when these gentlemen made that discovery. This shows how far they are behind the times. The common people have been on to that for years, and that is why a thousand of them are here to-night to protest against legislation that will endanger the public any longer. (Applause.)

Who is responsible for a condition that has so filled this state with incompetent medical men? Why our medical board which has existed in Colorado for the last eighteen years, dividing its time between prosecuting irregulars and admitting diplomaed incompetents. If this bill is intended to elevate the standard of the profession and shut out incompetents, why is it that under this measure all the incompetents who have heretofore been admitted to practice here are allowed to continue to practice without any examination or restriction?

But a stranger coming into this state, no matter if he has practiced his profession for fifty years elsewhere, must pass an examination in Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Histology, Pathology, Surgery, Obstetrics, practice of medicine and materia medica and therapeutics. Gentlemen, I'll bet a thousand dollars that there are not three practicing medical doctors in the state who can pass a thorough examination in any four of these branches, let alone in ten.

If these men want to regulate their schools, we have no objection. We admit all that they say about each other. But we do emphatically object to their impudent interference with the private affairs of other people, and we have had all of it that we propose to stand. (Applause.)

Irregular healers are asking for no protection. They don't need any so long as their competition comes up from the depths of the drug delusion.

Gentlemen, what the people want is justice and liberty. Not law. We have been chloroformed with law and religion for a thousand years, our money squandered on the time of legislatures who have regulated everything from the shape of a man's shoes and the length of his shroud down to kissing his wife, while the masses were famishing for beefsteak and potatoes. (Applause.)

Let us have an admission from a legislative body now and then that the people have a little sense. If we can select our potatoes and our pumpkins without a Latin prescription, why may we not select our cures and those who administer them? (Applause.)

Now, there is positively no standard by which you can regulate the practice of medicine, though you wanted to do so. Why? Because nobody knows anything about it. The smartest men in the world have said so. The great Parisian physician and college professor, Magendie, said to his class, "Gentlemen, medicine is a great humbug—it is nothing like a science—we are as ignorant as men can be,—who knows anything about medicine? I know nothing in the world about medicine, and I don't know anybody that does know anything about it. I repeat it, nobody knows anything about medical science." It is true that we regulate the sale of milk. How do we do it? By defining what shall constitute pure milk. In providing punishment for the sale of impure oils and liquors, we establish a legal standard to which these goods must conform.

But here is a profession which knows nothing about its own business, impudently and arrogantly proposing to establish its own standard which not only shuts out the best curative agencies in the world, but also fines and jails its competitors for offering to the public a superior article. Is it not a burning shame for a profession to masquerade under such false pretenses while howling for legislative lightning to transform them into saintly protectors of the people? (Applause.)

The promoters of this dishonest stab at the people are urging that they ask nothing more than is accorded to lawyers. Now, I think that lawyers are the smartest men in the world. Their associations and the sharp competition which they encounter of a necessity makes them so. Law is a science. And there is no more comparison between a lawyer and a doctor than there is between Pike's Peak and an ant hill. (Applause.)

Look at this bill, it prohibits all persons who are not included within this medical trust from practicing medicine in any of its departments within this state. What are its departments? They are as broad as the universe, and indefinable as the infinity of space, light, heat, air, sunshine, electricity, radiation, telepathy, mental suggestion, and scores of other natural remedies of which these medical guessers are as ignorant as a child unborn but which they say, by this bill, nobody else may practice without a diploma or an examination in ten different studies which are as remote from hypnotism or mental therapeutics as heaven is from the lower regions. What has Hypnotism to do with Obstetrics? What use has a Christian Scientist for the obsolete dopes of materia medica? (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I say that no lawyer was ever mean enough to ask for such a villainously contrived system of persecution.

I say that any man may hang out his sign here and paint on it "Counsellor at Law," "Protector in Admiralty," "Legal Adviser," "General Conveyancer," and draw all kinds of conveyances, wills, incorporation papers, try cases in our lower courts and collect for his services without having a legal diploma at all. (Applause.)

There was never a lawyer who was hog enough to say that no other man may practice law in any of its departments. (Laughter.)

Is there any difference between this and a law that will tie down 500,000 free-born American citizens to a profession whose stock in trade is guesswork and coonskin diplomas? (Applause.)

You go to a hundred lawyers with your case and they will not vary a hair's breadth in their opinions. You won't come home with a hundred more cases than you started with. There won't be consumption in one, tumors on the other, nor diabetes, rheumatism or appendicitis in the others. Why? Because lawyers know what they are doing. (Applause.)

But, you send out a perfectly healthy man to twenty doctors and I'll bet dollars to doughnuts that he comes back diagnosed to have ten different diseases and loaded with at least fifteen Latin prescriptions for their cure. (Applause.)

One is the science of law, the other the science of guessing. Truth wears no mask, it bows at no human shrine, it only asks a hearing with no legal chains attached. "Courts for cowards were erected; churches built to please the priests." (Continued applause.)

What is the numerical strength behind this bill? A careful estimate will show

that there are less than six hundred practicing physicians of these three schools in this state. I positively know that two-thirds of them are opposed to these restrictive laws. Here, then, we have two or three hundred meddling mendicants hanging on the bottom round of the ladder, with a sheepskin pinned to their coats, impudently posing as guardians of our health and proposing to make us bow down before their ignorance.

Gentlemen, do you know that there are fully five thousand Christian and Mental Scientists in this state who are engaged to a greater or less degree in treating disease? I know that it is customary to turn up the medical lip of scorn in ridicule of these people and their methods. Yet they are not fools. They are as pure, as moral, and as intellectual as are the patrons of any method, and the believers in this faith will compare favorably with any other class. (Applause.)

Then we have at least two thousand people who are practicing such other methods as Osteopathy, Electricity, Hydropathy, Magnetism, Hypnotism, Suggestive Therapeutics, Spiritual Healing, the Thomsonian Methods and others. The fact that they are in the practice is the best evidence in the world that they are wanted, and that they represent the faiths of at least two hundred thousand citizens of this state.

How many others in this state beside these, have lost faith in the drug practice?

I tell you gentlemen, and you mark my prediction, that the old drug delusion has had its day, and the coming system of treatment is Neurology and Metaphysics. (Applause.)

This bill, disguise its hideousness with all the verbiage you please, is designed to shut out all these practitioners and deprive at least two hundred thousand citizens of this state of their free choice out of these so-called irregular methods of cure. (Applause.)

Why such an unjust and unprecedented action? Simply to pander to a profession which acknowledges its inability to cope with the more rational methods of cure, or is it because we are so besotted in ignorance that these men are condescendingly assuming a guardianship over us so as to steer us against this three-cornered pill monopoly to the exclusion of all others?

Mr. Chairman, this is no blind experiment. These laws have been tried, and we know what has been the effect. Wherever they have been tried the effect has been to increase the death rate instead of protecting public health.

I want to read you a few sentences from a speech made by the Hon. George M. Stearns before the Massachusetts Legislature on a measure of this kind in 1889. Hear what this careful statistician says: "Other states have tried this sort of legislation, and I want to call your attention to the result. Legislation has been tried in this respect, not only in Massachusetts, but in the District of Columbia. I suppose there exists the greatest corner in medicine there to be found in the world. No city in the world is better situated for health, with every appliance the treasury can supply for sewerage, drainage and every other means to make it healthful. The death rate in the District of Columbia is 25 per cent. greater than in any state or territory in the Union. And the death rate there from 1866 to 1880 was 13.38 per thousand. In Oregon, where they have no law, on the Pacific ocean, with like climate and like conditions, it is 10.67; in Nevada, which is free, it is 11.69; in Arizona it is 7.20; and in New Mexico, where we return to regular standards alone, it is 20.37, three times as much as in Arizona, that touches its borders and is free."

This, gentlemen, is what this boasted protection has done in states where it has been tried. (Applause.)

To hear the fulsome twaddle which has come up here with this bill one would suppose that they wanted this law simply as a luxury, and not for the purpose of worrying and torturing those who differ with them as to the methods of cure. Gentlemen, their past history in this and other states gives the lie to every such assertion and brands this vile measure as one of the most loathsome infamies that ever clung to any profession. (Applause.)

Oh, no, they don't mean to prosecute anybody. I ask you to look at the Tenth Colorado report for an illustration of their base and cowardly methods. I refer to the case of the People against Mrs. Harding of this city. She was arrested at the instance of this state medical board and fined one hundred dollars and costs. What was she prosecuted for? Did she practice medicine? No. She used no drugs in her business. The evidence showed that she had cured people by the administration of Electricity.

If there is anything on earth in the way of a red rag that will infuriate the Allopathic Bull it is his hearing that someone is getting cured. (Applause.)

Of course we all know that electricity is not medicine, in the general accepta-

tion of the term. It isn't nasty enough. We also know that after its application as a curative agent had been discovered by a Spiritualist, a Quack, that these fellows fought its use for years just as they fight everything else which they are too stupid to comprehend. After her conviction, Mrs. Harding appealed her case to the Supreme Court and, on a technical objection raised by her counsel, the case was dismissed. But if you will take the trouble to read the opinion of the Supreme Court in that case you will find that every point raised by the prosecution was fully sustained even to upholding the constitutionality of this odious law, and also deciding that practicing Electricity is practicing medicine within the meaning thereof.

If electricity is medicine, why is not heat, air, water, sunshine and food? Why, it won't be long till we have to pay these grafters a dollar for a Latin prescription before we can go to a restaurant and get a fifteen-cent lunch.

There is no exaggeration about this statement; look at your dictionary again. Medicine is there defined as "anything which prevents sickness." We will most certainly become sick if we don't eat. Therefore, advising one to eat is prescribing medicine. (Applause.)

The skin being one of the great emunctories, people who do not properly bathe may become sick. Bathing has been regarded by all nations as conducive to health. Then, to advise one to bathe, eat, drink, sleep, exercise, or think, is practicing medicine under this scurvy measure which this bombastic profession is trying to sneak through here as a protection to your health. (Applause.)

I suppose that Illinois has one of the meanest, and most satanically contrived laws on this subject to be found in the world.

You can always correctly judge a people by their religion or their laws. Judging by their laws, Illinois is cursed with about the stupidest collection of medical jackasses ever congregated together in one state. That's the state where they diagnose contagious insanity in boys, you know. Where the people have to depend upon the diagnosis of drunken reporters in order to arrive at scientific conclusions. (Prolonged applause.)

Gentlemen, I will relate a solemn fact, which should forever brand the insignificant ignoramuses of that Illinois Medical Board with the most loathsome contempt of every decent man in the world.

About ten years ago this band of fuglers with pills and prosecutions, held a meeting in Chicago at which there was present about ten hundred and eighty members. Now, it is not related whether their board and whisky bills were paid out of the city treasury, as they did it in Denver, or not. After discussing the various methods used by them in carrying on their inquisitorial work against the superior members of society; reading insipid disquisitions about injecting rotten pus from a dead cow into syphylitics and again vaccinating healthy people with the virus thus obtained; after gorging their feeble intellects with the mummified clap-trap which oozed from the maggoty brains of medical degenerates and mental monstrosities which made up this mob, they passed a resolution to, and did appoint a committee to inquire if there really was such a thing as Hypnotism. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, what more lamentable display of loathsome ignorance could be possible? Search the dives and dens of iniquity, rake the slums and gutters of the vilest localities known to our civilization, herd together the ruffraff, tramps, thugs and moral deformities of the lowest and most besotted regions of the earth, and I'll bet ten thousand dollars that such a collection of mental deformities and bankrupt intellects cannot again be discovered among that number of men. (Great applause.)

Now the sequel of this tale is a fair illustration of the presumptuous impudence which leads the procession that demands this kind of legislation. They have been fighting hypnotism for a hundred and fifty years, denouncing it as fraud and quackery; they had hounded Mesmer out of his country for making cures with it which baffled their skill; they had prosecuted men and women in their own state for curing by this method; all the pin-headed simpletons of their profession had been writing for years dilating upon the "Dangers of Hypnotism" and then openly and boldly admit that they didn't know what it was. Gentlemen, this is science.

When this committee had finished its work it had learned that hypnotism, as Professor Fere of the Saltpetriere school says, "Is as old as the world;" that every enlightened nation had used it as a curative agent for centuries; that some of the largest institutions in the world had for years been devoted exclusively to the practice and teaching of this science. Now, one would suppose that a report such as that would have made them sick. But it didn't. (Applause.)

No, they saw a chance to steal something, and with that innate dishonesty, that lawless greed and that disdainful impudence which always prompts them to purloin and appropriate the labors of other men, they set about their legitimate business. (Applause.)

Then, gentlemen, what do you suppose they did? Why, they at once presented a bill to the Legislature of that state which made it a crime, punishable with fine and imprisonment, for any other than a diplomaed doctor to practice this grand science of which they were as ignorant as swine. (Tremendous applause.)

To show you what such men will do when armed with the law, I will read you from a speech made by the secretary of that board, Dr. J. A. Eagan, before the Health Board at Detroit, Michigan, last year. He says: "During the last year the board has instituted prosecutions against ninety-four violators of the medical practice act, and took steps whereby one hundred more were compelled to desist from practice." Among those who were compelled to desist was the distinguished London osteopathic physician, Professor Atkinson, who offered to treat the cripples of Chicago gratuitously, but who was prevented from doing so by a telegram from Dr. Eagan forbidding such unscientific practice and threatening to prosecute him if he healed a cripple in the state of Illinois. Why, bless you, they wouldn't prosecute anybody. (Applause and hisses.)

Illinois is not the only state where this outrageous law is being enforced. Do you remember the little woman in Iowa whom they put in jail for curing a child which the doctors had given up to die? There are twenty states where this inquisitorial machine is being worked today for all there is in it. (Applause.)

There has been numerous other prosecutions in this state besides Mrs. Harding, Mr. Price and other victims.

Yes, they are very harmless now, and we propose to keep them so by cutting off their legal claws while they are young.

Gentlemen, if these men intend to be fair why do they object to exempting the irregulars from the effect of this measure? They ask us in effect to let them pass a measure which would jail and fine every competent healer in the state, and take their word that the law shall never be enforced. We don't propose to do it. We want their exemptions plainly and unequivocally stated in black and white, and the conditions "nominated in the bond." (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, did a medical or other college ever give the world a Blind Tom, a Raphael or a Zera Coburn? Did a college ever confer brains upon an imbecile? Is it natural to suppose that one in ten of the harmless young men whose fond parents rush him through a medical college because he is a little too nice to earn an honest living by work, will ever become a successful practitioner?

Does a diploma, granted or sold, by one of the scores of wrangling colleges in this country confer aptitudes, tendencies or natural abilities upon men whom nature has designed for cooks or clowns? Perhaps herein lies the reason why, as these men charge, "That the safety of the public is endangered by incompetent physicians and surgeons in this state." (Applause.)

Now, gentlemen, if we are going to protect the public, let us go about it in a sensible way. Let us not lie about it in the start and pretend that we are protecting the people when we are doing just the reverse. Let us have a law requiring that all prescriptions be written in the English language. We are Americans, not Dagoes. And I have a legal right to know, when I buy either drugs or other merchandise, exactly what I am getting. (Applause.)

Would you submit to such impudence in any other deal? Do you allow your tailor to select your clothes?

If you want to restrict the spread of disease, compel these death-dealers to quit vaccinating their poison into healthy people.

Compel doctors to teach men how to keep well by correct living. (And there's the rub, they don't know it themselves.) (Applause.)

Prohibit their making drunkards by giving pregnant women liquors and beer. Have at least one farmer or shoemaker present when they perform surgery, so as to see that the job is done in a scientific manner. (Applause.)

Or, better still, require everybody who treats or operates to give a bond to cover their malpractice and mistakes. Every irregular in the state would favor such a law. (Applause.)

And I think we would do well to prevent quacks from running medical colleges, where the minds of harmless young men are poisoned with the decayed superstition of the seventeenth century under the pretense of giving them a medical education, the main object of such colleges being to advertise a few medical lunkheads who can't keep before the public so well in any other manner. (Applause.)

Did you ever see one of these young dudes start through one of those schools? It is really interesting. They first examine him to find out whether he has brains enough to advertise his business in the newspapers. If he has, they kill him on the spot. Otherwise they require him to put a dry corn cob in a flowerpot and to water it three times a day for three years in order to develop his faith in absurdities and the omnipotence of guesswork. (Applause.)

When his mind has been thoroughly poisoned against hypnotism, mental science and other scientific methods of treatment, he is supposed to be able to feel a pulse, or take the temperature of man or beast with such extreme unction and perfection that laws are at once demanded to prevent his acquiring any new ideas or allowing anybody else to. The balance he learns by practice. Musicians practice; when educated, they perform. When do doctors perform? (Applause.)

It is urged that teachers are licensed by a certificate before they can teach. Most certainly, and because there is a scientific foundation for such examination. Mathematics is the science of numbers. Grammar is the science of language, and so on. We don't have to guess whether two times four are eight, or eighteen, nor whether a noun is a verb, an adjective or a conjunction. But tell me, where is the man who can foretell the action or the influence of a certain drug upon a certain number of people? I say the man never lived who could do so. (Applause.)

And right here, gentlemen, stands the cold and indelible fact which forever precludes the possibility of the practice of drugs ever becoming a science. (Applause.)

From the tiniest micro-organism to the mammoth, nature has never created two organisms alike. Neither the physical, the mental, the physiognomy, the cranial, the neurological nor the psychological structure of any two creatures were ever the same in any species, type or breed.

The stout athlete may still be a sensitive who is most susceptible to either psychic influence or positive drugs. On the other hand, the frail form which seemingly hovers between life and death may have a positive nature which would largely negative the influence of the most poisonous medicines. And where to draw the line I maintain that no human being has ever yet discovered.

Can the doctor give you any drug that will enter the realm of mind where the great battles of life are fought, and where the most cruel and indelible injuries and inflicted? Has he any remedy for inherited tendencies, or a drug panacea for fear, anger, hatred, remorse or jealousy? No, and this is why our asylums are filled with the insane, who in seven cases out of ten might have been saved by magnetism and hypnotic suggestions.

It has been demonstrated time and again by the most rigid scientific experiments that a hypnotic suggestion will cause the most positive drug to operate directly opposite to its natural action. If this be true, and it is, then the potency of the mind is sufficient to not only overcome the disease, but to reverse the action of a drug which is given for a diametrically different purpose.

Hypnotic suggestion has caused a postage stamp to produce a blister having all the pathological conditions of a blister made by medical applications for that purpose. We know that men are killed by fright, anger or remorse as surely as by bullets or arsenic. Magnetism will make people sleep when nothing else will. "As a man thinketh so he is." It is not well to be too skeptical about things which we have not investigated. "Unbounded skepticism, like unbounded credulity, is the child of mental weakness."

If mind is such a potent factor in making or destroying the organism; if, as has been shown, it has the power to reverse the natural action of the rankiest poison, which carries with it the evidential value of a therapeutic remedy, where, oh where is the boasted efficacy of any formula in materia medica? (Applause.)

But just as we are entering the ever widening field of psychic phenomena, just as psychical research has demonstrated the subliminal or double conscientiousness in man, here in the bright dawn of telepathic and telekinetic phenomena, just as we are entering the boundless realms of hypnotism and mental therapeutics, we are asked to close the doors to scientific progress and chain our investigations in experimental psychology down to a pill-box till these three medical antedeluvians catch up with the procession. As well might you try to hurl yon snow-clad peaks beyond the immensity of space, or melt the banded infinities of this universe into a molten mass of ignorance, for I tell you that the people want no more of this legislative restriction. (Applause.)

History fails to record the instance where a man has been made honest, sober, virtuous, healthy or wise by a legal enactment. The whole tendency of our legislation is to feed the monopolies, trusts and millionaires from the toil of the masses. (Applause.)

It costs an American citizen about \$80 to ride across this continent in a passenger car. The same railroad will carry a hog of the same weight the same distance for \$3. This is the advantage of the American hog over the American citizen. (Applause.)

And the more laws which are made for hogs, the more hogs there will be to usurp the rights of the citizen.

If you want to reform a man, commence back with his grandparents. The rank cowardice among a people who submit to the injustices which are imposed upon the Americans is born of the mental slavery of American mothers. No mother ever gave birth to a brave, manly man while she was in mental bondage. (Applause.)

I look to the women of these times for mental liberty. I am not one who is sorry that I battled for years for their enfranchisement.

I am watching their clubs to-day. I see that they are engaged in the study of sociology, social statics, art, literature, political economy, the home life, the sex question and all that goes to lay the foundation for the production of a grand civilization.

Have we done as much with our palaces of dissipation and vice? When we give as much attention to the breeding of children as we have given to the production of puppies and hogs, we shall come nearer to laying the foundations of a better society. (Applause.)

The vilest courtesan and the most brutal murderer may take a two-dollar bill to any clergyman in the land and become united in what we facetiously style the holy bonds of matrimony. (Applause.)

Then the church stands on one side with a club and says, multiply and replenish the earth with your kind; while the law stands on the other side declaiming "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." (Applause.)

Gentlemen, do we propose going on for centuries to come eating out our substance in building jails and prisons to confine such a progeny? I want to correspond with members of this body during the coming two years and give you my ideas on this question, which I regard as one of more importance than all legislation that the world has had in the last thousand years.

Woman is the mother of the home, the mother of the nation and the race. Her mental freedom, her environment and her motherhood determine the status of the individual.

And so long as the mother's lullaby wafts the prattling babe to the elysian fields of slumber; so long as the sacred kiss of mother brings placid peace to the dimpled cheek of childish innocence; so long as the counsels of mother guide the wayward footstep of the growing child and mould the destinies of the coming man, so long must the name of mother cling like tender tendrils round the human heart and waft the sacred name of woman down o'er the billowy sea of endless time to resplendent glory among the immortals.

Gentlemen, you have my profoundest thanks for your kind attention.

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