

workman is compelled with bared head and bended knee to beg permission to use the tools he himself helped to make.

Today these modern wage slaves are living by permission of an idle owning class—a useless, parasitic class—a class who by virtue of **private ownership** of the stocks and bonds reap all the benefits without themselves turning a hand. They employ foremen, superintendents and managers to do the hustling for them, while they spend their ill gotten gains in riotous living at our swell resorts or hobnobbing with royalty abroad.

I repeat, that a century ago the people did not starve so long as they had free access to the raw material and owned the simple hand tools with which they worked. In that day it could be truthfully said of a pauper that if he continued to remain in poverty it was largely his own fault, (barring sickness and accidents.)

Today conditions have changed, never to return again to the simple hand tools. The present deplorable conditions are growing rapidly worse in trust made soil irrigated by watered stock. Formerly the individual had a chance by hard work he could win the topmost rung of success. Today every person who belongs to the wage earning class is absolutely dependent upon his employer for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. At best he can know but little of life, less of liberty and the pursuit of happiness is a huge joke.

The average wage worker looks into a future black as Egyptian darkness. In the skies of present conditions there shines for him no star of hope. He looks forward to the time when he becomes too old to work, then he will be cast aside for a younger man, thrown upon his family or carted away to the poorhouse and a pauper's grave. His children, God pity them. They will follow in the same footsteps and end up in the same sad way.

Today we have ten million people living on the borderland of starvation. We also have fifty million more who are not starving, they are not actually suffering, but God knows they are never so far ahead but what they can hear at their heels the haying bloodhounds of want. Candidly, isn't there something wrong with a system that breeds such conditions.

Socialists contend that since production has changed from simple hand tools to the huge factory system, a correspondingly great change must be made in the ownership of these factories. The change must be from **private ownership** to public ownership—collective ownership—which is Socialism.

Since to the owners always flow the profits, how other than by becoming themselves the owners can the workers get all they produce? When the workers finally succeed in owning these modern means of production and distribution, the centuries old struggle between master and slave—lord and serf—capitalist and wage workers, will have been ended because all will have become owners and all will then be workers together, each according to his "deeds."

OLD AND NEW SYSTEMS.

Under our present system of conducting business, known as Capitalism, the raw material, coal, iron, timber, etc., as well as the shops, mills and factories are **privately** owned by a few wealthy firms, corporations and trusts.

Because of this **private ownership** of the raw materials and the factories, society is divided into owners, hirelings and paupers. A hireling is anyone who works for wages. A pauper is a **hireling unhired**. The capitalists permit the workers to take the raw material and pass it through the factories, thus converting it into useful commodities on the following conditions only: All commodities after being made by the laborers shall be left in the shops and warerooms of the capitalists—the workers accepting a wage in lieu of the goods themselves. The manufacturer then sells these commodities to a jobber, who again sells them to a wholesaler, who in turn sells them to the retailer, who then employs agents, solicitors and canvassers and sells them back again to the dear people—to these same wage slaves who produced them in the first place. Naturally the **jobber**, the **wholesaler** and the **retailer** each have heavy rent, interest, office help and advertising to pay. Therefore by the time the wage earners, and they constitute 90 per cent of our people, get the goods back again, they receive only a fraction of what they produce. According to census bulletin 150 they get for their share only one-sixth of all they produce because they received in wages only one-sixth or 17 per cent of all they produce. Bulletin 150 shows that the average skilled mechanic produces goods valued at \$2,471 and is paid in wages but \$437, therefore if the wage earner spent every cent of his wages he could buy back only about one-sixth of all he produced. The rest goes for raw material, wear and tear of machinery and to the wholesaler, jobber, and retailer, banks, trusts, railroad magnates, stock gamblers, idlers and other parasites. This system—**capitalism**—has made the few millionaires and billionaires—the

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many cringing hirelings and paupers. It has reduced 82 per cent of our people to renters. It has filled our asylums and crowded our poorhouses to suffocation. It forces poor girls into red light districts there to exchange their virtue for a crust of bread. It forces women and children to enter the mills and mines, here to compete with men for a mere existence. Yes Capitalism is the cause of it all. The saddest reflection is that it is growing rapidly worse.

These conditions have become so terrible that the victims of this capitalistic system—the wage workers—are thoroughly aroused. These wage workers find that it is useless to continue the present capitalist system which is the cause of our economic ills. They believe that since an unseen Hand has provided raw material in abundance and that labor not only **built**, but also **operates** the mills, factories as well as all the means of production and distribution that labor should receive all it produces. Labor has decided to no longer permit plutocrats and trust magnates to ride on their backs. Labor has discovered that it is foolish to blame individuals for all this misery. They have discovered the **cause** and they have decided to remove the **cause**—the system itself. Labor has decided to abolish **Private Ownership** and to establish **Public Ownership**—which is co-operation which is **Socialism**.

Labor has thus demonstrated that it is developing common sense. To the extent that labor is developing common sense, the plutocrats are developing stage fright and show signs of hysteria. Labor has grown tired of electing members of the **Capitalist Class** to represent the **Laboring Class** in halls of legislation and then on bended knees begging for favorable legislation. It has decided to hereafter send only members of the **working class** to the halls of legislation and then it can speak for itself from the halls and not from the lobby. Labor recognizes that the **Capitalists** are "**Class Conscious**" and have accordingly sent only members of their own class to represent them. Labor has, at last, discovered why the capitalists got all the laws they wanted while labor got laws it did not want.

Labor has finally decided to enter the **political field**. It has organized a political party of, by and for the working class. Its slogan is, "We want the Earth for all the people and not a part of the people. Labor, through the Socialist Party declares that, "**What the people use in common they should own in common, and the people use privately they should own privately**. Everything else to remain private

property. In addition to entering the political field, labor has decided to adopt **Industrial Unionism**.

Labor recognizes that all craft unions must be welded into one great all-embracing union. Then labor will be heard, because it can then stop every wheel in the nation, and compel the people to listen to its just demands.

With the **Socialist Party**, the right arm of the labor movement in the halls of legislation, and the **Industrial Unionists**, the left arm of the labor movement in possession of all industries, labor will be supreme. From that day every law enacted by the political representatives of labor, the Socialists, will be promptly enforced by these same industrial workers. From that very day court decisions will be favorable to labor, because as Dooley says, "Court decisions follow the election returns."

Labor will then conduct the factories for the benefit of the workers and not the idlers as now. Commodities will be manufactured for use and not for profit. Manufacturing under Socialism would be conducted on the most scientific and up-to-date plans through the co-operation of all the workers much as our best factories are now being conducted with this difference:

As stated before under our present system all goods made by the workers still belong to the factory owner and the workers are paid a wage. This wage being only one-sixth of the value of the laborer's product, he can buy back but one-sixth. Then a so-called overproduction follows and a panic results.

This panic is not caused by over production, but by **under consumption**.

Under Socialism as commodities were manufactured they would still belong to those who manufactured them and each worker would be issued a labor time-check in payment. Thus if the workman produced net, eight yards of carpet in eight hours, the time keeper issues this particular worker an eight-hour labor time check. If another worker produces eight pails, net, in eight hours, an eight hour time-check is issued to him also, likewise all those who labored would receive labor time-checks exactly equivalent to the net value of what they produced, be it one or many hours.

This labor time-check could be issued in the form of a meal ticket, mileage book or it could be stamped on gold, silver, tissue paper or pigs ears. No matter what its form, it would be a receipt in full for services rendered and with it the laborer could buy back all he produced, no more —no less. If he worked long hours, he gets long time

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checks. If he worked short hours, he gets short time checks. If he work no hours, he gets nothing and can take it home with him in chunks or on the installment plan. Under the present system if too much is produced factories close and a panic follows. Under Socialism if too much is produced, factories close down and a picnic follows. Which do you prefer? Take your choice.

Since there are and can be but two systems of handling capital—Private Ownership, and Public Ownership, it follows that a vote for the Republican, Democratic or Independent parties is a vote to continue the present system. The Socialist party is the only party that even so much as pretends to change the system. The thing for you to do is to first determine to which class YOU belong. If you make your living through rent, interest or profit, you belong to the Capitalist class and should vote the old party ticket, or its equivalent, some one of the many brands of independent or insurgent fakes to be had for the asking. If you work for wages, or in any way support yourself by your own mental or physical efforts, promptly join the party of your class, the Socialist Party. Any other program for you would be Jackassical.

COMING AND GOING.

Ellis O. Jones, in Success Magazine.

There was a man in our town
And he was wondrous rash;
He voted for a Republican
And thus lost half his cash.
And when he found what he had done,
As guileless as a calf,
He voted for a Democrat
And lost the other half.

Take no thought for your bodies saith the capitalist, for I have a lien on them; nor for your souls, because "God knows" what will become of them; hut slave for me and verily you shall have a friend who will take all the profits of your labor and give you a good time hustling to keep out of the poor-house.

Higher wages, shorter hours, better shop conditions, superior culture, cheaper commodities, lower rents—these are some of the things that Socialists all over the world are fighting for.

TRUSTS AND TRUST BUSTING.

For years leading politicians of both parties denied that trusts could ever form a monopoly, denied that competition is dying, denied that private ownership concentrates wealth. The spellbinders of the old political parties declared it impossible in this country for any man, or set of men, to successfully gain a monopoly in any industry.

Later, when "Teddy, the Terrible," was running for president, both Democrats and Republicans admitted that monopolizing trusts stood tiptoe on the wings of morn.

Now, President Taft in a speech before the Boston Merchants' association says: "If the abuses of monopoly (trusts) and discrimination cannot be restrained; if the concentration of the power made possible by such abuses continues and increases and it is made manifest that under the system of individualism and private ownership of property the tyranny and oppression of an oligarchy of wealth cannot be avoided, then socialism will triumph and the institution of private property will perish."

Yes, President Taft was frank enough to make this admission.

It is indeed gratifying to Socialists to have so prominent a character as President Taft make this confession.

Teddy and the Republicans as well as the Democrats wanted to bust the trusts.

For eight long years, the big hunter, Teddy, the lion slayer, the wielder of the big stick and of the short and ugly word, the man who went to Africa to slay the monkeys, that is, to kill his betters, was in the saddle at the White House. He had the assistance and backing of a Republican congress, a Republican senate, a Republican Supreme Court, the army, the navy, the press, and above all the hearty good will of 90 per cent of all the people. And what did he accomplish during all that time?

Has a single real trust been forced to dissolve? Has competition been re-introduced in a single instance? Have the prices of commodities been brought down? Have the conditions of the workers been improved? **NOT SO YOU COULD NOTICE IT.**

Even where some seeming court victory was won there resulted no more permanent loosening of the grip of the capitalists on the people than the killing of an occasional Russian official in establishing a republic in Russia.

Yes, for nearly EIGHT YEARS this colossal fake trust buster with the aid of the trust owned newspapers has been fooling the people. During all these years almost daily

these same trusts stick in hand.

Teddy during his appreciation of Just before each stage a fresh \$29,240,000 or Judges nolly t

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To insure Teddy appoint his successor

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these same trust papers were cartooning Teddy with a big stick in hand everlastingly smashing some giant trust.

Teddy during all this time was busy acknowledging his appreciation of the hearty handclapping of a grateful people. Just before each election Teddy would drag on the political stage a fresh bunch of trust magnates, fine them another \$29,240,000 only to have one of his own appointed Federal Judges nolly the fine after election.

And you, "dear people," looked on and applauded until your hands were sore and your face red. Oh, you Jaspers.

As his last official act and as if to emphasize his far-sical trust busting administration, Roosevelt suspends the Anti-Trust Law long enough to permit the steel trust to gobble up its remaining big competitor, the Tennessee Iron & Coal Co.

Teddy saw to it, in one case at least, that the Anti-Trust law was put into effect. A band of working men (hat workers) in Danbury, Conn., struck in an attempt to obtain bigger wages, that they might provide better homes for their families, better clothes, food, education, etc. Teddy declared these hat workers to be deep-dyed criminals. He had their union dissolved. They were fined over \$2,000,000. This is more than the entire union possessed. Their little homes, their bank savings for years, the burial money, the few dollars laid aside for the marriage of daughter, the education of a son, all these are being taken from the union hatters by order of Teddy, Taft and Co.'s Courts.

Thus the Sherman Anti-Trust Law passed to STOP THE TRUSTS has been used by the fakirs to SMASH THE UNIONS.

To insure a continuance of "my policies" the trusts had Teddy appoint "fat Bill Taft" he of the "judicial mind" as his successor.

Now Taft comes out flat footed and admits that the trusts are here, that they can't be busted but declares that he can "regulate" them. As a means to this end, he promised to revise the tariff "downward." The tariff was revised, but "upward." Every democratic congressman in the entire United States helped the Republicans to boost the tariff "up." In every instance where any industry wanted protection that industry got democratic support if that industry happened to be in a democratic congressional district. Thus the trusts got all they asked for. And why shouldn't they? They name the candidates of both parties, pay their campaign expenses and are justly entitled to such legislation as will benefit the trusts. When you voting mules get mule

sense you will name and elect mules of your own class, the working class, to the halls of legislation. Then you will get mule justice. Until then you will get jackass justice.

Every attempt to "regulate or bust the trusts during the past twenty years has been a dismal failure.

Beef trust regulation a failure, railroad rate regulation a failure, and President Taft in the midst of this ocean of failure, calling for more regulation. What fools he must think you voters are.

Can't you working men see that the trusts have flourished and grown stronger in spite of trust "busting" regulation and tariff revision?

If you still believe that something has been accomplished, read the following form the News-Bee, Toledo, O.:

"WHEN '23' FOR BEEF TRUST?"

The fight against the beef trust has been in progress eight years. In that time people have secured certain indictments and the beef trust has won one big victory in open court. In these eight years the average price of meat has steadily advanced; the dividends of the packing companies have been declared with surprising regularity, and surpluses have steadily grown. Last year when forced to declare, the Armour company reluctantly confessed that its net profits for the year, dividends and surplus, aggregated about 35 per cent on its capitalization.

Other packing concerns have been equally prosperous. And now prices of meat run from 30 to 50 per cent higher than those of eight years ago. Which goes to show how a well organized trust may thrive like a green bay tree under the stimulus of a little judiciously applied prosecution.

This is a showing that is calculated to give us a pause when we feel inclined to wax enthusiastic over the indictment of this or that beef baron. Nobody has been convicted. Nobody has been fined. Nobody has gone to jail. Nobody seems to have lost even social standing because of public indictment for law-breaking. And the price of food is higher than ever before.

"Clearly the so-called 'victories' the people have won in the beef trust cases have been anything but victories. The beef trust has really won all the battles thus far in the eight years' war. What's the answer?"

SOCIALISM.

It is time for the working people to realize the fact that the day of competition among the capitalists is forever past; that not the most powerful organization of labor can cope with the trusts; that the great corporations are in the saddle and ready to use the spur and lash; half-way measures will do no good; that trustification has reached the point where there remains but one thing for the workers to do—either they must submit to the despotic rule of the trusts on the economic field, or they must themselves act on the political field, on the lines indicated by the Socialist

platform, and ership for H capitalism ha ful owners, th

As fully ing the trusts ticle by Alexa (Alexande 1847. Graduat Canada in 187 versity; inven duction balanc regent Smiths government; n foreign and A educational w ton, D. C.)

Alexande World's Worl

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platform, and declare for public ownership and public ownership for HUMANITY'S good. These great industries which capitalism has centralized must be restored to their rightful owners, the people.

As fully substantiating the Socialist position regarding the trusts, I quote the following extremely important article by Alexander Graham Bell:

(Alexander Graham Bell was born in Edinburg, Scotland, 1847. Graduate of Edinburg and London universities; came to Canada in 1870; became professor of physiology of Boston university; invented telephone, photophone, graphophone and induction balance; later president of National Geography society; regent Smithsonian institute; awarded volta prize by French government; member of National Academy of Science and many foreign and American societies; has written many scientific and educational works. Address, 1331 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.)

Alexander Graham Bell in a recent number of the World's Work says:

We have arrived at the critical point in our history. Competition as an element in business is going out and monopolies, which are opposed to competition, are coming in. Individual producers no longer count. The nineteenth century saw them largely replaced by associations of individuals known as "corporations" or "companies," which did business upon such a scale that individual producers were unable to compete. In process of time, the large fish ate the smaller; until now, in the twentieth century, we find the companies themselves being gobbled up by still larger aggregations of capital and labor in the form of "trusts," or "combines," which threaten to monopolize the sources of our wealth, and to extinguish competition altogether.

It is noteworthy that, so far as the producers are concerned, combination means peace; competition means warfare. Competition means a mob without organization and weak for effective work; combination, an organized force, powerful and efficient. The evil arises when the public is forced to pay higher prices, in spite of the fact that the cost of production and distribution has been reduced. The combination in itself is a good thing, even though it tends to destroy competition and created a monopoly, because it has reduced the cost of production and distribution. It only becomes hurtful when it becomes a monopoly and raises the price to the public. It is potentially hurtful if it has the power to raise prices even though it does not actually do so. The hurtful thing is not the combination itself, but its abuse of power to control the price paid by the public.

Now, "the destruction of competition by powerful organizations" seems to be inevitable. It is probably the most characteristic feature of the age in which we live; and it seems to represent an advanced position in our civilization reached by a gradual process of evolution with which man cannot cope. From the earliest dawn of the nineteenth century up to the present time there has been a continual advance toward this position in spite of tremendous opposition at every stage. We cannot prevent the destruction of competition by powerful organizations.

The following appears to be the only practical method in

dealing with trusts: (1) Control by suitable legislation, the amount of profit they can legally receive from the public; or (2) buy them out and have the government run their business in the interests of the people so that the profits shall be reduced to the minimum consistent with running expenses. This has been the plan adopted with the postoffice business, and it means Socialism to a greater or less extent. But if we long neglect the opportunity we now have of establishing legislative control over the in-ex-actions, the continued advance in power and influence possessed by these great corporations may ultimately compel the people, in self-defense, to adopt the alternative plan. The immediate problem is the problem of control. Destruction is out of the question.

Bell's favorite remedy "regulation" having been riddled earlier in this chapter, it only remains for the workers, thinking and acting together, to catch up with the march of events, to understand the object lessons which the capitalists put before them viz: to use their political and economic power to transform the great industrial plants from agencies of private exploitation and oppression into agencies for reducing the burden of labor and improving the living of the whole people, while giving them back the individual liberty of which capitalism has long since robbed them. In short, let the people own the trusts.

The democracy that Jefferson and Jackson knew is dead, beyond the power of a Bryan, a Harmon, a Wilson, a Hurst, a Johnson, a Whitlock or any other political doctor to resurrect. The Empire of the trusts has come. Shall it be permitted to endure, or shall we go on to the Socialist republic? That is the question workers have to answer. The answer to all other questions depends upon how this question is answered.

It is now over sixty years since the Socialists foretold the coming of the trusts. They pointed out that competition was self destructive and must of necessity end in monopoly. It was Karl Marx who sixty years ago predicted this coming of the trusts.

That prediction was made in the golden age of competition. It was then declared that competition was "the life of trade." The people of that day scoffed at the idea of trusts and monopoly. Yet the Socialists prophesied and even described some of the detailed workings of the trusts sixty years in advance of its full development.

The Socialists were enabled to do this through their knowledge of economic laws, much as the astronomers located the planet Neptune by mathematical calculations before any telescope had sought it out. The trusts came into existence with the same certainty that Neptune swung into place in the heavens that the mathematicians had calculated

that it would appear. What would you think of those astronomers had they enacted laws prohibiting Neptune from swinging into place? What shall we Socialists think of you political numskulls when you try to destroy the trusts which is equally as contrary to the laws of evolution in economics? Didn't your old party fossils first deny the very possibility of there ever being any trust? Then didn't you deny their existence long after they were here? Then didn't you declare them illegal? Then didn't you in turn try to bust them, to regulate them? Didn't you do everything but the right thing—own them?

For good or ill, the trust has come to stay and it surrounds us from the cradle to the grave. The trust attends the bed of child birth, the cradle, the school, the workshop and the tomb.

Like the giant octopus, the trust, reaches out and gathers to itself all the resources of life. Like the fabled monsters of antiquity, its maws are insatiable. It crushes out every vestige of the worker's individuality, dehumanizes him and makes him merely a component of a machine. It reaches out to the government and controls its functions, holding legislatures and judges for puppets. The trust question has become the world's most striking economic issue.

Everywhere men are asking: How shall we be freed from the grip of this monster?" And there is no scientific satisfying answer, save that of the Socialists. The Socialists declare that the "trusts will own the nation 'til the nation owns the trusts." The Socialists are fully aware that the modern trust magnate does absolutely nothing toward conducting the trusts. He is simply an idle holder of stocks and bonds. Socialists recognize that the worker is perfectly capable of hanging onto the stocks and bonds that represent ownership of the great industries. If the laborers should find it inconvenient to do so they can hire a bright twelve-year-old kid, or a half crazy degenerate, such as own many of these securities now, to hold the stocks for them and pay them errand boy wages instead of millions of dollars in dividends and interest.

In that day workers will not worry how to distribute the wealth they produce. Perhaps they will be foolish enough to give 83 per cent to a lot of degenerates as they do now and perhaps they won't.

Socialists recognize that the present owners of the trusts are no more necessary to the production of goods than

the potato bug to the growth of potatoes or a cabbage worm to the production of sauerkraut.

Socialists recognize that the trusts economize production, remove the curse of competition and use machinery and methods that enable each man to produce from ten to a thousand times as much as he could under competition and hand production. Therefore the Socialists say that the trust is not, in itself, a bad thing but that it represents perverted good. The Socialist sees that it is only necessary to make the trust the common property of all. Therefore he shouts: "Let the nation own the trusts."

THE MODERN BANDIT.

The modern criminal wears immaculate linen, carries a silk hat and a lighted cigar, and sins with a calm countenance and serene soul, leagues or months from the evil he causes. Upon his gentlemanly presence the eventual blood and tears do not obtrude themselves. Briber and boodler and grafter are often "god men," judged by the old standards. Among the chiefest sinners are now enrolled men who are pure and kind-hearted, loving to their families, faithful to their friends and generous to the needy.

How decent are the pale slayings of the quack, the adulterator and the purveyor of polluted waters compared with the red slayings of the bandit or assassin. What an abyss between the knife play of the hawler and the law-defying neglect to fence dangerous machinery in a mill, or to furnish cars with safety couplers. The providing of unsuspecting passengers with "cork" life preservers secretly loaded with bars of iron, to make up with their deficiency in weight of cork, is only spiritually akin to the treachery of Joab. The current methods of annexing the property of others are characterized by an indirectness and refinement very grateful to the natural feelings.—Prof. Ross, Nebraska University, in an address at Chicago University.

MACAULAY'S PROPHECY.

Your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by the barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth, with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country and by your own institutions.

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IN THE TOILS OF CAPITALISM.

THE DICK MILITARY LAW.

This "war measure" was introduced in the house of representatives on June 30th, 1902, by Representative Dick (now United States Senator) of Ohio, a former general in the Union army. This bill is known as house bill No. 11654, and was rushed through, over the heads of a small opposition, by 180 ayes against 28 nays. No personal roll call was taken. It was rushed through in less than one hour. The bill was approved by the President on Jan. 21st, 1903.

Public—No. 33—An act to provide for the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes.

Sec. 1. "Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That the militia shall consist of every able bodied male citizen of the respective states, territories, and the District of Columbia, and every able bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, who is more than 18 and less than 45 years of age," etc., etc.

The exact wording of section 4 follows: "That whenever the United States is invaded, or in danger of invasion, or of rebellion against the authority of the United States or the president is unable, with other forces at his command, to execute the laws of the union in any part thereof, it shall be lawful for the president to call forth, for a period not exceeding nine months, such number of the militia, every man between 18 and 45 years of age in the United States, of the state, or of the states and territories, or of the District of Columbia, as he may deem necessary, to repeal such invasion, suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, and to issue his orders for that purpose to such officers of the militia as he may think proper."

Sec. 8. "That courts-martial for the trial of officers or men of the militia, when in the service of the United States, shall be composed of militia officers only."

By the express terms of this military law THE PRESIDENT MAY AT ANY TIME CALL OUT EVERY ABLE BODIED MAN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 45 YEARS OFFICER THEM WITH HIRELINGS OF HIS OWN CHOOSING, AND SEND THEM ON THEIR DEATH DEALING MISSION OF KILLING PEOPLE. This makes the president of this republic an absolute military dictator. The ruler of no other nation on earth is given such absolute power.

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law. No other nation would for a minute TOLERATE such a law. The capitalist hireling lawmakers in Washington knew that the American people would not permit the passage of such a law IF THEY KNEW IT. This law was passed through deceit and treachery. It was absolutely denied for years until that great Socialist paper, The Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kan., called public attention to it. Even now, after ten years, the average person who for the first time hears of this outrageous law is skeptical. Not a single paper (with the exception noted above) in the entire United States printed a single word,—not even a hint. Millions of dollars were doled out to the papers to keep mum.

By the terms of Sec. 8, any man who refuses to join the militia can be SHOT LIKE A DOG, by order of the courts-martial. From their decision there is absolutely no appeal—none whatever.

This entire law is contrary to the constitution of the United States. But what is the constitution of the plutocrats? Let a few of the trust hireling jumping-jacks make reply, "TO HELL WITH THE CONSTITUTION," Mayor McClelland commanding the state militia in Colorado during the strike of 1904. "HABEUS CORPUS AND CONSTITUTION BE DAMNED! WE'LL GIVE THEM POST MORTEMES INSTEAD."—Adjutant General Sherman Bell, during the same Colorado strike.

In his message to congress in 1861, Lincoln wrote: "Monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people—I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, when surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement to such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost." No need to worry about Lincoln's warning, for the military law is already a fact. This infamous Dick Military Law is here because you members of the working class elected representatives of the capitalists class to make laws. These law makers being "class conscious" promptly enacted laws for the protection of their boss—the capitalist class and against the working class—your class. And you have been jackasses enough not to see it. Later on you will be made to FEEL what you could not SEE—made to feel the hot lead and cold steel.

And why do the capitalists of all nations desire such strong military forces? Let a distinguished capitalist reply. "When our factories grow bigger than the United States, then there will be war, the bloodiest war in the history of

mankind. —The time is coming when our manufactories will outgrow the country, and men by the hundreds of thousands will be turned out of the factories. —The factories are multiplying faster than our trade, and we will shortly have a surplus, with no one abroad to buy, and no one at home to absorb, BECAUSE THE LABORER HAS NOT BEEN PAID ENOUGH IN WAGES TO BUY BACK WHAT HE CREATED. —What will happen then? Why, these men will be turned out of the factories. Thousands of them,—hundreds of thousands. They will find themselves without food. Then will come the great danger to the country. For these men will be hard to deal with. The last century was the worst in the world's history for wars. I look to see this country bring out the greatest conflict ever waged in the world. It will be a war for markets, and all the nations of the world will be in the fight as they are all after the same markets for the surplus of their factories."

The above was uttered by Ex-Governor Leslie M. Shaw, former United States Treasurer under Theodore Roosevelt, during a speech delivered at Chicago University, March 1st, 1907.

Could the cause of war and the necessity for the Dick Military Bill be stated any plainer? Note that Sec'y. Shaw admits you fellows will be **"a hard bunch to deal with"** when you are out of work and starving. Then the president can make use of the Dick Law passed by congressmen you helped to elect. The president can send you out to fight for markets to dispose of goods the capitalists robbed you of. Won't that be fine business—help the thief dispose of his plunder? Failing to find foreign markets the president can use you at home to shoot into silence your starving unemployed brothers. Yes, with this Dick Military Law they can force you to kill each other and if you refuse their own courts-martial will pump lead through you until you resemble a sieve.

It has become so difficult for Uncle Sam to get volunteers for the army that he has resorted to all manner of advertising. Huge posters are placed on the bill boards picturing all the beauties (?) of war. Every postoffice is plastered with war scenes designed to ensnare the youth into joining the regular army. Recruiting stations are maintained everywhere, even in public parks where the discouraged unemployed and starving gather by the thousands. The inducement is held out to these unfortunate ones that **"regular employment at light work with plenty of food"** will be their lot in the army. So difficult has it become to

get recruits organized. So foreign must be enough school days that they must have human slavery.

Let actually see Mr. Richard

Toward nearly 15,000 fence) . . . gone. Up the surge, wave rock-bound as flies are the tenth time savage . . . shout, expiring cast-off skin fathers beyond ones left five seven times page of the tal ship left

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get recruits for the army that even the little school kids are organized into fighting "scouts" and given target practice. So foreign to human nature is modern war, that our youth must be encouraged and educated to kill during their primer school days. School children are specially trained in order that they may more fully appreciate the BEAUTIES? of war, human slaughter, wholesale murder.

— Let us turn for a moment to the realities of war as actually seen and describe by a noted war correspondent, Mr. Richard Barry, in his book, "A Monster Heroism:"

Toward three o'clock a second advance is ordered . . . nearly 15,000 men close in . . . now they are through (the wire fence) . . . half naked, savage, yelling, even Japanese stoicism gone. Up to the very muzzles of the first entrenchments they surge, waver and break like the dash of angry waves against a rock-bound coast . . . Officers are picked off by sharp-shooters, as flies are flected from a molasses jug . . . So up they go, for the tenth time . . . Spottsylvania Court House was no more savage . . . Thus hand to hand they grapple, sweat, bleed, shout, expire. The veneer of culture sloughed as a snake his cast-off skin; they spit and chew, claw and grip as their forefathers beyond the memory of man . . . The cost! The fleeing ones left five hundred corpses in four trenches. The others paid seven times that price—killed and wounded—to turn across the page of the world's warfare that word Nanshan . . . A hospital ship left every day for Japan carrying from 200 to 1,000 . . . I lay in the broiling sun watching the soldiers huddle against the barbed-wire, under the machine guns . . . only to melt away like chaff before a wind . . . The "pioneers" met with the death-sprinkle of the Maxim (guns) . . . a machine rattled and the shale beyond spattered. I was carried back (in memory) to a boiler factory and an automatic riveter. Of all war sounds that of the machine gun is least poetic, is most dead . . . The regiment under fire of the machine guns retreated precipitately, leaving one-half its number on the slope . . . Overwhelmed on all sides, tricked, defeated, two-thirds of its men killed or wounded . . . for out of that (another) brigade of 6,000 men there are . . . uninjured but 640 . . . Moreover in throwing up their trenches . . . corpses had to be used to improvise the walls . . . The dead were being used to more quickly fill the embankments . . . Soon dawn came and with it hell. The battle was on again. Within his sight were more than a hundred dead and twice as many wounded. Groans welled up like bubbles from a pot. Arms tossed feverishly. Backs writhed in despair . . . Almost crazed by thirst and hunger, he (a wounded soldier unattended for days on the battlefield) at length severed the arteries of one of his comrades newly dead, and lived on (that is, sucked blood from a comrade's corpse?) He found worms crawling in the wounds of his legs. He tore up the shirt of a corpse and bound them . . . How like a living thing a shell snarls—as some wild beast, in ferocious glee thrusting its cruel fangs in earth and rock, rending livid flesh with its claws, and its fetid breath of poison powder scorching in the autumn winds . . . All the way up the base of the hill . . . they were almost unmolested . . . This made them confident. But the Russian . . . had ordered his men to reserve their fire till we got within close range, and

then to give it to us with machine guns . . . The aim was so sure and firing so heavy that nearly two-thirds of the command was mowed down at once . . . Then came the thud of bullet. It was a different thud from any we had heard up to that time, and though I had never before heard bullet strike flesh, I could not mistake the sound. It goes into the earth wholesome and angry, into flesh ripping and sick with a splash like hoof-beat of mud in the face . . . The parapets of four forts were alive with bursting shrapnel. A hundred a minute were exploding on each (at fifteen gold dollars apiece). The air above them was black with glycerine gases of the motor shells, and the wind blowing . . . held huge quantities of dust . . . "No, the truth about war cannot be told. It is too horrible. The public will not listen. A white bandage about the forehead with a strawberry mark in the center—is the picture they want of the wounded. They won't let you tell them the truth and show bowels ripped out, brains spilled, eyes gouged away, faces blanched with horror . . . Archibald Forbes predicted twenty years ago that the time would come when armies would no longer be able to take their wounded from the field of battle. That day has come. We are living in it. Wounded have existed—how, God knows—on that field out there without help for twelve days, while shells and bullets rained about them, and if a comrade had dared to come to their assistance, his would have been a useless suicide. The searchlight, enginry of scientific trenches, machine-guns, rifles point blank at 200 yards with a range of over 2,000 . . . these things have helped to make war more terrible than ever before in history. Red Cross societies and scientific text-books—they sell well and look pretty, but as for 'humane warfare'—was there ever put into words a mightier sarcasm!"

Richard Barry's description of what he actually saw, and the government's hill-board pictures form quite a contrast. Nor is this all of the horrors enumerated in war.

From the report of the Department of War, 1908, p. 21, we learn that a whole car-load of insane soldiers were shipped through Pittsburg—home from the Philippines, Dec. 11, 1909. Also on pp. 17, 18 and 21 of same report for the year 1907, '08, '09 we learn that **twenty-six times** as many enlisted men committed suicide in 1908 as in 1907; and thirty-nine times as many of them committed suicide in 1909 as in 1907. Oh! Glorious War; 275 officers and 1,349 men were treated in a single hospital for insanity says Doctor Autokratow.

ARMY DISEASES.

President Taft, while Sec'y. of War, said: "Venereal diseases were again by far the most important diseases of men in the army—enough men to fill eleven full companies of infantry."

Another Secretary of War, J. M. Dickinson, in his official report said: "Venereal disease cause a greater sick rate than all others added together."

One of the best known writers in the world, Wm. T.

Stead says: "Four out of every five of all English soldiers who serve two years or more are tainted with venereal diseases."

If our plutocratic government would put only one-tenth part of the real facts on its bill-boards, how many suckers would they get to join the army and navy?

Think, oh you mothers of this nation, sending your curly headed, dimple cheeked sons to war, as soon as they reach manhood. Offering them as targets to further capitalistic greed or to become tainted with unmentionable and incurable sexual diseases.

Think also that during the civil war (and all wars) preachers in both armies were paid four dollars a day for standing behind trees and stone walls and asking God to help the soldiers kill each other, while the soldiers received fifty cents a day for doing the slaughtering. Such of the soldiers who lived to come home have had a chance to see what a hell of a mess the preachers and God got them into, but as most of them are still voting the old party tickets their war experience has not opened their eyes.

The national government last year paid \$540,000,000 for war purposes. It also paid \$11,000,000 for education. This means that this Christian nation paid \$11,000,000 to shoot brains into the people and \$540,000,000 to shoot brains (and stuffing) out of them.

Did you fighting, warring men ever stop to think that even the wolves of the forest know enough to get together in huge packs and fight their common enemy? Even the bees know enough to get together and build a hive wherein is stored up honey for the winter. In fact all animals have incarnated in them the spirit of solidarity, the love for the preservation of their species. You workers, alone, the boasted kings of organic life are divided into sets and casts, and religious orders, fighting, denouncing each other, especially your brethern who speak a foreign tongue. When, Oh when, will you workers realize your colossal folly—your real identity of interest? Will the time ever come when you will recognize the fact that to be liberated you must be united in one solid industrial and political band? Such a political band is already organized. It is the Socialist Party on the political field and Union Labor on the industrial field. They are 50,000,000 strong, scattered throughout every civilized country. Join both wings of this great labor movement and wars will be a thing of the past.

I wish to call the reader's attention to one of the most remarkable books of recent years, "War—What For?" writ-

ten and published by my good comrade, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, West La Fayette, Ohio. This book hits the war spirit and the capitalists SYSTEM so hard that I fear the plutes will make a John Brown of him at their first opportune moment. Every person to whom I have loaned a copy has promptly bought the volume.

Follows a few excerpts:

"This book is dedicated to the victims of the Civil War in industry; that is, to my brothers and sisters of the working class, the class who furnish the blood and tears and cripples and corpses in all wars—yet win no victories for their own class."

The following from chapter one:

A CONFIDENTIAL WORD WITH THE MAN OF THE WORKING CLASS.

"Brother!

"Whoever you are, wherever you are on all the earth, I greet you.

"You are a member of the working class.

"I am a member of the working class.

"We are brothers.

"Let us repeat that:—Class Brothers.

"Let us write that on our hearts and stamp it on our brains:—Class Brothers.

"I extend to you my right hand.

"I make you a pledge.

"Here is my pledge to you:—

"I refuse to kill your father. I refuse to slay your mother's son. I refuse to plunge a bayonet into the breast of your sister's brother. I refuse to slaughter your sweetheart's lover. I refuse to murder your wife's husband. I refuse to butcher your little child's father. I refuse to wet the earth with blood and blind kind eyes with tears. I refuse to assassinate you and then hide my stained fists in the folds of any flag.

"I refuse to be flattered into hell's nightmare by a class of well-fed snobs, crooks and cowards who despise our class socially, rob our class economically and betray our class politically.

"Will you thus pledge me and pledge all the members of our working class?

"Sit down a moment, and let us talk over this matter of war. We working people have been tricked—tricked into a sort of huge steel-trap called war."

Following a description of a battlefield, Kirkpatrick

says: "But let this fact burn its way into your brain to save you from hell and rouse you for the revolution—this fact:

"NOWHERE ON ALL THAT BATTLEFIELD AMONG THE SHATTERED RIFLES AND WRECKED CANNON, AMONG THE BROKEN AMBULANCES AND SPLINTERED AMMUNITION WAGONS, NOWHERE IN THE MIRE AND MUSH OF BLOOD AND SAND, NOWHERE AMONG THE BULGING AND BEFOULING CARCASSES OF DEAD HORSES AND THE SMELLING CORPSES OF DEAD MEN AND BOYS—NOWHERE COULD BE FOUND THE TORN, BLOATED AND FLYBLOWN CARCASSES OF BANKERS, BISHOPS, POLITICIANS, 'BRAINY CAPITALISTS' AND OTHER ELEGANT AND EMINENT 'VERY BEST PEOPLE.'"

"Well, hardly.

"Naturally—such people were not there, on the firing line—up where bayonets gleam, sabres flash, flesh is ripped, bones snap, brains are dashed and blood splashes.

"Why not?

Again he says:

"Who want war?—What for?

"Who fight the wars?—What for?

"Get these questions straight in your mind.

"Capitalists—'Captains of Industry'—'Leading Citizens:'

"We want war.

"Statesmen—Plutocrats—'Leading Citizens:'

"We declare war.

"Working class Brothers—off for the front—to kill 'the enemy,' their working class Brothers:

"We fight the wars.

INTERESTING:

"The author of WAR—WHAT FOR? in the summer of 1910, attended a National Peace Conference in New York City. The Conference was attended by some of the most distinguished peace-wishers in the United States, including capitalists, orators and college professors. The author was given the floor to address the convention. Everything went well until the author began to urge that all who want peace should make every possible effort to WARN THE VICTIMS of war, the working class, of what war means to the working class. Instantly there was manifest discomfort all through the audience, and very soon the chairman left his seat, came close to the speaker and urged that the speech be concluded at once. No other speaker was thus interrupted."

Again I urge you to read this great book and pass it along.

GIVE US SOMETHING NOW.

The radical "reformers" are constantly accusing the Socialists of being impractical visionaries. They are in for something now, no matter how slight, no matter what the reaction.

You remember how Chicago was all torn up with the thought of getting municipal ownership now? Mayor Dunne was the particular saviour on that occasion. Great things were to be accomplished now.

Tom Johnson was to give Cleveland 3-cent fares, now—in our day. This was to be followed up by public ownership—Tom was the particular hero of that spectacular struggle which lasted for several years.

In Wisconsin LaFollette was accomplishing something now. Hearst in the various cities in which his chain of newspapers are located, promised through the Hearst Independents to show the dreamy Socialists how to get results now.

In 1892 the Populists stood off by themselves on a "near Socialist" platform demanding some fundamental changes. During the '96 Bryan campaign they shifted to the slogan "something now," and cast their lot with the democrats.

In Toledo, O., "Golden Rule Jones" held the spot light for years on the same plea. His successor, Brand Whitlock, has managed until recently to keep himself before the public on the same old gag, "something now."

Well, what has been accomplished? In Chicago, Mayor Dunne is a memory, and a trust owned street railway is a fact. In Cleveland, Tom Johnson is so discredited that he could not carry his own precinct. Everywhere Hearst is regarded as a political joke. The Populists formed one of the many tails of the democratic kite and even the tail has rotted off. In Toledo not a simon pure, acid tested, Independent Whitlockite was returned to office at the recent election. Not one. All that is left of the whole independent movement in Toledo is the sign tacked up at each street corner, "Don't spit on the sidewalk."

While all these fakirs were doing their stunts on the political stage to the great delight of the "give-us-something now" shouters, the so-called impractical Socialists kept right on sawing wood. They have accomplished more educational work than all other parties combined. They have built up a strong organization with branches in almost every precinct in the country. They are learning how to finance

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their party and how to manage it democratically. They have learned to employ their leaders and not let their leaders employ them. They have learned to do away absolutely with bosses. They have established their own daily and weekly papers and magazines. They are right now conducting the greatest campaign of education in the world's history.

Suddenly, as a result of this never ceasing campaign, of education and organization, the Socialists captured one of our largest cities, Milwaukee, by nearly eight thousand majority. And, as if to emphasize their spring election victory, Milwaukee, sends one Socialist to congress and all but a few votes short on the second. A recount was necessary to determine the victor. San Francisco, Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Columbus each lacked but a few votes of electing the Socialists to office. Nothing on earth can prevent these and other cities from falling into the bands of Socialists at the next election.

At this time the votes have not yet been tabulated, but it is safe to say that the Socialists vote has more than doubled and will reach nearly a million.

In every civilized country on earth the rapid growth of Socialism is giving the idle plutocrats the scare of their lives.

The Socialists are not opposed to getting something now. In fact they are the only people who know how to get something now. They have a full program of the things they want now as the Socialist platform will attest. The Socialists spend most of their time in educating the people to demand the whole baker shop, not crumbs.

Only when the wage slaves demand the earth with a fence around it, will the crumbs begin to fall fast.

In every country a big Socialist vote has scared the plutes into granting many immediate demands. In every instance the number of concessions granted by plutocracy has been in keeping with the size of the Socialist vote.

Moral: If you really want something now vote the Socialist ticket and the capitalists will fall all over themselves to grant you something now.

The workers shed their blood for the rich in time of war and make wealth for them in times of peace.

Tolstoi truly said that "The rich will do anything for the poor except get down off their backs."

FRED WARREN AND THE COURTS.

Fred D. Warren's charge before the United States Court of Appeals at St. Paul, when in pleading his own case he said the Courts had always served the master class, has been proved.

The Court has just decided that Warren must serve six months' in jail and pay a fine of \$1,500.

RULING JUST MADE.

Late yesterday the ruling was made in St. Paul affirming the decision of Federal Judge John C. Pollock, who had imposed the sentence on Warren.

Warren had proclaimed a reward of \$1,000 for the return of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky to his native state on a charge of complicity in murder.

Taylor was then in the state of Indiana and was wanted by the Kentucky authorities on the charge of complicity in the slaying of Governor Goebel of that State.

HISTORY OF CASE.

Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners; William D. Haywood, secretary of the same organization, and George Pettibone, since dead, were kidnaped from Colorado to the State of Idaho.

This kidnaping was legalized by the Supreme Court of the state of Colorado, which was under the control of the smelter trust and its allies.

The issue was then brought before the United States Supreme Court, which decided that the constitutional right of the three men had not been violated.

SHOWS "CLASS INJUSTICE."

Fred Warren, managing editor of the Appeal to Reason, was struck at once with the idea that he could show the class character of such justice.

To this end he caused to be mailed all over the United States envelopes which bore an offer for \$1,000 reward for the return of ex-Governor Taylor to the Kentucky authorities.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were three working-men. It had been held that it was legal to kidnap them.

Warren wanted to show that no such course would be taken toward Taylor, the powerful politician who was charged with complicity in the fatal shooting of a governor.

CASE IS PERFECT.

The Taylor case gave Warren a perfect case for the demonstration of his point.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnapped on the charge of complicity in the killing of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho.

Taylor was charged with complicity in the killing of Governor Goebel of Kentucky.

Here was a chance to show how justice would act in two cases the charges in which were so distinctly alike.

PASSED THE CENSOR.

Warren submitted his mail matter with the offer of the reward for Taylor to the postmaster of this city.

The postmaster could not see that it was illegal to mail it. It was mailed.

Warren was indicted for sending scurrilous and defamatory matters through the mails by a grand jury in Fort Scott, Kan.

After two years he was tried and convicted before Judge John C. Pollock also at Fort Scott.

The sentence imposed was six months in the federal penitentiary and a fine of \$1,500. An appeal was taken from this sentence.

On May 9, 1910, Warren appeared before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and did something unique in American legal procedure.

His attorneys of whom Clarence Darrow of Chicago was one, had advised him to attack the record of the cases tried before Judge Pollock, relying on the technicalities of the law to save Warren from jail.

PLEADED OWN CASE.

Warren took up the matter with the readers of the Appeal to Reason on their advice and following his own conviction, threw technicalities aside and pleaded his own case.

The speech which he made before the Court has been pronounced a masterpiece by Eugene V. Debs and others.

WARREN NOT IDLE.

Between the time he was convicted at Fort Scott and the time his case was decided at St. Paul, Warren was not idle.

Under his guidance the Appeal to Reason searched out and made public the disgraceful public records of certain men on the federal bench.

One of those to be so treated was John C. Pollock, who was denounced as "whiskey-soaked" and a man concerning whom Roosevelt said: "My God, can it be that there is such a man on the federal bench."

WARREN'S FORT SCOTT SPEECH.

I wish to call the attention of the court to the fact that this case is the outgrowth of the kidnaping of three workingmen by the agents of the great mining corporations, with the connivance of the State officials of Idaho and Colorado. The kidnaping of these workingmen was acquiesced in by the president and sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In referring to the manner in which these workingmen were taken from their homes as kidnaping I wish it understood that no less distinguished a personage than Justice McKenna of the Supreme Court of the United States used this term in dissenting from the opinion of his associates. Justice McKenna, after reviewing the facts laid before the Supreme Court of the United States, said:

"In the case at bar the States, through their officers, are the offenders. They by an illegal exertion of power deprived the accused of a constitutional right. * * * Kidnapping is a crime, pure and simple. All the officers of the law are supposed to be on guard against this. * * * But how is it when the law becomes the kidnaper—when the officers of the law, using the forms and exerting its power, become abductors? This is not a distinction without a difference, another form of the crime of kidnaping, distinguished only from that committed by an individual by circumstances. If a state may say to one within her borders and upon whom her process is served, 'I will not inquire how you came here; I must execute my laws and remit you to proceedings against those who have wronged you,' may she so plead against her offenses? May she claim that by mere physical presence within her borders an accused person is within her jurisdiction denuded of his constitutional right, though he has been brought there by her violence? And constitutional rights the accused (the three workingmen I have alluded to) in this case certainly did have, and valuable ones."

Justice McKenna voiced my views and the views of every law-abiding citizen on this important matter touching the rights of the individual. But the Supreme Court declared otherwise and refused to grant the relief asked by these workingmen and guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States and by every consideration of fair play and justice.

It was during the heat of this struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the wealthy Mine Owners' Association of the west that I conceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home

state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, protected from the service of requisition by the Governor of Indiana, whose position was indorsed by Governor Roosevelt of New York and every prominent Republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

Would the Supreme Court hold to its opinion that kidnaping was not a crime if the victim was a member of the Republican party and a representative of the capitalist class? I did not believe that the \$1,000 offered by the Appeal to Reason would induce any man to undertake the abduction of Mr. Taylor, as for seven years the State of Kentucky had a standing reward of \$100,000 for the capture of the murderers of Governor Goebel, for which crime Taylor had been indicted by the Franklin County grand jury in January, 1900.

But I did expect that the offer of this reward in the manner and with the language used would attract public attention to the kidnaping decision of the Supreme Court. I felt that if this decision, sanctioning the kidnaping of poor and defenseless workingmen by rich and powerful capitalists was understood by the American people a wave of protest would sweep the country and force the Supreme Court to recede from its position, as had been done before, notably in the famous Dred Scott decision, and will undoubtedly be done again.

My arrest and conviction is the first instance on record where a man was prosecuted for attempting to bring to the bar of justice an indicted fugitive charged with the crime of murder.

Our colonist forefathers, imbued with the high ideas embodied in their immortal Declaration, shouldered their guns and shot to death the divine right of kings, and then the cunning enemies of democracy raised in its stead the Supreme Court, with its many federal arms reaching out into all the states of the Union. * * * * *

The Supreme Court has become in fact the reigning monarch of the American people. No measure of relief demanded by the voters of this nation enacted into law by their elected representatives and signed by the president may become operative without its judicial sanction. At the command of the lords of privilege any obnoxious law is promptly declared unconstitutional. * * * * *

The Supreme Court of the United States has today more real power over the people than is vested in any monarch of the old world.

In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords,

in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners, and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters. * * *

Whoever protests for the sake of justice or in the name of the future is an enemy of society and is persecuted or put to death.

Personally, it is a matter of no consequence to me what this court may decide in this case. If this court concludes to sanction the scandalous methods employed to secure my conviction and the outrageous sentence imposed upon me for the commission for what Judge Pollock termed "a mere misdemeanor," I shall consider it the proudest day of my life when I enter the jail at Fort Scott, imprisoned because of my defense of the poor and oppressed. You will by that act increase my power a thousandfold and carry my message to the toiling millions from sea to sea. Gladly will I make this small sacrifice in a cause to which I would willingly give my life.

This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of Mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown, but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenthralled, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

THE CORPORATION OF HUMANITY.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, having proved that we are better without it than with it. The moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the Corporation of Humanity should control all production.

Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every day life the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it. Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood—Frances Willard.

A lot of men who talk of dying for their rights have not sense enough to vote for them.

The wishbone can never take the place of the backbone.

MILWAUKEE.

For the second time within six months Milwaukee has been carried by the Socialists. Six months before the recent fall elections, Mayor Seidel and a majority, but not all, of his associates on the Socialist ticket were swept into the city hall by a larger majority than had ever been given any candidate in the city's history.

Less than six months later, after a most bitter fight on the part of plutocracy, the Socialists have carried the entire county, besides electing fourteen out of a possible sixteen members to the state legislature, and one (Victor Berger) of the two candidates to congress. Why this overwhelming victory—this splendid endorsement of a Socialist administration less than six months old? The answer is plain. THE SOCIALISTS IN MILWAUKEE HAVE MADE GOOD. They made good in spite of the fact that the hold-over officials did everything to block success. The city finances were in bad shape—in fact a large debt to begin with. Antiquated state laws prevented advancement and practically tied the hands of the Socialist administration.

Socialists realize that in order to inaugurate full-fledged Socialism both state and national laws must be changed. Yet with all these handicaps the Milwaukee city administration is the wonderment and admiration of all progressive people.

After inspecting the progress made in Milwaukee, Mayor Whitlock of Toledo declared that "Milwaukee is fifty years ahead of Toledo." Yet Toledo has been in the hands of "Golden Rule Mayors" for fourteen years.

Carl D. Thompson, City Clerk of Milwaukee, has prepared a list of measures already adopted, or in process of adoption in Milwaukee, which follow:

I. LABOR MEASURES.

The following measures represent improvements and conditions put into actual operation:

1. Union label on all city printing secured, including the bonds.
2. Raised wages of city employes on Sixteenth street viaduct—one of the largest of the city's public works—thus unionizing that work.
3. By refusing to prosecute strikers who were picketing, secured the settlement of garment workers' strike to advantage of strikers.
4. Raised wages of the library and museum employes.
5. Passed ordinances empowering health department to use

its authority in improving sanitary and industrial conditions in factories.

6. Bridge tenders' hours revised—they had formerly seventy-two consecutive hours with twenty-four hours off, and were changed to twelve hours, consecutive, with twelve hours off.

7. Raised wages of all the day laborers of city from \$1.75 to \$2.00.

8. Policy inaugurated looking to the elimination of contractors on public works, substituting therefore direct employment.

9. Arranging for purchasing of land, to be platted for workingmens' homes, to be built with easy terms of acquirement, including surrender value, so that no one shall lose by taking advantage of municipal dwellings.

10. One day off for policemen each month secured.

11. Unemployed and homeless allowed to sleep in the parks.

12. Whole administration marched in Labor Day parade.

13. Eight-hour ordinance pending.

INDIRECT RESULTS.

The following improvements in labor conditions came almost immediately upon the beginning of the Socialist administration, and was due to a considerable degree at least to the moral influence of the labor awakening:

1. Stree car company raised wages of employes.

2. Brand Stove Works settled strike.

3. Auditorium contractors yielded and Auditorium made fair.

4. Job printers granted \$2 a week increase, and other printers in proportion.

5. Brewery working girls organized.

6. "Krueger-Domann"—for a long time non-union printers—come to terms with various unions belonging to Allied Printing Trades Council. Due to fact that S. D. administration insisted on union label on all city printing.

II. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

The waterworks system has been owned by the city for many years and operated to great advantage in every way. Water rates as low as eight cents per family per month; labor conditions good; a profit to the city—average \$53,000 per year. The Socialists seek to extend this experience.

1. Electric lighting plant—the question of establishing a municipal plant to be submitted to the people this fall. Approved by referendum vote of the people this fall. Certain to carry.

Municipal stone quarry—site secured.

Municipal dredge—plans under way.

4. Municipal coal and wood yard—special committee drawing plans.

5. Municipal printing plant—bill being drawn to present to legislature, securing right for the city to establish same.

6. Street car system—model franchise being drafted so as to provide for municipal ownership.

7. General repair and construction plant—plans under way.

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III. TRANSPORTATION.

1. Regulation of present system.
 - (a) Fender ordinance passed.
 - (b) Decided improvement secured in the cleaning of cars.
 - (c) Lifting jacks provided.
 - (d) Air brakes being installed.
 - (e) Electrolysis—company required to install better system for conducting currents of electricity.
2. Model franchise—administration introduced custom of having city draft street car franchises instead of allowing corporations to draft them and fix terms. The model franchise provides the following:
 - (a) Ultimate municipal ownership.
 - (b) New companies to build tracks and operate on them until municipal ownership comes about automatically.
 - (c) Universal transfer and exchange of ticket and transfers.
 - (d) Eight-hour day and fair conditions for labor.
 - (e) Carrying of freight under certain limitations, including hauling of garbage and ashes at night; transportation of freight at night, thus taking heavy traffic off of pavements and producing revenue for city.
3. Street car system—Council committee has been instructed to secure site.
4. Steam railway tracks being depressed in various parts of the city—grade crossings being abolished.

IV. ELIMINATION OF GRAFT.

1. Ice companies held up for short weight and fraud stopped.
2. Boston Store held up for short weight and fraud stopped.
3. Cudahy Packing Company held up for short weight and fraud stopped.
4. Armour Packing Company held up for short weight and fraud stopped.
5. Shiftless and incompetent work in street construction stopped "instantly" by the summary dismissal of every inspector whose work was not up to grade.

V. HEALTH MEASURES.

1. Extension of free medical service, in addition to hospital treatment for tetanus, diphtheria, rabies, smallpox and cerebro-spinal meningitis provided.
2. Sewage commission at work on modern and scientific system for sewerage disposal instead of present method of dumping into the lake from which drinking water is drawn.
3. Factory inspection with view to improving labor conditions.
4. Food supply carefully supervised and inspected, particularly (a) milk, (b) meat, (c) ice cream.
5. Popular lectures for the education of the general public on sanitary measures.
6. Garbage disposal—plans under way for more economic and effective method of garbage disposal.
7. Removal of slaughter houses—steps taken towards the removal of slaughter houses from city limits—to abate nuisance.
8. Smoke inspector reducing smoke nuisance. Filer & Stowell, one of the largest concerns in the city, convicted.

VI. PUBLIC RECREATION AND AMUSEMENTS.

1. Large extension of parks, including parked ways.
 - (a) New park in Fifth ward.
 - (b) Lapham park secured by the city in very congested district, and put to splendid use as social center, etc.
2. Social centers—a number of school buildings open for social centers, and E. J. Ward, a man of national reputation, secured to take charge of the work.
3. People's public concerts—twenty-eight municipal band and orchestra concerts to be given Sunday afternoons in Auditorium at 10 cents admission.
4. Saloon.
 - (a) Saloon and social evil rigidly separated.
 - (b) 100 disreputable saloons put out of business by refusing licenses.
 - (c) All pledged not to conduct dances.

VII. FINANCIAL MEASURES.

1. Scientific system of accounting and cost keeping introduced.
2. Savings:
 - (a) City chemist and bacteriologist combined—saving a salary.
 - (c) Needless "bodyguard" of the mayor put on policeman's regular beat.
 - (d) Resolution to consolidate fire alarm and police telegraph systems.
 - (e) Total estimated and actual savings for year on basis of what has already been done—\$830,000.
3. Elimination of graft:
 - (a) Thirty thousand dollar graft on bitulithic pavement on North avenue stopped.
 - (b) Three employes in water department found drawing double salaries as election officials. Stopped.
 - (c) False weights and measures stopped. Ice companies, Boston, Store, Cudahy and Armour packing concerns in the city arrested and brought to trial.
4. Purchasing department:
 - (a) All public purchasing systematized and put in charge of a competent purchasing agent saves city \$995 on purchases during first two weeks in office—\$18,000 by October 1, with \$48,000 in sight as above.
5. City attorney's department:
 - (a) Begins suit to recover \$72,000 license fees from T. M. E. R. & L. Co.—heretofore evaded.
 - (b) Several \$10,000 damage suits started against city without basis defeated.
 - (c) Illegal sidewalk bill blocked, saving \$1,190.
 - (d) Claims against city by Auditorium contractors found exorbitant and refused—saves \$600.
 - (e) Halted custom of allowing those who lost cases against city to escape without paying costs, saving at least \$500 on seven cases.
 - (f) Subterfuge of contractors in changing figures on their bids stopped, saving \$1,150.

- (g) Defended an attack in the courts on the site of the city's incinerator plant. Site worth \$45,000. Total savings in city attorney's department not less than \$170,000.

6. Taxation:

- (a) Somers system being introduced. In Cleveland this system, when established, raised assessments from \$200,000,000 to \$600,000,000 and reduced assessment on small home owners by \$2,000,000.
- (b) Tax ferrets employed to bring to light \$20,000,000 worth of taxable personal property in stocks and bonds, etc.—heretofore escaping taxation.
7. Revenue producing enterprises to be established by the city as rapidly as possible. Municipal lighting plant, gas plant, etc.

VIII. HOUSING PROBLEMS.

1. Workingmen's homes—real estate secured and plans being drawn.
2. Building code under way.
3. Three hundred unsanitary buildings torn down.

IX. PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT REORGANIZED.

Heretofore the public works department consisted of a commission of three men, inefficient and poorly handled. Old board abolished and a one-man commission established. The whole department reorganized.

1. Purchasing department established and added to the organization.
2. Street construction department under hands of an expert secured from New York city.
3. Direct employment settled upon as a general policy.
4. Street cleaning and other departments thoroughly reorganized.

X. EDUCATIONAL MEASURES.

1. Council chamber thrown open for public lectures, University extension, and municipal institute, popular and scientific lectures, all free.
2. Special commission to foreign countries—W. T. Mills, gathering information on municipal government abroad.
3. Municipal research begun under direction of state university.

XI. CLEAN ELECTION MEASURES.

1. Restricting of city wards—committee at work. Under present system some wards have four and five times the representation they are entitled to in proportion to other wards.
2. Seventeen thousand two hundred and eighty-three names fraudulently carried on registration lists stricken off, thus preventing fraudulent voting and expense, saving the city \$900 in printing bills alone.

XII. CO-ORDINATION OF FORCES.

1. Public schools—now co-operating with the city administration. Formerly two departments were hostile.
2. Civic societies, which are chiefly church organizations

working for home rule, direct legislation, better schools, etc., now co-operating with city administration.

3. Park board now working in co-operation with school board.

4. State University established headquarters of its University Extension in the city hall, and is co-operating with the administration in the following matters:

(a) Model franchise.

(b) Municipal Reference Library.

(c) Municipal Bureau and Institute carried forward.

Think of all the above measures either in operation or nearly so. Especially is this remarkable when it is recalled that every one of these officials are strictly of the WORKING CLASS. Mayor Seidel is a pattern maker. Berger an editor, the Treasurer is a florist, the City Attorney worked himself through college as a cook, four of the others are machinists, three solicitors, three painters, three cigarmakers, two carpenters, etc., etc.

The earnest and intelligent efforts of these elected wage workers has attracted the attention of experts.

This Socialist administration has already employed the best talent to be had, such as landscape gardeners, sanitary engineers, streets paving experts, etc. These have already saved the city enough to pay their salary for a score of years.

Thomas A. Edison, the great electrician and inventor, sends his greetings to the Social-Democratic administration of Milwaukee and expresses interest in the movement here for better homes for the masses. Mr. Edison has invented a plan of pouring concrete houses at one operation by means of previously prepared moulds.

EDISON'S MESSAGE.

"My message to Milwaukee is, that here is a great opportunity," says Edison. "The city can buy land, sub-divide improve it, and on it build sanitary, comfortable houses for all her people, which need not cost more than \$1,800 each. At the old methods of construction such houses could not be built for less than \$5,000—and then they could not at all compare with the ones I am planning to construct?" "This can be done anywhere and not cost the people a cent in the end."

"In the first place, I do not want a dollar of profit out of my invention. Your city can have its use free for this purpose, and then it can sell its bonds, say at 5%; can build these houses, rent them at about one-fourth the present rate, and even that rental will pay off the bonds in about ten

years. After that the only cost will be maintenance, which would be nothing at all."

"These cement houses will be beautiful, sanitary, will have great variety of architecture, cannot possibly burn and will last practically forever."

A suitable piece of ground has already been secured by the Socialists in the suburbs of Milwaukee to the end that Edison's generous offer may be speedily realized.

That the Socialists of Milwaukee will be hampered and misrepresented by the capitalists and their hirelings is a foregone conclusion. That the Socialists will win over any and all opposition is also certain. Many of the important cities of Europe are now in the hands of Socialists and yet they overcome tremendous obstacles. Not one city in Europe has ever been **RECAPTURED** by the Capitalists. Milwaukee will remain in the Socialist column because for years a "house to house" distribution of Socialist books and papers was made. The people have been educated to know what they want and then vote for it.

Socialists all know that they must get control of "all the means of production and distribution" before any fundamental or even radical changes can be accomplished. This is the Socialists ultimate goal for which they are all striving. Yet, as Milwaukee has already proven, Socialists everywhere are working to get something now. Something that will lighten the yoke of capitalism on the neck of labor "in our time," here and now."

"Reformers" and "step-at-a-time," goody goodies should profit by the lessons taught both by European cities and Milwaukee. These Socialist cities teach us that Socialists do have a program that will benefit labor while the great change is yet going on. A big Socialist vote will bring capitalists to their knees in a hurry.

In all European countries, especially Germany, labor laws were refused until a big Socialist vote was registered. Bismark himself admitted: "If there were no Socialists, and if many were not afraid of Socialism, even the moderate progress which we have hitherto made in social reform would not have been brought about."

No one throws away his vote who votes for what he wants. At any rate it is better to vote for what you really do want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it in chunks.

Trade unionists and Socialists everywhere should learn

the lesson taught by Milwaukee. Here the Socialists and unionists work hand in hand—Socialists in the political field, unionists in the economic field. These two wings of the labor movement have completed a mammoth temple in Milwaukee to be occupied jointly.

Unionists should brand as fakirs any and all who seek to form separate Labor Parties.

Workingmen of America, make a noise like Milwaukee. It's your only salvation.

SHALL NOT LAST.

"We have private individuals whose rent rolls are equal to the wages of seven or eight thousand other individuals. What do these highly benefited individuals do to society for their wages? Kill partridges. Can this last? No, by the soul that is in man, it cannot, and will not, and shall not."—Carlyle (1830).

The same conditions prevail in England today that prevail in Carlyle's time eighty years ago. Practically every foot of land is owned by an idle and decaying nobility.

In the U. S. we have our lords of finance, our dukes of iron and steel; our do-nothing nobility who, by virtue of paper titles, live in luxury and don't even bother to shoot partridges. Can this last? With Carlyle we answer no, by the ballot that is in our hand, it cannot and will not and shall not last.

INDUSTRIAL CANNIBALISM.

"The present system of human industry is a system of cannibalism. We eat each other. It is simply reptilian to every one who is able to realize its true nature. It is the cause of inestimable ill-fare to the human race. The great mass of men and women are nothing but cobble stones for the lazy and Pecksniffian few to walk on. Nobody doubts the possibility of a better arrangement, except bandits and blockheads."—J Howard Moore.

"PERHAPS A MAJORITY."

President Hadley (Yale), *Education of An American Citizen*, p. 58.

Even if we regard the Socialistic views as erroneous and demoralizing, the fact remains that they are held to a greater or less extent by a large number of people, perhaps a majority of the voters of the United States.

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SOCIALIST TICKET.

For Congress—W. F. Ries, Publisher.
State Senators—Timothy Sullivan, Machinists' Union;
Joseph Quill, Flint Glass Workers' Union.
State Representatives—F. Gigandet, etc., etc., etc.

I covered Toledo with a card
containing the Socialist Ticket
and Definitions on one side and
the "Hog" on the other.
It was a decided hit, no one
ever throws it away.
Announcements of meetings,
etc., can be printed in this space
instead of the Socialist Ticket.
I can furnish the cut for \$1.25
prepaid.
It's a winner.
TRY ONE.

Infirmary Director—A. Neuber, Garment worker; C. H. Reed,
physician; Frank Ludwig, farmer.

DEFINITIONS.

The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of
Christianity.—Encyclopedia Britannica.

Socialism is a theory of society that advocates a more
precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social
relations of mankind than that which has hitherto pre-
vailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES.

What the people use in common they should own in
common; and what the people use privately they should
own privately.

To each worker the full product of his toil, each ac-
cording to his "deeds."

A government of by and for all the people, admin-
istered through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. This
would establish Justice which is Socialism.

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TWO PARABLES.

Once upon a time there was a chicken yard which afforded ample room for all the chickens that lived in it and afforded a great plenty of worms, so that none went hungry who cared to scratch for a living. And the yard belonged to all the chickens and each had a right to scratch where he pleased and all the worms that he found belonged to him. So they were all as happy and as fat as all good chickens ought to be.

But one day a wise man became disgusted with a work on "Political Economy," for the book contained a lot of nonsense about the "Rights of Capital," "Rent," "Profit" and "Interest." So the wise man, tearing the book to pieces, threw it out of the window.

The wind caught the chapter that had made the wise man so furious and carried it into the chicken yard. It fell in front of an able-bodied rooster, who looked it over, thinking he might find on an advertising page some new kind of food. He soon became absorbed and said to himself:

"What a fool I have been to scratch all my life for a living when this book tells me how I can get a living for nothing and without work, for why should I work when I can make the other chickens work for me?"

So he said to the other chickens:

"Here is a large fat and juicy worm, and as I am not hungry you can have this worm if you will give me one little square yard of this big chicken yard and let me have this for my own."

"Why of course you can have it, you idiot," said the others in a roar of laughter at his folly, "what is one little square yard of our vast domain? Give us your worm and take your square yard wherever you choose."

"Well, then, I will take the spring in the corner of the yard."

"Well you must be crazy. There are no worms in the spring."

But he held his peace until one of the chickens become thirsty started for the spring to get a drink. Then he cried: "Here, you, keep away from the spring. It is mine."

Then they all began to cackle and said they would take the water away. But the rooster read them out of his "Political Economy" and showed them they would encroach on his Vested Rights if they drank water without his permission. They argued until they were all so thirsty that they could stand it no longer. Then the rooster said:

"Come, now, I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll sell you a drink all round for one more square yard of the chicken yard. Of course, you will not miss it out of your Vast Domain."

They were dying with thirst, so they were compelled to accept his offer. All had a good drink and the rooster "owned" another square yard of their land. It was not so many days before he "owned" the whole chicken yard. Then he said, "Where are you going to live now?"

"Why, in the yard," they said.

"But this is 'my' yard. I bought it as the 'Reward of Abstinence.'"

Stuff, you only abstained from eating one single worm.

"Ah, yes. But then I 'invested the proceeds,' and by exercise of 'business acumen,' I acquired possession of the whole yard and now you cannot live on my land unless you pay me rent."

"What's rent?" asked a cockerel.

"Why, all you have to do is to give me one-half of the worms that you find and then you can still live in my yard. But as the 'Rent must be paid in advance,' you must give me every first worm and then you can have the second worm for yourselves."

"What nonsense. We are still going to eat all the worms that we find just as we have always done."

But the old rooster showed them from his "Political Economy" how the "Interests of Labor and Capital Are Identical," because if they did not pay him rent he would close the works and declare a shutdown and not allow them to scratch in his yard at all, and so they would all starve to death. From this time they found they had to work just twice as hard for a living as they did before as they had to give half their worms to the rooster for rent, but the rooster did not have to scratch or work at all, as he received as rent as many worms as all the rest of the chickens put together. Soon his pile of worms began to grow very fast and no matter how many he ate he could not keep it down. He became very fat and lazy and sneered at the working classes. So he began looking around for a way to dispose of the surplus and one day said to a pert young hen with matrimonial intentions:

"Marry me and you can live off my pile of worms and not have to scratch for a living." And the hen, nothing loath, became his wife.

Then the other chickens objected.

"It is true that you think you have bought our yard

with your abstinence, but from what has the hen abstained that she gets the products of our labor for nothing?"

"Now, see here" said the rooster. "This whole land belongs to me, and I am going to do with my property as I wish. It is entirely a matter of private business, with which you have nothing to do."

"But, excuse us, it seems as if we had something to do with it, when you get half of all the worms that we dig. We are compelled to work one-half of each day for you and have only the other half to work for ourselves."

"Well, if you do not like the way the business interests of this yard are conducted, you can get out of it and get off the earth."

So the other chickens had to submit, and the capital of the country grew larger and larger, until it "smelled to Heaven." Then the chickens said:

"You cannot eat all those worms if you live a hundred years. What is the use of piling them up?"

"Oh, but," he said, "I am going to have a large retinue to help consume the surplus."

So he told one of them to spread out his wings in front of him so as to shade him from the hot sunshine, and another to fan him with his wings, as he was now too lazy to do it for himself. Then he had a nice little hen for a manicure to trim his claws and massage chicken to rub him down in the effort to keep down the fat. And he told all his retinue they could live off of his pile of worms. But it was not long before the rooster and his wife and their one little chick were complaining of the incompetency of domestic help.

The rooster was coaxed by his wife to have a new palace coop with golden roosts. The golden roosts were not as comfortable as the wooden ones but were more swagger.

But all this time the chickens had been raising broods of their own, and the yard now began to be well filled, so that it became harder to get enough worms for all, especially when they had to give one-half to the old rooster. So the rooster said:

"I see that I will have to raise your rent and after this you will have to pay me three-quarters of all the worms you find instead of one-half."

Then the chickens made an outcry and said:

"When you first made your bargain with us there were only one-tenth as many chickens in the yard as there are now, and so you are getting ten times as many worms as we bargained for, as we still have to give you one-half of all the worms we dig."

"Why, of course," said the rooster, "that is natural increase."

"Well, we cannot afford to pay any more rent, because it is much harder to make a living now than when there were fewer chickens."

"That is just the reason why you MUST pay more. Any political economy will tell you that the harder it is to make a living the more the living is worth. You must be fools not to know that density of population makes high rents. And now, I want to tell you that if you do not stop grumbling I will import a lot of other chickens from the outside. We will have foreign immigration to keep down the price of labor and keep up the price of rents. In short, we will open the doors to the poor and oppressed of all nations and they shall come to live in 'The land of the free and the home of the brave' to find with us a refuge from the tyranny and injustice of the iron heel of despotism."

But the chickens were now in a very bad way, and many of them actually starved to death. So the rooster said:

"You must not do that. It would be the height of ingratitude if you should all starve to death, for if you should all die what would become of me? Why, I might actually be compelled to scratch for my own living on my vast domain, without its teeming millions it would be worthless."

"Well, then, we do not see," said they, "if the teeming millions give all the value to the vast domain, why the vast domain does not belong to the teeming millions."

"Well, I certainly despair of ever teaching you anything about political economy," said the rooster.

"Now," continued he, "when you get to the verge of starvation come to me and I will generously lend you some of my worms and you shall pay me interest."

"What's interest?" said they.

"Why, just before you starve come to me and I will lend you enough worms to keep you alive, and for every ten you borrow you shall pay me back eleven."

And often the chickens were so hungry they were, in desperation, compelled to borrow from the pile of worms, but they soon discovered that it was easier to go without than it was to pay back both principal and interest.

And now many of them declared that if they could not get enough to keep themselves alive it was a sin and a shame to hatch any more chickens in the world. Then the old rooster read them a long lecture on race suicide, because

if they all died he and his retinue would be compelled to scratch for a living.

One day, after reading his "Political Economy," he beamed all over and said:

"The trouble is over-production."

"Over-production," cried the chickens in astonishment. "We call it underconsumption. The idea of calling it over-production when we are starving to death."

He got out his "Political Economy" to convince them that they could not get enough to eat because there were too many worms and that the only way in which they could get any worms to eat was to dispose of the surplus, so that there would not be so many worms, and they could go to work and dig more worms. The chickens fled, fearing some new disaster, but he explained to the few that were left that what they needed was an outlet for the surplus, and that they must build up a large foreign trade, and that if they made their land the workshop of the world and sold more than they bought, and rolled up a large balance of trade, they would all get rich. So now he advocated the open door and foreign missions to convert the heathen, and went into the world and bought all kinds of tinsel and gew-gaws and gim cracks to hang around the necks of his wife and daughter. These gim-cracks were not at all comfortable, but they tickled the vanity of the fat hen and her silly daughter and made the starving chickens envious and miserable.

But the pile of worms still grew.

Then the old rooster said:

"See how prosperous we are. See what an enormous foreign trade we have built up."

But the chickens said:

"It may be general prosperity, but it is also private starvation and as usual the general gets all the honors, while the private gets the knocks."

"Why," says the rooster, "see what a profit I have made. I now own all these foreign gim-cracks and my pile of worms is greater than ever before. The high tide of prosperity will enable us to drive all the rest of the world out of business and we shall have the entire market to ourselves."

"Well, what good will that do us?" said the chickens, "Shall we have to pay less rent?"

"Why, of course not, stupids. Rents will advance on account of general prosperity and increase in population through foreign immigration. And I want you to under-

stand that I will not have any fool talk about labor troubles and arbitration from crazy agitators, who only stir strife and array one class against another. You must understand there are no classes in this country and that there is nothing to arbitrate."

But the chickens were getting so restive that he said to some of the clever ones:

"Come, now, you preach to the chickens and tell them that God made one rich and the other poor, and you can live off my pile of worms. You tell them that poverty is a blessing, that they must be content with their lot and must not rebel against the will of the most high."

This quieted them for a while, for they said: "If we have a hard game here, we shall have just so much better time hereafter."

But it was only for a short while, for their poverty was awful, and the upper classes used to say that the lower classes really liked to live in dirt and filth, but the chickens said:

"We have no time to plume our feathers or even take a dust bath. We are too busy trying to get enough to eat. Give us enough to eat and you will see that we will keep clean."

But the old rooster said:

"We will found charities, and I will give ten worms every day if you will give the same, and we will get up charitable organization societies."

"Oh yes," said the ungrateful chickens, "you take a thousand worms from us every day and give us back ten, and think you are very holy and righteous."

"Now, see here," said the rooster, "you have been listening to the agitators again. Let me tell you that the interests of the laboring chickens will not be looked after by the labor agitators, but by the Christian rooster, to whom God, in His infinite wisdom has confided the property of this country."

One day he came home from his foreign tour all in a flutter. For he said that a Duck, or a Duke, as he called it, had asked him for the hand of his daughter in marriage. The Duck had told him that he was awfully in debt, but that it would be a fine thing for his daughter to be called a Duchess, as he called it, and that papa rooster could pay off all the debts of the Duck with his immense pile of worms, and in that way he could effectually dispose of the surplus and be relieved from over-production. The Duck also told him that they could all still live off of the interest and the

profits of the chicken yard. The rooster said further that they were all going to live abroad with his daughter and son-in-law, the Duck, and that he bought a place, Skyflow Castle, and that the chickens must all be very proud that their country chick was going to be a Duckess.

"Glory Hallelujah," shouted the chickens, "when he is gone we can have the yard to ourselves again."

But the rooster had left an agent to look after his interests, and the chickens found that the agent was harder than the master, because the rooster had a big lot of rotten debts of the Duck to pay off. But when they all came back and the wedding day arrived, the chickens all kissed the feet of the Rooster and the Roosteress, and Duck and Duckess, and said how proud they were that one of them was to be a Duckess, and begged her if possible, to make Ducks and Drakes of them, which she solemnly promised to do.

It was not long after that the news arrived that the Rooster had so swelled up that he had burst and was dead.

"Hail, Columbia," cackled the chickens. "Now we shall surely have the yard back again for ourselves, just as we had it before."

"Not much," said the Agent, "he has left a will and has given the whole yard to the Duck and Duckess."

"But what right," said the foolish chickens, "has the dead rooster to give away our land. He is dead and no longer has any interest in it. It is bad enough to pay rent and interests and profits to a live rooster, without being compelled to pay it to a dead one. The Duck and Duckess have not practiced abstinence nor do they even earn the wages of superintendence, and they are not entitled to seven-eighths of the product of our labor. They do not even live here. Why should we be compelled to give them seven-eighths of our time when we are starving?"

"Now, I want to tell you," said the agent, "that we are living under the capitalistic system, and a man has a right to do with his own property as he pleases. When we first started the capitalist system, in this yard, we were the only chickens that could boast of it, but now all the other chickens in the world have this same capitalist system, and they are one and all producing a bigger pile of worms than they consume. For that reason we can no longer sell from our pile of worms, and unless you use it to support the Duck and Duckess in idleness and luxury, we shall be compelled to stop all digging of worms and shut down this works."

"Well, if we cannot dig worms, how are we to live?" cried the chickens.

"That is just it." You will all starve, so you might as well submit."

"Well, now, see here. We are not going to starve, nor are we going to submit. We are going to take this chicken yard and stop paying rent, interest and profit."

"What," shouted the agent, horrified, "would you violate the sacred rights of capital? Would you trample on vested rights? Would you break the laws of rent and interest and profit? Would you treat with disrespect the laws of Political Economy? Would you confiscate other chickens' property? For shame, you are no better than Socialists."

"All right," said they. "If that be Socialism, then we will all be Socialists. This can be borne no longer, and we are going to have that which was stolen from us. We are going to own our own yard and we are going to eat all the worms we can find."

And when the agent saw that they were determined he decamped and was never seen in the yard since. And the whole yard once more belongs to all the chickens, and they have a right to scratch where they please, and all the worms that each finds belongs to the finder and all have enough who are willing to scratch for a living.

"Well, we did not think it was so easy," said the chickens.

D. K. YOUNG.

Charles Beresford, member of the English house of lords, speaking of war preparations, said: "It is an insane and mad competition in armaments between the various countries of the world. It is sweeping on to destruction. The civilized countries are spending annually \$2,250,000,000 upon machinery of destruction. In twenty years there has been an increase of \$10,000,000,000 per annum. These figures are appalling. They indicate the utter heartlessness of capitalism. Nero fiddled while Rome burned showed more heart than the modern masters of industry.

There are many problems to solve and issues to meet. Life is indefinite. Man is only at the threshold of his career, but before he can go any further he must provide for his material well-being, not only for a few individuals, but for all. The race is an organism composed of individual men and women vitally related. Its development depends upon the co-relative growth of its component parts—all human beings.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

I wish to call the reader's attention to a remarkable chart which appears in my recent booklet, "Lions and Lambs."

I have demonstrated this chart throughout the country, to all kinds of audiences, ranging from a street corner crowd to college professors and pastors' unions.

In no instance has ANYONE ever been able to pick the slightest flaw in the proposition it proves in spite of a \$1,000 reward which I offered.

I suggest that every lover of truth, and especially every COMRADE, procure a copy of this ten-cent booklet, as with it you can riddle forever the age-long belief that **PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL IS DESIRABLE.**

For instance, the chart proves conclusively that if it were possible to fill this country or any country on earth, with a race of people absolutely perfect, each owning equal portions of the country, each producing equivalent amounts, each having an unlimited desire to better the human race; in fine, granting that each individual in this ideal society was as perfect as Jesus Christ himself, nevertheless from 48 to 72 % of these perfect people would be reduced to hirelings and paupers in TWENTY-FOUR YEARS. Since it has been proven that 72 % of any society will be thus reduced to poverty because of **PRIVATE OWNERSHIP** it follows that the only remedy is to **ABOLISH PRIVATE OWNERSHIP** in all those things through which rent, interest, or profit can be made on the labor of others.

Socialists are the only ones who even so much as pretend to stand for the **ABOLITION** of private ownership of capital. Therefore a vote for any other party or individual, no matter how perfect, is but to vote to continue the present system. Remember there are but two, and **CAN BE BUT TWO SYSTEMS** of conducting business. The one, **PRIVATE OWNERSHIP**, the other, **PUBLIC OWNERSHIP**. If you want private ownership, don't bother to vote any more because you have it **NOW**. If you really want a change you are compelled to vote for **SOCIALISM**. All the reforms and regulations ever proposed or that could possibly be proposed would still leave the present system untouched. The question is, will you still continue to let the **OLD PARTIES** or any of the reform or so-called independent parties continue to fool you?

OLD AND NEW PARTIES.

"That any republican congressman or senator should blush at being called a democrat, or a democratic one grow restive when labeled a republican, is strange indeed, when it is so perfectly obvious that the two parties are merely slightly different devices used by the same men for milking the same cow. To suppose that these men care particularly about the device is absurd. WHAT THEY CARE PARTICULARLY ABOUT IS THE MILK."

—Saturday Evening Post.

Isn't this exactly what the Socialists have been trying to pound into your horny heads for lo these many, many years? When will you wake up to this monstrous fraud that is being practiced upon you at each election by these old parties and their various allies? Haven't you had panics, bread lines and soup-houses under Grover Cleveland, a la the democrats? Haven't you shifted from one party to the other for the past half century? Hasn't the wealth all drifted into the hands of the few? Didn't you work just as hard and as long under one as under the other. Haven't you seen the democrats congratulating the republicans when the republicans won, and vice versa?

Didn't the democratic members of the Illinois legislature confess, that for a cash consideration they voted for the notorious republican fraud, "Bill" Lorimer for United States senator? Didn't a republican mayor of Columbus, Ohio, order the police to club and shoot the street car men of that city when they struck for living wages? And then when forty-two of these police threw down their badges and refused to perform such an ungodly act, didn't a democratic Governor (Harmon) at the request of the capitalists whose pliant tool he is, order out the state troops? And didn't even these hirelings show their sympathy by raising a purse of \$500 for the poor street car men? Didn't J. P. Morgan, the republican standard oil banker of New York, put his "OK" on Harmon and didn't every big and little banker in Ohio forget whether he was a republican or a democrat and "vote 'er straight" for Harmon?

Didn't George Gould state that this year he would vote for the democrats? He is the son of that infamous "Jay" Gould who declared "that in a republican state I am a republican, and in a democratic state I am a democrat, but everywhere I am for Jay Gould." Think of you poor work-

ing jackasses voting with this bunch of capitalists—voting to skin yourselves.

Can you voting jaspers see any moral difference between the republican party of Depew of New York, and the democratic party of Clark of Montana?

When either of the old parties in power becomes so rotten that it stinks, the leaders give the word and the other old party is ready to receive them. This gives the other party a chance to apply disinfectants and otherwise rejuvenate its old carcass for the following election.

Champ Clark, the democratic leader of the house of representatives declares that the salvation of the country lies in the success of the democratic party. Well, the democratic party has been in control and what laws did it pass that helped the working class? Was there any difference in the condition of the people?

Didn't the democrats help the republicans in congress to loot the people? Didn't the democrats help the republicans keep the notorious Cannon as speaker? Don't the democrats control the "solid south"—and is there any difference in their laws than in the states controlled by the republicans in the north? Aren't there more women and children in factories in the south than in any other country on earth—not excepting Russia?

The democrats of the south disfranchise both the black and the "poor white trash." There is less freedom for the voters in the democratic south than in the republican north.

The democratic party is moth-eaten with graft, scurvy with boodle and spavined with corruption—and this is the "bunch" YOU vote with whenever the stench of the other party becomes unbearable.

The facts are that society is divided into TWO GREAT CAMPS—One camp owns the means of production and distribution—the land, the mills, the factories, the railroads, etc. These people are CAPITALISTS. They subsist upon rent, interest and profit. The other camp is composed of the workers—the wage slaves—all those who DO NOT make a living through rent, interest and profit. The capitalist own, control and finance the Republican, Democratic and other independent parties. Hence when any of these parties are voted into power, the capitalists are in power, ABSOLUTELY.

The working class has an organization ready to their hand, which will conserve their interests as the old parties do for their masters. This is the Socialist party. When the

working class attains political power—that is when its OWN party, the Socialist party, assumes the reins of government—laws will be MADE—laws will be INTERPRETED—laws will be ENFORCED in the interests of the working class, and not until then. When the wage workers have had enough of Standard Oilism they can, through their political power, abolish the whole system.

After all, there are and can be but two systems or plans of handling capital—private ownership, the other public ownership which is Socialism. The Socialist party is the only party on earth that stands for Public ownership—the common ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution. All other parties are fighting this program of the Socialists. All other parties are therefore pledged to continue private ownership of the factories, railroads, etc., etc. They promise to “reform” to regulate the private owners. They promise to do everything but get off your backs. The big skimmers—the trusts—the bankers, etc., want to “stand pat”—let good enough alone. These “stand patters” represent about two per cent of our people. The two per cent own and finance the two old parties, the Republican and Democratic parties. Another group of about twelve per cent—the small business man—the shop keepers and other “would-be” business men are “pinched” and driven through bankruptcy into the great army of wage workers and many of them into the ranks of the despised “unemployed.” This 12 per cent, mind you, care nothing about the condition of the wage workers. They do not want to be denied the privilege of helping the big fellows skin the workers. This 12 per cent, in its frantic efforts to remain in business and not be swallowed up by the trusts is periodically organizing new parties—“reform” parties.

Their interests are championed by the LaFollets—the Johnsons—the Hearsts—the Golden Rule Joneses, and his successor, Brand Whitlock.

This whole insurgent movement resolves itself down to this one question: “Will the consumer get his commodities cheaper through a million little fighting dealers than he would through the trust?”

Socialists contend that to pass commodities through millions of hands only adds to the cost. Socialists contend that it would be a step backward to return to the old system of competition, with its hit or miss plan of production and distribution. Socialists contend that the trusts have shown that through co-operation on a large scale, goods can be

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manufactured and distributed at a great saving of time and labor. Socialists further contend that since to the owners accrue all the profits, the people—all the people must become the owners. Socialists contend that in no other way except common ownership will the workers be able to get all they produce. Socialists contend that the Trusts will own the nation until the nation owns the trusts. Socialists contend that this is THE issue and that there is and can be no other issue until this supreme issue is settled.

In every instance the so-called "reform parties" make it a business to expose the SMALL crooks and at the same time they are stone blind to the large fry.

The only misfortune of the little parasite is that he operates on a small scale. "Whenever the little gambler attains the financial proportions of a Morgan, or a Carnegie, then these same "reformers" take off their hats to him and he is it. It matters very little to the wage workers whether the government is controlled by the little exploiter or the "big Business" man. Neither is the wage worker interested in the fight between the small fry business man and the big fish. Their cannibalism is no concern of his.

At one election one set of "reformers" are elected, and in a few years the set of reformers now elected will have to be replaced by a NEW set of reformers. The cause of failure of all reform movement is that they do not know in advance what they want and when they do act it is against corrupt officials and not against the cause that produced the corrupt officials. The world over, the Socialists are united as one man in fighting to remove the CAUSE—private ownership—capitalism—and substituting Socialism.

The Socialist party is international in its scope. It stands for exactly the same thing in every nation—the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery.

It is the only international party in the political field that has declared itself in favor of organized labor.

It has been in the field for years during which time it has proven its vitality by its increase of membership and votes.

It has built up an organization in every state in the Union.

It has a daily and weekly press that is at all times fighting for the rights of labor.

It has a corps of trained speakers, tried and true, which are constantly kept in the field.

It is the only party which practices what it preaches,

viz: by conducting all its party affairs through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

Its constitution embraces among other things, this principle:

"No state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the candidate of such other organizations."

It is the only party in which every member has an equal and direct vote on every question.

Its funds are derived from a dues paying system and from voluntary contributions from the working class.

There is absolutely no necessity for the various brands of reform and insurgent parties, especially is there no need of another LABOR PARTY and there can be no object in starting one except to prevent the building up of a real party of the working class—the Socialist Party.

Invariably those who start these fake parties are the ones who for years did everything they could to keep union labor out of politics and when this was no longer possible they attempted to deliberately steer them into the camp of the capitalist parties. This was done in the national campaign of 1908. Having failed in this attempt to fool the union man, they now seek to organize a fake labor party. Thus these fake leaders hope to have something to trade that they may fatten their own purses.

The "reforms" such a party would advocate have been offered by every insurgent party put forth during the last quarter of a century.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the labor movement and everyone who really believes in a working class party should join the party, and help to build it up instead of being deceived into supporting a fake labor party whose object is to prevent a bonafide party of the working class.

Politicians beg from the workingmen one day in the year, and workingmen beg from politicians the other 364. This is a menace to the peace and comfort of the community.

Socialism will make useful citizens of both the rich and poor hoboos because it will abolish the system that breeds them, capitalism.

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TAFT'S UNSOLVED PROBLEM.

No, Mr. Taft, the Republican party will not solve the Problem, "than which no greater ever confronted this nation." If you understand the nature of this Problem you would not have suggested that the Republican party could solve it. To solve that Problem, "than which we have had no greater in the history of this country," the Republican party would be forced to repudiate the principles for which it has stood for half a century."

To make clear what I mean, I will refer to that other "great problem" which bothered statesmen from 1820 to 1860. The Democratic party could not solve that problem because the Democratic party was wedded, by all the ties of self-interest and tradition, to the peculiar institution of private property in the bodies of black men. This peculiar institution, so long as it remained, prevented the solution of the great problem. It was a bar to the complete development of the wage system. The early Republicans, whose courage and wisdom you applaud, clearly recognized that the Democratic party could not solve that problem "than which no greater ever confronted the country" up to 1860.

A new party, untrammelled by the traditions of the past, virile and vigorous, was needed to perform the task. The new party—your party—appeared in the political arena, and it did a good job. It cleaned away the debris of the decaying institution of private property in the bodies of black men and gave American capitalism the opportunity it needed to expand.

The issue of 1860 was clear cut: To "abolish private property" in black men and grow and expand or respect the institution of "private property" and stagnate and die!

The party that has a reputation for "doing things" did not hesitate to abolish private property to the extent of billions of dollars to save the nation!

Today the United States faces a problem of similar importance: Shall we respect the institution of private property in the machinery of production and bring ruin to the entire nation or shall private property in the machinery of production be abolished and thus give the nation an opportunity to expand and develop to an extent dreamed of only by Utopians?

Your party, Mr. Taft, cannot abolish private property in the means of production, because the Republican party is wedded to the principle of private ownership. It is the cor-

nerstone of the capitalist system, your system, just as chattel slavery was the cornerstone of the system your party overthrew. It is, therefore, necessary that we form a new party, a party whose members believe in the abolition of private property in the machinery used to make those material things necessary for the comfort and happiness of the nation. That party is here. It is called the Socialist party!

The Republican party, through you, confesses its weakness and its inability to cope with this new Problem, the solution of which means the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

Your party, Mr. Taft, has fulfilled its mission and the Socialist is willing to concede to you that it is entitled to be "treated historically." The Socialist is willing to give, yea, does give, your party credit for being the political instrument by means of which the United States has made great material progress. But your party has also left unsolved the Problem, "than which no greater ever confronted this nation" the problem of how to feed and clothe and educate and entertain ninety million men, women and children. A year before you became president you said: "If abuses of monopoly and discrimination cannot be restrained, if the concentration of power made possible by such abuses continues and increases and it is made manifest that under the system of individualism and private property the tyranny and oppression of wealth cannot be avoided, then Socialism will triumph."

Your party, Mr. Taft, has made no headway against this Oligarchy of Wealth. You have compromised and excused and promised—but the Oligarchy of Wealth has grown in power and strength and its profits today are greater than in any year since your party was placed in charge.

Your party has reached that point where it cannot solve the Problem of the nation's emancipation; it can no longer solve the problems of the small capitalist in his struggle for wealth against his big brother, who has captured you and your party. The institution of private property—the Oligarchy of Wealth—has a strangle-hold on the people of this nation. What we need today is a party that will do things! Therefore—

Exit, the Republican party!

Enter, the victorious Socialist party.

FRED D. WARREN.

The possession of land can only be maintained by military power.—John Ruskin.

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Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, author of the **Battle Hymn**, on her eighty-ninth birthday said:

"When I remember the cold welcome given to all the greater movements—temperance, anti-slavery, woman suffrage, the higher education of women, free public schools, etc.—and when I see how largely they have now been accepted into the practical program, I feel that life is miraculous. The world is now awake to things to which sixty years ago saints and philosophers dreamed of, but never expected to see."

During half the lifetime of Mrs. Howe, Socialism contending and overcoming all the difficulties of which she speaks has grown from a despised theory with a handful of exiled supporters into a full-fledged program with 50,000,000 adherents. At every election they have advanced from 20 to 50 per cent. They have elected their members to the legislative bodies of every civilized nation on earth. The political parties of all nations are stealing planks from the International Socialist platform. It is a credit to the correct position of the Socialist when corrupt old parties are compelled to adopt Socialist principles in order to save themselves from defeat. Can you afford to remain ignorant of the greatest movement of modern times. You should study socialism that you may vote intelligently for or against it. It's up to you.

Socialists oppose war. They oppose preparations for war. The workers have everything to lose and nothing to gain by war. It is the products of their toil that will be destroyed. It is their lives that will be sacrificed. They are "food for powder." The Socialist party is the only party that is irrevocably pledged against war. Other parties—Republican, Democratic, Liberal or Conservative—are capitalistic, and capitalism must have war or die.

The right to live carries with it the right to work, the right to rest and the right to be amused and happy. To attain these rights it is necessary to receive for one's work such just compensation as shall be measured by the average of our joint production.

Six days shalt thou labor for me, saith the capitalist, but on the seventh spend thy time in studying my economic principles, my moral precepts and in equipping thyself to diligently and intelligently labor for me another six days, lest I cast thee into the hell of the jobless.

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THE SADDEST SIGHT.

A man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun.—Thomas Carlyle.

"A day of disaster for any nation will surely dawn when its society is divided into two classes—the unemployed rich and the unemployed poor—the former a handful the latter a host.—Daniel Webster.

Today 82 % of the American people do not own a home and a small group of plutocrats own about everything. Doesn't this measure up to Webster's idea of a "host" and a "handful?" If so, isn't the "day of disaster" near at hand? What are you doing to better conditions?

The United States, as a matter of fact, today stands for thief rule, and that by a gang of thieves worse than those Christ drove out of the temple. We want, if necessary, mob rule, to clean that sort of thing out, for they are thieves, and everybody knows it.—Prof. Frank H. Giddings, of Colombia University.

PRICES— "Monkeys and Monkeyettes," also "Men and Mules," "Lions and Lambs," "Co-operative Farming," "Heads and Hands," at all newsdealers. Single copy, 10 cents; eight copies, 50 cents; 20 copies, \$1.00; 40 copies, \$2.00; 50 copies, \$2.50; 100 copies, \$4.00; 250 copies, \$9.00; 1000 copies, \$30.00.

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(Under \$1.00 all books sent by mail at purchaser's risk.)

Send 2-cent stamp for full information regarding my system of distributing these books to every voter in your town or city without cost to you.

Send all orders direct to the Author, W. F. Ries, Box 66, Station "F," Toledo, Ohio.

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"MONKEYS AND MONKEYETTES"

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Box 66, Station "F" - TOLEDO, OHIO

Plan for Work in Socialist Locals

The Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party indorses the following statement of the aims and methods of the woman's local committees, and urges upon the locals of the party prompt activity in accordance with this plan.

It is earnestly requested that all national state and local organizers aid in the inauguration of such committees, to the end that a larger party membership, wider experience, fuller knowledge of Socialism and increased activity in propaganda may be secured among the women of the working class.

THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEES IN LOCALS.

Each local of the Socialist Party should have a Woman's Committee. In the ideal local there are as many women as men and their work in the local is the same in extent and character, yet even in such a local there are opportunities for special propaganda and education among women.

In most locals the need to make distinct efforts to reach women is marked and imperative.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

The woman's local committees should be formally authorized by the local. This is not a mere form but vital to the solidarity of the movement.

Clubs or classes already in existence with the approval of the party may put themselves right in this respect by having the

officers or members of such club or class (if members of the party) appointed a Woman's Committee of the local by the local.

In a local of average size the committee may well be composed of all the women who are members of the party.

Duties of Committees—(Per Party Year Book for 1908, concerning purposes of Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party.)

"To make intelligent Socialists and suffragists of women and to secure their active membership in the Socialist Party are the general duties of the committee."

Methods of Procedure—A meeting of all women interested should be called by the authorized committee. Usually many new party members can be secured at the initial meeting among women who are convinced Socialists but have neglected to join the party.

The chief point to be decided at the first meeting is the character and frequency of the regular meetings held—whether these shall take the form of a propaganda club or study class, or a combination of the two. A name for club or class may also be chosen.

Chairman—A different chairman should usually be elected for each meeting, but at the preceeding meeting if possible.

Correspondent and Treasurer—These officers of the Committee should be chosen for a set term.

SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE WOMAN'S LOCAL COMMITTEE.

Program Committee—This is a most important committee, since the success of the meeting held will depend upon the clearness and simplicity of the work chosen and

the extent to which all can be brought frequently into programs and discussions.

Some book or pamphlet should be taken as a basis for a part at least of each program—the subject matter of its subdivisions being reproduced by members in their own words.

Discussions should be kept somewhat formal as experience is better gained in this way.

Membership Committees—The test of success in all this work is increased membership and activity in the Local. A committee to secure new party members and payment of dues to Local and additional attendance at club or class and at local meetings is desirable, "lest we forget."

Literature Propaganda Committee—In the general distribution of literature the women should help in the work organized by the local, but special efforts should be made to reach women employed in shop or factory, wives of working men, women in trade unions and wives of union men.

The Woman's National Committee has issued and will continue to issue and recommend leaflets, pamphlets, etc., which will aid in this propaganda work.

Suffrage Committee—The duty of this committee is to see that no opportunity is lost for agitation and education for **votes for women**, to which our party is uncompromisingly pledged. Also to see that where full suffrage has been granted them that working women properly register.

Children's Committee—Where a Sunday School is feasible, it may well be in charge of a sub-committee of the Woman's Committee when not practicable; meetings for

children may be held yearly, quarterly or monthly as conditions and locality warrant.

Music Committee—A generally recognized lack in our movement may be removed if the women begin in their local club work to familiarize themselves with Socialist songs and the musical possibility of the local membership. Music in the local and propaganda meetings will naturally follow.

Locals providing such committees for the activity of the women of their membership will be strengthened and stimulated immeasurably.

The official doing the corresponding work at the National Office for the Woman's National Committee is known as the General Correspondent. The Correspondents of Local Committees should report monthly to the State Correspondent, and the State Correspondent report in turn monthly to the General Correspondent.

MAY WOOD-SIMONS, Chairman.

Address all communications to

General Correspondent
Woman's National Committee
180 Washington Street
Chicago, Ill.

Progressive Woman leaflets, 20c per 100 ;
\$1.50 per 1,000.

The Worker and The Machine

In making bread boxes, three workers can do the work of thirteen box-makers by old methods.

In leather manufacture, modern methods have reduced the necessary number of workers from five to fifty per cent.

A carpet measuring and brushing machine, with one operator, will do the work of fifteen men by the old methods.

In the manufacture of flour, modern improvements save 75 per cent of the manual labor that once was necessary.

By the use of coal mining machines, 160 miners can mine as much coal in the same time as 500 miners by the old methods.

One boy, by machinery, in turning wood work and materials for musical instruments, performs the work of twenty-five men by the old methods.

In the manufacture of boots and shoes, the work of 500 operatives is now done by 100—a displacement of wage earners of 80 per cent—by aid of machinery.

In stave dressing, twelve co-laborers, with a machine, can dress 12,000 staves in the same time that the same number of workmen, by hand, could dress 2,500 staves.

In the cotton mills in the United States, the manual labor has been reduced about 50 per cent. Now one weaver manages

from two to ten looms, where one loom was formerly tended by one worker.

In the manufacture of brick, improved devices save one-tenth of the labor; and in the manufacture of fire brick, 40 per cent of the manual labor is displaced.

In the manufacture of agricultural implements, 600 operatives, with machinery, including eighteen classes of wage earners, do the work of 2,145 wage earners without machinery, displacing 1,545 workers.

The introduction of machinery in the manufacture of children's shoes, during the last thirty years, has displaced six times the manual labor now required, and the product of manufacture has been reduced 50 per cent to the consumer.

In the manufacture of wall paper one worker, by the aid of machinery, does the work of 100 workers by manual labor; and in cutting and drying paper by machinery, four men and six girls do the work of 100 operators by old methods.

In manufacturing gun stocks, one man, by manual labor, was able to turn and fit one gun stock in one day of ten hours, while three men, by a division of labor and the use of machinery, can turn and fit 125 to 150 gun stocks in ten hours. This displaces the work of forty-four to forty-nine wage workers.

Do you know what this means for the worker, this constant, this almost miraculous improvement in machinery? When thousands of men are displaced by the installment of a new machine in a factory it means thousands of men out of work. thousands of men tramping the streets looking for work. Thousands of men lengthening the bread lines of our great industrial centers.

And thousands of men out of work and clamoring for a job means the lowering of wages for those who still hold their

jobs, because competition always cuts down wages.

The invention and improvement of machinery today means hunger and misery for great armies of working men and women.

And yet the machines are not to blame. It is the private ownership of the machines that is to blame. The factory owner is in business for profits. He puts in an improved machine that does the work of a hundred skilled workmen and can be operated by unskilled workmen. He saves the wages of the former and cuts down the wages of the latter. He is "making money." That is what he is in business for.

This is what they would do: They would cut down the hours of labor so that all could work, and they would share equally, according to the amount of labor, the increased product of the machine. With the hours of labor cut to the minimum, and a proportional distribution of the increased product, the machines would, instead of making slaves and beggars of the workers, become their servants, doing their work for them, and securing a better living for them.

Now, the question is, Why don't you working men and women OWN the factories and the machines? Why don't you turn them to YOUR good? Why do you permit yourselves to remain slaves to them and their few profit-making owners?

The Socialist party stands for the collective ownership of the machines of production. The Socialist party says that the workers shall own the tools they work with. The Socialist party is pre-eminently a working class party. It is the only party through which the worker can gain control of the means of life. The only party that will free him from slavery and

give him the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The Socialist party is also an organization of thinkers. Not until the workingman THINKS can he be free.

It is to his interest, then, first to know of the existence of such a party, then to read its literature and learn its meaning; and, finally, to join its ranks and vote its ticket.

When the majority of the workers have done this, the machines, which have come to serve the people and not to enslave them, will be theirs.

The Progressive Woman

Is a Socialist paper devoted to the interest of the oppressed everywhere. It especially points out the slavery of woman, its cause and cure.

Yearly, 50 cents. In clubs of four or more, 25 cents. Send for a sample. Published at Girard, Kan.



Progressive Woman Leaflet; 10c per 100;
\$1 per 1,000.

Work Among Women

There are a number of reasons why the Socialist party should carry on special propaganda among women. Among them are the following:

Woman is disfranchised. The Socialist party demands equal suffrage for all, regardless of sex, color or race.

Woman's disfranchisement is a great factor in holding her in economic slavery.

Woman's position in industry is of a much lower status than man's. She seldom receives equal wages for the same grade of work.

Woman has become a very large part of the industrial world. She is the most formidable competitor man has in the industries.

Woman is the mother of the race. She needs education that she may intelligently point the way to freedom to her children.

Woman is one-half of the race. Without her support we cannot bring in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

As Franklin Wentworth has said, "We must never for a moment neglect the propaganda work we can do within the walls of our own homes; for until women enter heart and soul into all our councils and all our efforts, I can not bring myself to have

great hopes for Socialism, and I know that capitalism will have small fears of it."

The Progressive Woman is published for the purpose of reaching women and educating them to think from the Socialist standpoint. It is the only publication in America devoted to this cause.

Many of the ablest thinkers and writers in the Socialist movement contribute to The Progressive Woman. It has been endorsed by the National Woman's Committee of the Socialist party, and is recommended as a part of their propaganda literature.

Socialist locals, anxious to forward the movement among women toward Socialism, will find The Progressive Woman a most valuable aid, when introduced among the families of the membership.

Send for sample copy. Subscription price, 50c a year. Subscription cards, four for \$1.00.



Subscribe for The Progressive Woman,
(Girard, Kan.), 50c a year, 5c a copy.

The White Slave Traffic

JOSEPHINE CONGER-KANEKO.

While in Chicago attending the National Socialist congress, I had several talks with Clifford G. Roe, former assistant state's attorney, and leader in the movement for prosecuting panders in the white slave traffic, and John O'Shaunesey, attorney for Ella Gingles in the recent famous Gingles case. Both of these men assured me that the white slave traffic is a stern reality, organized with all the system and paraphernalia necessary to carrying on a great money-making institution.

"Nothing but publicity will wipe it out, or reduce it," said Attorney Roe, "and it is the duty of the women of this country to rise in a body and with the help of honest men, drive this horrible menace out of our country. It certainly is a Socialist fight," he added, when I suggested the advisability of The Progressive Woman and the Socialist women's committees and clubs taking it up from the publicity standpoint.

And I feel, too, that it is at least a very important part of the Socialist fight, to run this traffic in young working girls—for the great majority are working girls—to the ground, and to make what effort we can to enlighten the public as to its responsibility toward these helpless girls of the working class.

Too long we have allowed a false modesty to hold our tongues and our press on this matter. Hiding our heads in the sand won't mitigate the horrors of the social evil, nor stop the cancer eating at the vitals of our nation. Remember, there is a demand for these girls. The whole traffic is a business one, based on the law of supply and demand, and the demand is from our men—our young men, mostly. It is high time then that the mothers both of boys and girls, put by all foolishness and come seriously asking, "What can we do that our children may be saved?"

With the next issue of The Progressive Woman will begin a series of stirring articles dealing with the White Slave Traffic, the methods by which it is carried on, its victims, the discovery by Attorney Roe of the wide-spread menace of it.

the movement started by him for its suppression, and the work it is accomplishing today. Mr. Roe is helping in the preparation of these articles, giving his own experience in prosecuting cases, and promises all possible assistance in our work along that line. He has a corps of trained detectives constantly on the outlook for panders and other guilty parties, and has already accomplished much in securing better laws for the city and state, regarding the traffic in women.

Now, for the benefit of an ignorant public these articles should, and MUST, be widely circulated. Especially should they circulate among working people, and in the farming districts, from whence most of the girls come. *Don't let this opportunity pass to stir up your town, city and country district on this white slave traffic.* Every Socialist woman's society should take this matter seriously in hand, and this means that you are to get your locals to help you. Don't fold your hands and say, "Oh, this will all be settled under Socialism." To be sure it will. So will child and wage slavery. But we aren't waiting until we get Socialism to tell of the horrors of child and wage slavery; we are making a fight against them NOW, and so waking the public conscience against them.

So let us not neglect this slavery of women, worse, far, than any other slavery in the world.

"It is a Socialist fight."

Speak in advance for your bundle orders, so we will know how large an edition to get out. We want to supply the greatest demand. Prices will be 2c a copy in bundles of five or more; \$15 for 1,000.

THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN, Girard, Kan.

50c a year. Clubs of four or more 25c.



Crimes of Capitalism

The present capitalist system of industry is a failure.

It is impracticable.

It has divided the people into warring classes.

It has reduced the wage workers to slavish dependence upon the capitalists for an opportunity to earn a living.

It has reduced the masses of the people to poverty.

It compels the masses of the people to work all their lives for a bare living.

It deprives the masses of the people of the benefits of the marvelous improvements in production, and hands those benefits over to the useless few. It bars the masses of the people from the higher things of life.

It drives thousands of men and women to suicide.

It drives thousands of men and women to insanity.

It drives hundreds of thousands of men and women to crime.

It drives hundreds of thousands of women to prostitution, because they are unable to make a living in any other way.

It drives millions of men to drink.

It puts a premium on graft and corruption.

It makes it to the financial interest of men to adulterate food and to perpetrate all the other villainous frauds and deceptions which surround us on

every hand.

It causes the death or injury of millions of the people by preventable accidents.

It blights the lives of the child slaves.

It bars a majority of the children out of school altogether, and compels most of the remainder to leave school just when their education is really beginning.

It is infamously unjust to the unemployed, causing hundreds of thousands of them to become tramps.

It is an enemy to the family.

It causes hundreds of thousands of divorces.

It has destroyed individual initiative.

It has reduced the masses of the people to a dead level.

It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to develop their individuality.

It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to own any private property worth mentioning.

It makes it hard to do right and easy to do wrong.

It makes it impossible for the people to live sanitary lives

It promotes disease.

It brings premature death to all the people.

Socialism is the natural and the only remedy for these evils.

If you want to know more about Socialism and what it will do for men and women, send 50 cents for one year's subscription to THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN, Girard, Kan.



Price. 10c per 50; 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000.

A Word to Working Women

AGNES HAPLIN DOWNING.

You work hard.

You work long hours.

You do the best you can.

You do not get the comforts of life in return for your work; you scarcely get the necessities.

You have no home life. If you have a home you are away from it so much that it is a place of confusion. You cannot preserve it in order as you would like to have it.

If you must board you cannot afford to pay a good price, so you cannot get a good place. You must be content with a shabby, ill-furnished room and poorly prepared meals.

If you have children you cannot do much for them. You can have small hope that they will fare better in the world than you are faring. Should sickness or accident overtake you they may fare worse.

As you think of this you look about you in the busy city and every thing is astir. Inside the factory, shop, or store, wheels whirr, belts buzz, shuttles fly. When you go outside cars rush, levers move, wires tremble, lights gleam. It is a world of wonders.

What does all this mean?

The flying shuttle, the buzzing belt, the whirling wheels, the gleaming light have all come to help mankind.

They have come to make it easier for people to get the comforts of life.

THEY CAME FROM THE BRAIN OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO WORK. They were discovered, most of those things were, by workers as they worked.

Yet, so far the workers are not relieved by them. The lot of many workers in this country today, especially women workers, is harder than it was a hundred and fifty years ago when we had no help from steam or electricity and when we had fewer inventions.

Why is this?

It is not because the workers do not produce enough, for with the aid of these helps they make many times more than was formerly made. IT IS BECAUSE THE WORKERS DO NOT GET THE RESULTS OF THEIR OWN LABOR. It is because the corporation that owns the place where you work gives you barely enough for a poor, cheap living and keeps the rest as profits for the

stockholders. The profits build up the billionaire fortunes. Capitalist employers, as individuals, are not to blame for this. Many of them would be glad if it were otherwise—if everyone had enough. But the present system of private ownership forces each one to do his best, rather his worst, for profits and the result is that those who do the work get the least.

The only way to stop this great injustice is for the workers to unite together and own their own machinery and keep the results of their own labor for themselves and their children. This would be no inconvenience to anyone except to those who want to live without working. The hours of work would be shortened, compared with what they are now, or were in a tool-using age, in exact proportion to the degree of help that there is in modern machinery and modern organization.

It would mean rest and dignity and a higher life for all who work.

There is a political party organized to help do this very thing. It has been organized by the workers themselves; it is to be found in all the countries of the world, and it is called THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The vote of this party is steadily increasing. It is bound to win for it stands for progress in all that we have that is good for humanity. It stands for the rights of the workers of the world as against profits for the owners of the world.

The Socialist party always gives to women the same rights and privileges that it gives to man. Women vote on party matters, work on committees, speak on its platforms, hustle for its success.

It is composed of working men and women united in a comradeship to better the world by making conditions better. They urge you to join them.—The Progressive Woman.

THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN

Is a magazine for the women who work and think. The question of how to emancipate womankind is intelligently and fearlessly presented in its columns. No woman or man can afford to miss this paper should she or he want to know something about this most vital question of the age.

Yearly 50 cents. In clubs of four or more 25 cents each. Sample 5c.

The Progressive Woman, Girard, Kans.



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Write to May Wood Simons, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

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Progressive Woman Leaflets 20c per 100;
\$1.50 per 1,000.

CHILD-LABOR SERIES.

Under-Fed School Children

Dr. H. M. Lechstrecker, of New York State Board of Charities, conducted (1908) an examination of 10,707 children in the industrial schools of New York City. He found that 43% or 4.1 per cent had had no breakfast on the date of inquiry, while 998, or 9.32 per cent, exhibited anaemic conditions, apparently due to lack of proper nourishment. Upon investigation the teachers found that the breakfasts of each of the 998 consisted either of coffee only, or of coffee with bread only. Only 1,835, or 17.32 per cent, started the day with what Dr. Lechstrecker considered to be an adequate meal. Other independent inquiries in several cities show that the problem is by no means peculiar to New York.

In Buffalo the principal of one large school. Mr. Charles Ryan is reported as saying that of the 1,500 children in his school at least one-tenth come to school in the morning without breakfast. In eight schools in Buffalo, having a total average attendance of 7,500 pupils, the principals estimated that 350, or 4.46 per cent, have no breakfasts at all, and that 800 more have too little to insure

effective work. No less than 5,105 of the 7,500 children were reported as having tea or coffee with bread only. It is rather difficult to analyze these figures satisfactorily, but it would appear that no less than 17.33 per cent of the total number of children in these eight schools are believed by the principals and teachers to be appreciably handicapped by defective nutrition, and that only 16.8 per cent are adequately and satisfactorily fed.

In Chicago several independent investigations have been made. Mr. William Hornbaker, principal of the Oliver Goldsmith schools, says: "We have here 1,100 children in a district which is so crowded that all our pupils come from an area comprising about twenty acres. When I began work here I discovered that many of the pupils remained all day without food. A great majority of the parents in this district, as well as the older children, are at work from dawn to dusk, and have no time to care for the little ones. Such children have no place to go when dismissed at noon." At this school a lunch room has been established, and two meals a day are provided for about 50 of the most necessitous children. At first these meals were sold at a penny per meal, but it was found that even pennies were too hard to obtain. Mr. Hornbaker points out that the pride of the larger children restrains them, and it is most difficult to get them to admit their hunger, but the younger children are not so sensitive. He says that "unquestionably a majority of the children are improperly fed, especially in the lower

grades." Out of a total attendance of 5,150 children in five Chicago schools 122 were reported as breakfastless, 1,464 as having only bread with coffee or tea, a total of 30.79 per cent."

In Philadelphia several inquiries were made, with the result that of 4,589 children 189 were reported as going generally or often without breakfast of any kind, while 2,504 began the day on coffee or tea and bread, a total of 58.52 per cent. In Cleveland, Boston and Los Angeles, among many other cities, teachers and others declare that the evil is quite as extensive.

Massing the figures given from New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Chicago, we get a total of 40,746 children examined, of which number 14,121, or 34.65 per cent, either went breakfastless to school or got miserably poor breakfasts of bread and tea or coffee. At least, bread and tea must prove to be a poor diet, wholly insufficient to meet the demands of a growing human body, and the difficulty of obtaining good, wholesome bread in our cities intensifies the evil. The wholesale adulteration of food is indeed a most serious menace to life and health to which the poor are constantly subjected.

These figures are not put forward as being in any sense a statistical measure of the problem. The investigations described, and others of a like nature afford no adequate basis for scientific estimates. They are all confined to the one morning meal, and the standard adopted for judging of the adequateness of the meals given to the children is necessarily crude and lacking in

scientific precision. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is not a question of whether so many children go without breakfast occasionally, but whether they are *underfed*, either through missing meals more or less frequently or through feeding day by day and week by week upon food that is in quality unsuitable and of small nutritive value, and whether in consequence the children suffer physically, or mentally, or both. Only a comprehensive examination by experts of a large number of children in different parts of the country, a careful inquiry into their diet and their physical and mental development, would afford a satisfactory basis for any statistical measure of the problem which could be accepted as even approximately correct. Yet such inquiries as those described cannot be ignored; in the absence of more comprehensive and scientific investigations they are of great value, on account of the mass of observed facts which they give; and the results certainly tend to show that the estimate that fully 2,000,000 children of school age in the United States are badly underfed is not exaggerated.—From "The Bitter Cry of Children."

Socialism guarantees to every child a good home, food, clothing, and an education.

SUBSCRIBE FOR

The Progressive Woman

GIRARD, KANSAS

50c a Year, In Clubs of Four or More, 25c.



Why The Professional Woman Should be a Socialist

BY MAY WOOD-SIMONS.

Women in great numbers have entered the professions. They have become doctors, journalists, actresses, artists, teachers and lawyers. To many women this has seemed an escape from the slavery of the housewife.

The professional woman has first been obliged to take a long and sometimes expensive course of education before she could enter her profession. This is especially true of the doctor and the teacher. When the professional woman begins her work she imagines that she will find in it some degree of liberty, that she is in a way removed from the class of the wage earning women and has the power to make independent choice in her work.

Examination of facts shows that this is not true. The journalist must, first of all, just like the factory girl, find an employer. If she secures a place on the staff of a city paper or a magazine she finds that these papers are run in the interest of the great vested powers, that they are the organs of political machines and that in order to retain her position she must write her articles and color them to please her employer. She starts with the belief that she can find expression for her individuality only to discover that she must force her eyes to see from the point of view only of her employer. She is not a household slave, but she is another sort of a slave just as truly as is the woman who works at the factory.

It has been difficult for the professional woman to feel that she is in the same class as the wage earning woman. She holds aloof from united action believing that a salaried position places her on another plane. Take,

Wherein does she differ fundamentally from the factory worker?

The teachers make up another class of professional workers. They spend many years in preparation for their work. Then they find their profession already overcrowded and the wages below those of a good stenographer, or janitor. They also work for an employer. They have absolutely nothing to say about their work, its course of study, and little about the methods used. They are put in charge of fifty or sixty children and eight years of the work leaves them almost as much nervous wrecks as are the housewives. As conducted, her work makes her narrow in her own outlook, all because she has no power of self-expression, and is too worn with the work to be able to grow through outside study or contact with other phases of life.

For instance, the woman physician. Often her practice takes her among the well to do. She may feel that her employment depends on these people. She must bow to their will and accede to their demands. Is she independent? In no profession is the competition fiercer than in the medical profession. Perhaps such a woman physician has ideas of hygiene and public health, but she soon finds that she is handicapped at every turn in her efforts to put any of these into action. The doctor, more than almost any other class of professional women, must realize the effects of a system of society in which the few control the means of life of the many.

The actress believes, perhaps, that her profession is not on the same basis as that of the shop girl. But she cannot work unless she is able to secure a position through some agency. Unless she is a star she must accept the salary her employer stipulates. She must please a fickle public and, if the play is a failure, run the risk of finding herself out of work in a strange town. She begins her work with high ideals of wishing to interpret the best in life for the people, only to find that her work is confined to a narrow round of commonplaces.

Socialism would make it possible for women who do this kind of work, the teacher, artist, doctor, actress, journalist, to have the power of self-expression. They would not be merely echoes of those who employ them. They would be sure of a wage according to the merit of their work. They would be freed from competition in their professions that today destroys any possibility for anyone to do her best, and makes even the artist a commercialized worker meeting the demands of a freakish public.

There is a common interest between the working women, whether wage earners or professional workers. Too long, because their patronage has depended on the capitalist class, our professional women have failed to recognize this common bond, although all have felt the oppression of the present system.

"Socialism stands for all that is best in science, in literature, in the social life, in the home life." These are the words uttered by a professor in one of our largest universities to his class of graduate students. The time has come for the professional women to investigate their truth.



How to Organize Socialist Schools

Recommended by the Woman's National Committee, 180
Washington St., Chicago.

Introduction

The following outline is intended for practical use in those localities where there is already desire and enthusiasm for starting a Socialist school, but vagueness of idea how to do it. Many times members of the party would gladly take this important step, but say "We don't know what to do after we have the children gathered together nor what to teach them."

Such the following hints and directions are intended to help. They are the results of other teachers' experience and are meant to be only suggestive. There is nothing final or authoritative about them and it is hoped that many suggestions and improvements will be voluntarily offered as the result of their being tested in many places and under many conditions.

The first step in establishing a school is to form a financial and moral basis and the best way to do this is to

Form a School Club

Let any local of the Socialist party wishing to form a school, elect a Socialist school committee, composed of *party members*, this committee being a ways and means, an auxiliary and executive committee for the school.

Let this school committee form a Socialist school club, consisting of those in the community who wish to promote the school, whether party members or not, each member to pay at least ten cents a month dues. This club shall hold meetings once a month for promoting the financial and social side of the school. If there is a state committee, as in New York, the local school committee should pay some small contribution to it, 25 or 50 cents per month, to help cover expenses of correspondence, etc.

Let the school committee provide a meeting place with at least two rooms, one for the assembly of all the children and another in which the order children may hold their lesson period. By all means a blackboard, and if possible, a piano, should be part of the equipment. The committee should then endeavor to secure at least two teachers, one for the younger and one for the older children.

When a number of children have promised to attend the school, start things with a social occasion, a house party, picnic, etc., where the children may first of all come into friendly

relations with one another. At this entertainment announce the first meeting of the school.

Teaching

There are certain qualifications important in a good teacher for a Socialist school.

One essential is that the teacher shall have the right point of view. We should insist that the teacher be a member of the Socialist party, which will indicate at least a willingness to accept the Socialist principles and the rest may be gained by careful reading and study. We recommend as books from which to choose reading for teachers:

1. Vail's Modern Socialism. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., cloth \$1. Paper 25c.
2. Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 50c.
3. Kautsky's Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 50c.
4. Hillquit's Theory and Practice of Socialism. The Macmillan Co., \$1.50.

A second essential is the ability and desire to impart that point of view so that the children will gradually absorb it and be unconsciously influenced by it in all their thoughts and relations. No reading can guarantee this ability and enthusiasm, but a few books will help the teachers in gaining large and true conceptions and principles in teaching children:

1. Dewey's School and Society. Chicago University Press, \$1.25.
2. Henderson's Education and the Larger Life. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., \$1.30.
3. Thorndike's Educational Psychology. Teachers College, N. Y. City, \$1.50.
4. Katherine Dopp's Place of Industries in Elementary Education. Chicago University Press, \$1.25.
5. Charlotte Perkins Gillman's Concerning Children. Small, Maynard Co., \$1.25.
6. Ellen Key's Century of the Child, Chapters 3, 4, 5. G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$2.00.

We can at most give but a few hints as to *how* to teach and these we place here for the benefit of those who have never taught nor had any pedagogical training:

Keep the children interested.

Keep the lesson short, never more than half an hour.

Have one main fact and only one to present in each lesson.

Make everything in the lesson relate to that one fact.

Make the children think by asking them questions. Do not pour information into them.

Make the lesson concrete. Leave abstract

theories out. Illustrate whenever possible with pictures, actual objects, natural objects, etc.

Remember that children are most interested in their actual environment and life and associates. Take advantage of this interest and lead them from what they know to what they don't know.

First Assembly of Children

On the first lesson day have all the children meet in assembly. Give them a little talk on why the school is formed. Teach one simple song. Let the children give a few volunteer recitations for entertainment. (This is a good feature for all assemblies, provided the teacher can direct the choice of selections.)

Separate the children into classes and give a very brief lesson, perhaps taking some current topic to discuss, mainly for the purpose of getting a little acquainted with the children's mental development.

At a signal let the children assemble again and after a song, dismiss. All through this session insist quietly but firmly on good order and attention. Do not go on unless you have it, for the first lesson will determine much of the success of the school and afterwards you need bother little about it.

Course of Lessons

As to the actual material to be taught, there is much discussion and little has been actually worked out and put into form. In the opinion of this committee, the following courses are to be recommended:

1. For the little children, from six to ten years old approximately, who, by the way, are not to be urged to attend Socialist schools, but who come without urging, we recommend lessons adapted to the season of the year and using as material, stories from nature or appropriate industrial activities, or ethical stories, embodying social conceptions. Here again, even in an unrelated series and in story form, the correct viewpoint can be given and especially the ethical side of Socialism. Valuable suggestions can be gained from kindergarten books, notably, Emilie Toulson's "In the Child World."

Some teachers have been very successful in using Katherine Dopp's Tree-Dwellers and Cave-Dwellers with the little children; but if they are used, great care must be used to relate them to the facts of the children's lives and to use the readings in story form.

2. For older children, we recommend beginning with a simple course in what we may call for want of a better term, "Economics," a course showing the source of all commodities and the necessity of labor in their production, the develop-

ment of tools, the division of society into classes and the tendency of all social processes toward change in the form of society. We recommend or guidance in the material for this course "The Outlines of Lessons for Socialist Schools for Children," written by Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser of Brooklyn, and published by the Children's Socialist School Committee, Local Kings county, Socialist party, New York.

Other teachers recommend strongly, simple courses in evolution, or American history. A course in the latter will appear about February 1st.

Ethics

Ethics we believe should be taught incidentally through current topics, stories, lessons, poems, etc., or rather than as a main object of instruction. Helpful books in this field are:

1. Gould's Moral Lessons for Children. Watts & Co., London, three series, \$2.
2. Henderson's Children of Good Fortune. Houghton, Mifflin Co., \$1.30.
3. Hillquit's Socialism in Theory and Practice, Chapter 3, The Macmillan Co., \$1.50.
4. Dewey's and Tuft's Ethics. Henry Holt, \$2.00.

Songs

For songs in collection we recommend a choice from Kerr's Socialist Songs, and Emilie Poulssen's Finger Plays, for the little children.

This outline has been prepared and is being used by the New York State Committee on Socialist Schools.



Published by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Address 205 W. Washington St., Chicago. Price, \$1.00 per 1,000 in any quantity.

Frances Willard on Socialism

From Address at the National W. C. T. U. Convention at Buffalo in 1897.

Look about you: the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured?

THE REASON WHY I AM A SOCIALIST COMES IN JUST HERE.

I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I be-

lieve this to be perfectly practical, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trust, whose single object is to abolish competition, has proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product, they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

The Progressive Woman

Is a Socialist paper devoted to the interest of the oppressed everywhere. It especially points out the slavery of woman, its cause and cure. Yearly, 50 cents. In clubs of four or more, 40 cents. Send for a sample. Published at 5445 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Subscribe for "The Young Socialists' Magazine" for Boys and Girls. Yearly, 50 cents. Address The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Co., 15 Spruce St., New York.

Published by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Address 205 W. Washington St., Chicago. Price, \$1.00 per 1,000 in any quantity.

Socialism vs. Alcoholism

"We fully recognize the serious evils incident to the manufacture and sale for private profit of alcoholic and adulterated liquors. We hold that any excessive use of liquor by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our class, since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in the political and economic struggle, and we urge the members of the working class to avoid any indulgence that might hinder the progress of the movement for their emancipation.

"On the other hand, we do not believe that the evils of alcoholism can be remedied by any extension of the political powers of the capitalist state. Alcoholism is a disease of which capitalism is the chief cause, and the remedy lies rather in doing away with the underfeeding, overwork and over-worry which result from the wage system."—Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist party in the United States, May, 1908.

"In line with the efforts to solve the problems of morals and health is the war upon alcoholism. It is one of the most important problems that now confront the Socialist party. Aside from the purely humanitarian motives which influence the Socialists to attack alcoholism, there is also a party motive. They fully realize that one of the greatest enemies to the propaganda of their ideas is drunkenness. In many of the European countries al-

most the only strength remaining to the old political parties among the working class is the support of the shiftless and drunken elements in the large towns and industrial centers. In Belgium the Socialists own a large number of club houses, or Houses of the People, all of which are based upon extensive cafes patronized solely by the working class. Regardless of the financial loss entailed, alcoholic drinks are no longer sold in many of these co-operatives, and the Belgium party is developing a definite political agency against the entire drink traffic. One of the most significant things that has recently happened in Europe is the resolution against alcoholism passed at the last German national conference. In Sweden and the northern countries the Socialists have used their influence to promote the Gothenburg system of controlling the drink traffic. A law prohibiting all traffic in drink was recently passed in Finland, although there is a doubt whether the existence of certain international fiscal treaties will not render it to a certain extent inoperative. The Fabians in London advocate the municipalization of the industry in order to abolish the private interest in the making of drunkards. In Switzerland the drink traffic has been nationalized. In Russia the state's monopoly of spirit retailing was established solely for fiscal purposes and not to decrease drunkenness. The problem is a new one for the Socialist movement, but nearly everywhere in Europe it is beginning with characteristic energy an active campaign against the liquor traffic and using its tremendous moral power among the masses to combat alcoholism."—From "Socialists at Work," by Robert Hunter.

Read "Socialists at Work," by Hunter. \$1.50.
Common Sense and the Liquor Traffic, by
O'Hare. 10 cents.

Published by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Address 205 W. Washington St., Chicago. Price, \$1.00 per 1,000 in any quantity.

Wimmin Ain't Got No Kick

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.

I spoke one night not long ago in a typical country town of two thousand, a town just like thousands of other towns, and after I had finished a man came up and spoke to me, a typical man, just like millions of other men. He said he liked my speech and thought most of it was true, but that my husband was evidently a poor specimen to allow me to gad about the country, and that I would better be home caring for the babies and, as a last crushing blow to my presumption, he declared: "Well, no matter how bad things are, wimmin ain't got no kick."

As I looked at the man's rugged, honest face, saw the frankness with which his frank eyes looked into mine, my mind went back over all the days I had been studying the problems of the working woman and her sister, the fallen woman, and I thought "How long, O Lord, how long" will men insist on being so abjectly ignorant?

"Wimmin ain't got no kick." No, we women should not object that capitalism, the machine age, makes machines of us all. Three-fold machines; first machines for child bearing, machines to keep always the supply of child workers for the factory replenished. We should bow our heads in submission when Teddy the Terrible, he of the big stick and the big teeth, charges up and down the earth attending to everyone's business but his own, reviled us and called us all manner of vile names because we did not produce babies fast enough to suit his masters. We should have

been duly grateful when priest and minister, college professor and sycophant of every kind, parrot-like, mouthed his vile cant phrases. What did God make women for but to bear children when the sateless maw of the factory yawns and the machines cry out for cheap workers to make wealth for its masters?

Capitalism honors us most highly; not only are we to be the child-bearing machines of the race, but wealth-making machines as well. Here in the United States there are six million women who have been forced out of the home, denied the God-given right to wife and motherhood and forced to be wealth-making machines in the industries of our nation.

Capitalism and its upholders are chivalrous also; they freely admit it themselves, good democrats and republicans place woman on a pedestal, exalt motherhood and praise virtue; but, nevertheless, they demand woman to become the machine to gratify their beastly passions and provide the machine of prostitution. In the United States we have seven hundred and twenty thousand known prostitutes to fill our brothels and add the crowning glory to our civilization.

Not that alone, but the life of a prostitute is so terrible, so unnatural, that the average life is less than five years. Every year out from the brothels and dives of our nation are carried one hundred and thirty thousand women to fill unknown graves in the potter's field and one hundred and thirty-five thousand young girls must walk that slippery, rock-strewn, blood-stained, briar-encompassed path that leads to the brothel. Walk always down the path of destruction, pushed onward by the hand of want and poverty, dragged down by the hand of shame or snared by the white-slaver.

Nor is this all: the most pitiful, most revolting and soul-sickening feature of the debasement of womanhood by capitalism is never

discussed, never understood, and always kept in the background.

The pulpit, the press, and the platform have for the last year been full of discussions of "the fallen woman;" we have ranted and canted over her, shed crocodile tears and wept in maudlin sympathy, but we have overlooked one fact. There are seven hundred and twenty thousand prostitutes, but they are prostitutes simply because they have been forced to work at wages that will not support them, and they must either sell their bodies or starve. Adding insult to injury in our attitude on this question, we have overlooked the fact that it takes twenty men to support one fallen woman and the parasites who prey on her, and there are just about twenty times as many fallen men as fallen women.

Who are the twenty times seven hundred and twenty thousand fallen men? Your sons, your nephews, your neighbor's sons, for the most part. Our ignorant boys, through whose veins the blood of youth flows warm, who know and harken to the age-long call of race preservation, but who know little or nothing of the black plague of the brothel.

Our sons go down to the brothel, and there in their warm, fresh youth contract the germs of the vilest disease known to medical science, the one incurable disease. The disease that strikes down not alone its own generation, but lies in wait for generations yet unborn. That loathsome, nameless horror that has killed more men than war, ruined more women's lives and blasted more babies than all other diseases combined.

Back to the palace, the cottage and the hovel comes this nameless horror, the fruit of prostitution; back to our innocent daughters, back to our unborn, back to curse and maim and slay, and we women it is who suffer most, must fill the brothel and feel the curse at home.

As a result of these things, medical statistics tell us that one child in twenty is born into the world cursed before ever it sees the light of day, that one wife in fifteen must go on the surgeon's table or under the doctor's care, paying the penalty of the husband's transgression.

If all the voters had one pair of eyes and one pair of ears and I could force them to go with me as I have gone to the blind schools, where blind eyes will never see and hands grope in everlasting darkness; to the deaf and dumb institute, where deaf ears will never hear and dumb tongues never speak; the imbecile asylum, where the idiot and the imbecile mutter and mumble in their degradation; to the insane ward where the insane shriek and tear their hair or sit gazing out of vacant eyes into a vacant world.

"Wimmin ain't go no kick!" No, not if we are dolls stuffed with sawdust, satisfied with fine phrases, content with false chivalry, willing to be fed on flattery, we have not. We women who happen to have been lucky enough to have annexed a biped without feathers who can supply a meal ticket and a certain amount of hobble skirts and jute puffs, "we ain't got no kick."

But we happen to be women with brains and hearts and souls, women who have developed enough backbone not to be compelled to do the clinging vine act, women who are womanly enough to feel for all woman-kind, motherly enough to mother all childhood, we certainly feel that we have a right to protest against the abhorrent demands of capitalism.

Not to protest alone, but to use all the brains with which we are endowed, all the power of our womanhood and the compelling force of our motherhood to regulate capitalism to the dim limbo of the past and make sure and safe the birth of the new social order.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

Send to National Headquarters, Socialist Party, 205 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill., for
Common Sense and the Liquor Traffic (O'Hare), 10 cents.
Church and the Social Problem (O'Hare), 10c.
Law and the White Slaver (O'Hare), 10 cents.

POPULAR v. DELEGATED GOVERNMENT

OREGON HAS THE BEST SYSTEM OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN THE
WORLD TO-DAY—THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT—REGISTRATION
OF VOTERS—INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM—DIRECT
PRIMARY—CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT—RECALL—
AN ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

SPEECH OF HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR. OF OREGON

IN THE
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1910

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1910

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SPEECH
OF
HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

On "popular" versus "delegated" government and the effect it has on legislation—

Mr. BOURNE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The justice of all laws rests primarily on the integrity, ability, and disinterestedness of the individuals enacting them, those construing them, and those administering them. On this assumption, I believe the remarks I intend to make have a bearing on all legislation, and hence do not hesitate to present them now while we have the interstate-commerce bill under consideration.

I think all will concede that the times seem awry. Unrest exists throughout the civilized world. People are speculating as to the causes. Daily uncertainty grows stronger as to future events.

In my opinion, the basic cause is that people have lost confidence in many of their public servants and bitterly resent attempted dictatorship by "would-be" political bosses and representatives of special interests who desire to direct public servants and legislation for their own selfish interests rather than assist in the enactment of laws guaranteeing justice to all and special privileges to none.

Successful and permanent government must rest primarily on recognition of the rights of men and the absolute sovereignty of the people. Upon these principles is built the superstructure of our Republic. Their maintenance and perpetuation measure the life of the Republic. These policies, therefore, stand for the rights and liberties of the people and for the power and majesty of the Government as against the enemies of both.

The people have been shocked by the number of business and political exposures which have been brought out in the last ten years.

At the time of Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration the tendency was to measure national prosperity by property rather than by personal liberty. The commercial force of society was rapidly throttling the police power of the Government. Political machines and bosses dictated the legislative and administrative destinies of many communities and States. Mr. Roosevelt, with his experience in practical politics, familiarity with governmental operations, inherent honesty, dynamic energy, and limitless courage, demonstrated that he measured up to the needs of the time and assumed leadership for reinstatement of the police power of the Government in supremacy over the commercial force of society. To him belongs credit for reestablishment of these two great forces in their proper relative positions. He awakened the public conscience, and the result is a struggle throughout the Nation between the advocates of what I would term "popular government" and the advocates of delegated government.

DIRECT SELECTION OF PUBLIC SERVANTS.

In many instances the people have lost confidence in their public servants, the same as many stockholders have lost confidence in corporation management. The remedy in government is the direct selection by the people of their public servants, with the resultant accountability of the public servant to the people, and not to a political machine or boss. I purposely use the word "selection" rather than "nomination," for to my mind it more clearly expresses the idea of the responsibility of good citizenship. Selection implies the careful investigation of all and the resultant choice of one. The remedy in corporation management is rigid responsibility to government; equal obedience to laws and equal accountability to stockholders, giving the Government and the stockholders the fullest publicity of its operations, including absolute honesty and simplicity of its accounts, thus protecting the rights of the people and insuring to all the stockholders proportional enjoyment in the fruits of successful management.

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Mr. President, I will endeavor to deal in my remarks with what I believe to be the great issue, not only in this country, but throughout the civilized world, namely, popular against delegated government.

Much has been said in favor of representative government. I believe in a truly representative government, but where the selection of public servants is left to a political machine or boss, as is frequently the case under our convention system, the tendency is toward misrepresentative, and not a truly representative, form of government, notwithstanding the election is supposedly by the people.

PEOPLE CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

There are doubtless some people who honestly believe that the people as a whole have not reached the stage of development qualifying them individually to participate in government. Others whom I credit with the intelligence which I have seen manifested by them in other directions assert the inability of the people to govern themselves as an excuse rather than a conviction; but I, Mr. President, from thirty years' experience in practical politics, am absolutely convinced not only that the people are fully capable of governing themselves, but that they are decidedly the best judges as to those individuals to whom they shall delegate the truly representative power.

Individual selfishness, cupidity, and ambition are minimized in the party or general electorate selections of public servants; good general service is demanded by the electorate, special service by the individual.

Hence my advocacy of popular government. By popular government I mean direct legislation as far as practicable, popular selection of candidates, and such regulation of political campaigns as will secure fair and honest elections. Popular selection under the present stage of evolution of our Government can be obtained only by direct primary laws and complete elimination of convention and caucus nomination of public officers.

Time was when a few self-constituted leaders in Oregon politics arrogated to themselves the prerogatives of government and made their assumption effective through illicit combinations and the use of money in any and every quarter where necessary to their purposes of control—that is, they commercialized conventions, legislatures, and the administrative branches of the city, county, and state government. It was not a condition peculiar to Oregon. It obtained, and I believe still obtains in a more or less flagrant degree, in every State in the Union; and it had its boldest, most unscrupulous executive genius in Boss Tweed, who, recognizing the opportunity of the crook in government by party through convention nominations, declared he did not care who elected the candidates so long as he had the power to nominate the ticket.

Revolting against these conditions, the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent, has evolved the best-known system of popular government, and, because of this conviction, I take this opportunity of presenting not only to the Senate, but to the country a brief analysis of the Oregon laws bearing upon this question, with my own deductions as to the improvement they show and the merits they possess.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT LAW.

Oregon in 1891 adopted the Australian ballot, which insures secrecy, prevents intimidation, and reduces the opportunity for bribery. This, of course, is a prerequisite to any form of popular government.

REGISTRATION LAW.

Supplementing the Australian ballot law, Oregon enacted in 1899 a registration law applying to general elections and enlarged its scope in 1904 in the law creating a direct primary. This law requires registration prior to voting in either the general or the primary election, and provides that before voting in a party primary the voter must, under oath, register his party affiliation. Registration begins five months prior to the general election. Registration books are closed ten days prior to the primary election and opened again four days after the primary, and then kept open until about twenty days before the general election. A voter may register either by appearing at the office of the county clerk or by signing registration blanks before a notary public or justice of the peace.

Upon the registration books are entered the full name of the voter, his registration number, date of registration, his occupation, age, nativity, date and place of naturalization, if any, and his place of residence. In order to guard

against fraud, it is required that the voter shall give his street and number, and if he is not the head of the house he occupies, he must show that fact and give the number of the room he occupies and upon what floor of the building it is located. He must also sign the register, if he can write. If he is unable to write his name, the reason must be given. If his inability is due to a physical defect, the nature of the infirmity must be noted. If it is due to illiteracy, a physical description of the man must be noted in the register.

All these facts are entered in precinct registers which are placed in the hands of election judges and clerks on election day, so that illegal voting may be prevented.

Any registered voter may be challenged and every nonregistered voter is considered challenged. An unregistered person qualified as an elector may be permitted to vote upon signing an affidavit setting forth all the facts required in registration and also securing the affidavits of six owners of real property to the effect that they personally know him and his residence and believe all his statements to be true.

Thus the greatest boon of American citizenship, namely, the right to participate in government, is protected, and dead men, repeaters, and nonresidents can no longer be voted in Oregon.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Oregon's next step in popular government was the adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which amendment was adopted in June, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 to 5,668. It provides that legislative authority shall be vested in a legislative assembly, but that the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. An initiative petition must be signed by 8 per cent of the legal voters, as shown by the vote for supreme judge at the last preceding general election, and filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election.

A referendum petition need be signed by only 5 per cent of the voters and filed with the secretary of state within ninety days after final adjournment of the legislature which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The legislature may itself refer to the people any act passed by it. The veto power of the governor does not extend to any measure referred to the people.

STATE PUBLISHES PUBLICITY PAMPHLETS.

In addition to the publicity incident to the circulation of the petitions, the law provides that the secretary of state shall, at the expense of the State, mail to every registered voter in the State a printed pamphlet containing a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted to the people, and the proponents and opponents of the law have the right to insert in said pamphlet, at the actual cost to themselves of paper and printing only, such arguments as they see fit to make. These pamphlets must be mailed not later than fifty-five days before a general election and twenty days before a special election.

The initiative develops the electorate, placing directly upon them the responsibility for legislation enacted under its provision; the referendum elevates the legislature because of the possibility of its use in case of undesirable legislation. Brains, ideas, and argument, rather than money, intimidation, and logrolling govern the standards of legislation.

Corporation attorneys must exercise their mental activities along constructive rather than destructive and avoidance lines. Possibility of scandal is minimized, recipients of franchises freed from the imputation of secret purchase, and general community confidence is secured.

OREGON'S EXPERIENCE SATISFACTORY.

Since that amendment was adopted, the people of Oregon have voted upon 23 measures submitted to them under the initiative, 5 submitted under the referendum, and 4 referred to the people by the legislature. Nineteen measures were submitted at one election. That the people acted intelligently is evident from the fact that in no instance has there been general dissatisfaction with the result of the vote. The measures submitted presented almost every phase of legislation, and some of them were bills of considerable length.

Results attained under direct legislation in Oregon compare so favorably with the work of a legislative assembly that an effort to repeal the initiative

and referendum attempted.

It has been urged, but without success, that the people have been misled and have adopted defeated measures.

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* In Oregon classes of corporations proper share For the purchase of the state a gross-earnings companies, also proposed and 2 per cent vote of 70,8 intrastate

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and referendum would be overwhelmingly defeated. No effort has ever been attempted.

It has been asserted that the people will not study a large number of measures, but will vote in the affirmative, regardless of the merits of measures submitted. Experience in Oregon has disproved this, for the results show that the people have exercised discriminating judgment. They have enacted laws and have adopted constitutional amendments in which they believed and have defeated those of which they did not approve.

CONCRETE ILLUSTRATIONS.

I will give several concrete illustrations:

Under the initiative in 1904 a local-option liquor law was adopted by a vote of 43,316 to 40,194. Two years later the opponents of the local-option law proposed an amendment in their interest, and this was defeated by a vote of 35,297 to 45,144. It will be noticed that in the first instance the issue was affirmatively presented and in the second instance negatively, with a view to befogging the people, but the popular expression was the same in both.

For many years city charters in Oregon had been made the trading stock of political factions in the legislature. The dominant faction amended city charters as a reward to political allies. Traffic in local legislation even went so far that it sometimes served as a consideration in election of United States Senators. But in 1906, having tired of this disregard of the interest of good municipal government, the people, acting under the initiative, adopted a constitutional amendment which took away from the legislature the power to enact or amend a city charter and vested that power in the people of the municipalities, thus establishing home rule. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 52,567 to 19,852.

* * * * *

In Oregon, as in many other States, there has long been a feeling that certain classes of corporations which own very little tangible property do not bear their proper share of the burden of taxation. Legislatures failed to provide a remedy. For the purpose of securing a more equitable distribution of the burden of taxation the state grange, proceeding under the initiative, proposed a law levying a gross-earnings tax of 3 per cent on sleeping car, refrigerator car, and oil car companies, which measure was adopted by a vote of 69,635 to 6,441. The grange also proposed a similar law levying a gross-earnings tax of 3 per cent on express and 2 per cent on telephone and telegraph companies, and it was adopted by a vote of 70,872 to 6,360. Each of these gross-earnings tax laws applied only to intrastate business.

That the people can and will study measures and vote with discrimination is shown by the record upon two appropriation bills passed by the legislature of 1907. One of these bills proposed to increase the annual fixed appropriation for the state university from \$47,500 to \$125,000. The other bill appropriated \$100,000 for construction of armories for the national guard. The referendum was demanded upon both measures, and both were submitted to a vote of the people at the general election in 1908. There was full and fair discussion through the press, at public meetings, and at sessions of the grange. The bill increasing the appropriation for the university was approved by the people by a vote of 44,115 to 40,535. The armory appropriation bill was defeated by a vote of 33,507 to 54,848.

I shall cite but one more of many instances which show the manner in which the initiative has been effective in Oregon. For a great many years there had been efforts to secure adequate laws for the protection of salmon in the Columbia River, but because of conflicting interests between the upper river and the lower river, legislatures could not be induced to enact laws that would protect the fish. As a consequence the salmon fisheries were being destroyed. At the election in 1908 the upper-river fishermen proposed under the initiative a bill practically prohibiting fishing on the lower river and the lower-river fishermen proposed a bill forbidding fishing on the upper river. There was wide discussion of both bills, and the suggestion was freely made that both bills should be adopted. The people, disgusted with the failures of the legislatures to enact suitable laws for the protection of fish, followed this suggestion, and both bills were enacted. With fishing practically prohibited on both sections of the river, the legislature in 1909 responded to the popular demand by enacting, in conjunction with the legislature of the State of Washington, a fishery law which

provided adequate protection. I believe I am safe in saying that this would not have been done but for the popular adoption of the two fishery bills.

I do not care to take the time of the Senate to discuss each of the measures that have been acted upon by the people of the State, but in order that those who desire may have the opportunity to observe the wide range the measures have taken and the attitude assumed toward them by the people of Oregon, I ask consent to have published in the RECORD in this connection a very brief summary of the titles of the measures, together with the vote upon each.

Popular vote upon measures submitted to the people of Oregon under either the initiative or referendum.

	Yes.	No.
1904.		
Direct primary law with direct selection of United States Senator ^a	56,205	16,354
Local-option liquor law ^a	43,316	40,198
1906.		
Omnibus appropriation bill, state institutions ^b	43,918	26,758
Equal suffrage constitutional amendment ^a	36,902	47,075
Local-option bill proposed by liquor people ^a	35,297	45,144
Bill for purchase by State of Barlow toll road ^a	31,525	44,527
Amendment requiring referendum on any act calling constitutional convention ^a	47,661	18,751
Amendment giving cities sole power to amend their charters ^a	52,567	19,852
Legislature authorized to fix pay of state printer ^a	63,749	9,571
Initiative and referendum to apply to all local, special, and municipal laws ^a	47,678	16,735
Bill prohibiting free passes on railroads ^a	57,281	16,779
Gross-earnings tax on sleeping, refrigerator, and oil car companies ^a	69,635	6,441
Gross-earnings tax on express, telephone, and telegraph companies ^a	70,872	6,360
1908.		
Amendment increasing pay of legislators from \$120 to \$400 per session ^c	19,691	68,892
Amendment permitting location of state institutions at places other than the capital ^c	41,971	40,868
Amendment reorganizing system of courts and increasing supreme judges from three to five ^c	30,243	50,591
Amendment changing general election from June to November ^c	65,728	18,590
Bill giving sheriffs control of county prisoners ^b	60,443	30,033
Railroads required to give public officials free passes ^b	28,856	59,406
Bill appropriating \$100,000 for armories ^b	33,507	54,948
Bill increasing fixed appropriation for state university from \$47,500 to \$125,000 annually ^b	44,115	40,535
Equal-suffrage amendment ^a	36,858	58,670
Fishery bill proposed by fish-wheel operators ^a	46,582	40,720
Fishery bill proposed by gill-net operators ^a	56,130	30,230
Amendment giving cities control of liquor selling, poolrooms, theaters, etc., subject to local-option law ^a	39,442	52,346
Modified form of single-tax amendment ^a	32,066	60,871
Recall power on public officials ^a	58,381	31,002
Bill instructing legislators to vote for people's choice for United States Senators ^a	69,668	21,162
Amendment authorizing proportional-representation law ^a	43,868	34,123
Corrupt-practices act governing elections ^a	54,042	31,301
Amendment requiring indictment to be by grand jury ^a	52,214	28,487
Bill creating Hood River County ^a	43,948	26,778

^a Submitted under the initiative.

^b Submitted under the referendum upon legislative act.

^c Submitted to the people by the legislature.

DIRECT LEGISLATION NOT EXPENSIVE.

Anticipating the objection that direct legislation is expensive to the State, I will say that the submission of a total of 32 measures at three different elections in Oregon has cost the State \$25,000, or an average of about \$781 for each measure. At the election in 1908 there were 19 measures submitted, at a cost to the State of \$12,362, or an average of about \$651 each. Five of these 19 measures were submitted without argument. Upon the other 14 measures there were 19 arguments submitted, for which the authors paid the cost, amounting to \$3,157.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the people of Oregon feel satisfied that they have received full value for the \$25,000 they have spent for the submission of measures under the initiative and referendum. The only persons who raise the question of cost are those who would be opposed to direct legislation

if it were free of cost. I think I could cite numerous instances of laws passed by the legislature which cost the people much more than \$25,000 without any tangible return, and perhaps could cite a few measures which had been defeated by legislatures with resultant loss to the people of many times \$25,000. The cost of legislation can not always be measured in dollars.

PEOPLE INTELLIGENT AND FAIR.

The people are not only intelligent, but fair and honest. When the initiative and referendum was under consideration it was freely predicted by enemies of popular government that the power would be abused and that capitalists would not invest their money in a State where property would be subject to attacks of popular passion and temporary whims. Experience has exploded this argument. There has been no hasty or ill-advised legislation. The people act calmly and deliberately and with that spirit of fairness which always characterizes a body of men who earn their living and acquire their property by legitimate means. Corporations have not been held up and blackmailed by the people, as they often have been by legislators. "Pinch bills" are unknown. The people of Oregon were never before more prosperous and contented than they are to-day, and never before did the State offer such an inviting field for investment of capital. Not only are two transcontinental railroads building across the State, but several interurban electric lines are under construction, and rights of way for others are in demand.

I have mentioned all of these facts for the purpose of showing that the people of my State, and, I believe, the people of every other State, can be trusted to act intelligently and honestly upon any question of legislation submitted for their approval or disapproval.

The initiative and referendum is but one of the features of popular government in Oregon. It has been the means by which other reforms and progressive laws and constitutional amendments have been secured, for it has been found that the people can not always get the laws they desire through the legislature, but can get them through resort to the initiative.

DIRECT PRIMARY LAW.

The next step after the adoption of the initiative and referendum was the adoption, in 1904, by a vote of 56,205 to 16,354, of a direct primary law, which is designed to supersede the old and unsatisfactory convention system. The Oregon direct primary law provides for a primary election to be held forty-five days prior to the general election at the usual polling places and with the usual three election judges and three clerks in charge, appointed by the county courts. Not more than two judges or clerks can be members of the same political party. Two sets of ballots are provided, one for the Democratic party and one for the Republican party. Any party polling 25 per cent of the vote at the previous election is brought under the provisions of the direct primary law, but thus far only the Democratic and Republican parties are affected by it.

Any legal voter may become a candidate in the primaries for nomination for any office by filing a petition signed by a certain per cent of the voters of his party. If the nomination is for a municipal or county office, the petition must include registered electors residing in at least one-fifth of the voting precincts of the county, municipality, or district. If it be a state or district office and the district comprises more than one county the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-eighth of the precincts in at least two counties in the district. If it be an office to be voted for in the State at large the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least seven counties of the State. If it be an office to be voted for in a congressional district the petition must include electors residing in at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least one-fourth of the counties in the district. The number of signers required is at least 2 per cent of the party vote in the electoral district, but not more than 1,000 signers are required for a state or congressional office nor more than 500 in any other case. Petitions must be filed for a state or district office at least twenty days before the primary election, and for county or municipal offices fifteen days before the election. Names of the candidates are arranged on the ballots in alphabetical order. The ballot for the Republican party is printed on white paper; that for the Democratic party on blue paper; and that for any other party on yellow

paper. The Australian ballot form is used in the primaries. No elector is qualified to vote at a party primary election unless he has registered and designated, under oath, his party affiliation, except that he may register at the polls on election day by filing an affidavit, verified by six freeholders of his precinct certifying to his legal qualifications, in which affidavit he must also designate his party affiliation.

PARTY INTEGRITY PROTECTED.

No voter is required to designate his party affiliation in order to vote at the general election, but registration of party affiliation is a prerequisite to participation in a party primary. This requirement prevents the participation of members of one party in the primaries of another party. The right of each party to choose its own candidates is thus protected, and an evil all too common where restrictive party primary laws are not in force is avoided.

Our direct-primary law further provides that the candidate in his petition shall, among other things, agree to "accept the nomination and will not withdraw;" and, if elected, "will qualify as an officer," implying, of course, that he will also serve. Each candidate is entitled to have placed in his petition a statement in not to exceed 100 words, and on the ballot, after his name, a legend in not to exceed 12 words, setting forth any measures or principles he especially advocates.

STATEMENT NO. 1.

In the case of a legislator's nomination, the candidate may, in addition to his statement, not exceeding 100 words specifying measures and principles he advocates, also subscribe to one of two statements, but if he does not so subscribe he shall not on that account be debarred from the ballot. It will be seen, therefore, that three courses are open to him. He may subscribe to Statement No. 1 as follows:

I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I shall always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress without regard to my individual preference.

Or he may subscribe to Statement No. 2, as follows:

During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient.

Or he may be perfectly silent on the election of United States Senator. It is entirely optional with the candidate.

POPULAR VOTE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR.

The law further provides that United States Senators may be nominated by their respective parties in the party primaries, and the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes thereby becomes the party nominee. Then, in the general election the party nominees are voted for by the people, and the individual receiving the greatest number of votes in the general election thereby becomes the people's choice for United States Senator.

Notwithstanding that our primary-election law embodying these statements, particularly Statement No. 1, was passed by a popular vote of approximately 56,000 for to 16,000 against, the opponents of the law charged that the people did not know what they were doing when they voted for it. Therefore, the advocates of the election of Senators by the people and of the enforcement of Statement No. 1 submitted to the people under the initiative in 1908 the following bill:

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

SECTION 1. That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senators from this State who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections.

Although there was no organized campaign made for the adoption of this bill other than the argument accompanying its submission, while the opponents of the primary law assailed it vehemently, the basic principle of Statement No. 1 and the election of United States Senators by the people was again indorsed by the passage of the bill by a popular vote of 69,668 for it to 21,162 against it, or by nearly 3½ to 1.

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HOW A DEMOCRAT WAS ELECTED SENATOR.

Mr. President, in this connection I deem it proper to divert for a time from an explanation of our primary law and give a concrete illustration of its operation. Both my colleague, Senator CHAMBERLAIN, and myself were selected by the people and elected by the legislature under the provision of this law. Opponents of popular government, and especially of the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, have bitterly assailed Statement No. 1 of our law because a legislature, overwhelmingly Republican, elected my colleague, who was a candidate selected by the Democratic party and nominated by the whole electorate of the State as the people's choice of our State for United States Senator. Upon reflection I think every intelligent man who is honest with himself must concede that this fact, instead of being the basis of a criticism, is the highest kind of evidence as to the efficacy of the law, and every advocate of the election of United States Senators by a popular vote must realize that Oregon has evolved a plan through its Statement No. 1, provision of its primary law, wherein, in effect, the people enjoy the privilege of selecting their United States Senators, and, through the crystallization of public opinion, the legislative ratification of their action.

The Oregon legislature consists of 90 members, 30 in the senate and 60 in the house, 46 making the necessary majority on full attendance for the election of United States Senator. Fifty-one members out of 90 of the legislature which elected my colleague, Senator CHAMBERLAIN, were subscribers to Statement No. 1, making on joint ballot a majority of 6 out of a total of 90 members. All of these 51 members subscribed to Statement No. 1 pledge voluntarily, and it was so subscribed to by them from a personal belief in the desirability of the popular election of United States Senators and for the purpose of securing for themselves from the electorate preferment in the election to the office sought; the consideration in exchange for such preferment was to be by them, as the legally constituted representatives of the electorate in their behalf, the perfunctory confirmation of the people's selection of United States Senator as that choice might be ascertained under the provisions of the same law by which the legislators themselves secured nomination to office.

To further illuminate the situation, I will state that in the primaries held in April, 1908, H. M. Cake received the Republican nomination for United States Senator, and my colleague, Senator CHAMBERLAIN, then governor of the State, received the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. At the general election in June Senator CHAMBERLAIN defeated Mr. Cake, notwithstanding the State was overwhelmingly Republican, thereby developing from the Democratic candidate into the people's choice for United States Senator. The normal Republican majority in Oregon, I think, is from 15,000 to 20,000. With full recognition of Governor CHAMBERLAIN's ability and fitness for the office, the fact that for nearly six years he made the best governor Oregon ever had, and considering that undoubtedly he is the most popular man in our State, I deem it but just to the law and a proper answer to the criticism of enemies of the law that it destroys party lines and integrity, to state that, in my opinion, Senator CHAMBERLAIN received the votes of several thousand Republican enemies of the law, who believed that in selecting Governor CHAMBERLAIN, a Democrat, they would prevent a Republican legislature from ratifying the people's selection, obeying the people's instructions, and electing as United States Senator the individual, regardless of party, that the people might select for that office. Thus they hoped to make the primary law and Statement No. 1 odious, and sought to create what they thought would be an impossible condition by forcing upon a Republican legislature for confirmation the popularly designated Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. They failed to realize that, greater than party and infinitely greater than any individual, the people's choice becomes a representative of the principle and of the law; that the intelligence and integrity of the whole electorate of the State, as well as the integrity and loyalty of the members of the legislature were at stake, and from any honorable view point the mere intimation of the possibility of the legislature or any member of the legislature failing conscientiously to fulfill his pledge or loyally obey the instructions of the people would not only be an insult to the individual members of the legislature, but an insult to the intelligence, independence, and patriotism of the Oregon electorate that they would permit such action to go unnoticed or without holding the culprit to a rigid responsibility for his treason.

NO OATH MORE SACRED.

Let us again consider the wording of this Statement No. 1 pledge, taken by 51 members of the Oregon legislature:

Statement No. 1.

I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference.

No oath could be more sacred in honor, no contract more binding, no mutual consideration more definite, than is contained in this Statement No. 1 pledge, and no parties to a contract could be of more consequence to government and society than the electorate upon the one side and its servants upon the other.

Under the United States Constitution there can be no penalty attached to the law. The legislator breaking his sacred pledge can not be imprisoned or fined, hence he is doubly bound by honor to redeem his voluntary obligations. Failure to do so would not only brand him as the destroyer of a sacred trust, but as the most contemptible of cowards because legally immune from punishment for his perfidy.

Yet, Mr. President, there were efforts made to dishonor our State and our public servants. During the session of the legislature a former government official, an assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, appeared in Oregon and, I am informed, promised federal appointments to legislative members if they would disregard their Statement No. 1 pledges to the electorate. The effort was made by the enemies of the law to create the impression that by reason of this person's relations with the chairman of the Republican National Committee during the national campaign he would be able to deliver these promised federal appointments in case Statement No. 1 subscribers sold their honor and betrayed their trust.

I mention these facts to show that the greatest possible strain was placed upon our law, and to the credit of the 51 subscribers of Statement No. 1 in that legislature be it said that every one of those subscribers voted in accordance with his solemn obligation. But I would call the attention of the Senate to the fact that notwithstanding the people of the State had passed under the initiative the bill I have referred to instructing all the members of the legislature to vote for the people's choice for United States Senator, not a single member of the legislature obeyed said instructions except the Statement No. 1 subscribers.

AN EVOLUTION OF PRACTICAL POLITICS.

Mr. President, Statement No. 1 was an evolution of many years' experience with practical and commercial politics. We doubtless all have found in individual cases that men's memories, pledges, and agreements were a negligible quantity, but I think we in Oregon have demonstrated that our direct primary law contains a pledge that will hold any sane man regardless of his cupidity, ambition, cowardice, or temerity.

OTHER PROVISIONS OF PRIMARY LAW.

Resuming consideration of the direct primary: The returns from a primary election are canvassed in the same manner as the returns from a general election, and the candidate receiving the highest vote for each office is declared the nominee of his party. Candidates of parties other than those polling 25 per cent of the total vote of the State may be nominated without participating in the direct primary, but by means of petition or mass meeting. No candidate nominated otherwise than in the direct primary can use either the word "Republican" or "Democrat" in any form; that is, the nominees of the direct primary are entitled to the party designation in the general election, and no opposition candidate can designate himself as an "Independent Republican" or "Progressive Republican," or use any other qualifying term which includes the word "Republican" or "Democrat." These provisions secure to the nominees of the direct primary the exclusive right to their party designation on the ballot in the general election. Each candidate in the direct primary is entitled to have placed in his petition for nomination a statement containing not to exceed 100 words, and on the ballot in the primary and general election a legend of not more than 12 words specifying any measures or principles he especially advocates.

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In my opinion the direct primary is the only practicable method of fully securing to the people their right to choose their public servants.

CONVENTION NOMINEE UNDER OBLIGATION TO A BOSS.

Under the convention system the members of a party delegate their power of selection of candidates to the members of a convention. To my mind this system is most pernicious, because the party electorate feels that its responsibility ceases with the selection of its convention delegates. Hence the responsibility of citizenship is weakened and shiftlessness encouraged.

As soon as the delegates to the convention are chosen, the power of selection of public servants becomes centralized in a few and opportunity is extended to individuals and interests who wish to use public servants for selfish or ulterior purposes. Influences adverse to the general welfare are immediately brought to bear upon this body of delegates. Factions are created, combinations effected, and party disruption frequently results. Often a convention nominates a man for public office who, prior to the convention, was never seriously considered as a probable nominee.

In my thirty years' experience in politics quite frequently have I seen this the case. This strengthens my conviction that the prevailing system of convention selections of party candidates is not representative, but misrepresentative, form of government. The people certainly have no voice in the selection of candidates when their temporary representatives had no idea of making a selection until occurrences transpiring during the convention determine their action.

Let us look at the system in vogue in the selection of delegates. In most cases where convention nominations are made we can trace back to the political boss and machine the preparation of a slate of delegates. In the selection of the individuals composing the slate the political boss has in mind the perpetuation of his own power, and selects individuals whose interests are identical with his or whom he thinks he can direct and control, though occasionally, if anticipating a struggle, he will select a few men whose standing in the community will bring strength to the slate he has prepared in order to carry out his purposes. Independent men are selected only where it is deemed necessary by the political boss to deceive the public and secure sufficient support from the personal influence of those few selections to carry through the slate made up chiefly of his willing tools. This system prevails not only in selection of delegates to county conventions, but in selection of delegates to congressional, state, and national conventions as well. The result is inevitable that the delegates nominate candidates whom the machine and political bosses desire, except in rare cases where a few independent men are able, by presentation of arguments against the qualifications of a machine candidate, to demonstrate to the convention the probability of the defeat of the man slated for the position. Frequently, of course, a case is presented where the boss has made promises to various aspirants for the same office, in which case he excuses himself to the disappointed aspirant by explaining that he was unable to control the convention. Thus mendacity and treachery are fostered by the convention system which by the primary system are absolutely eliminated.

Under the convention system the nominee realizes that his nomination is due chiefly, if not entirely, to the boss. With this knowledge naturally goes a feeling of obligation, so that the nominee, when elected, is desirous, whenever possible, of acceding to the wishes of the man to whom his nomination is due. Thus the efficiency and independence of the public servant is seriously affected and his duty to the public in many cases completely annihilated.

NOMINEE OF DIRECT PRIMARY RESPONSIBLE TO PEOPLE ALONE.

How different in its operation is the direct primary. The man who seeks a nomination under the direct primary system must present before the members of his party the policies and principles by which he will be governed if nominated and elected. He must submit to them his past record in public and private life. Promises made to political bosses or machine managers will have no beneficial influence in determining the result, and therefore the candidate is not tempted to place himself under obligations to any interests adverse to those of the general public. The members of a party have it within their power to determine which of the candidates best represents their ideas and wishes. After they have made their selections the candidates of opposing parties must stand before the people at the general election, when a choice will be made between them. A public servant thus chosen owes his election to no faction,

machine, or boss, but to the members of his party and the electorate of his State or district. He is accountable to them alone for his conduct in office, and has, therefore, every incentive to render the best possible public service. How different in all essentials from the position of the candidate who has received his nomination at the hands of a convention controlled by a political machine.

The great masses of the people are not only intelligent, but honest. They have no selfish interests to serve and ask nothing of their public officials but faithful and efficient service. Only the very few have interests adverse to those of the general welfare. The people therefore act only for public good when they choose between candidates for the nomination or candidates for election.

The direct primary encourages the people of the country to study public questions and to observe and pass judgment upon the acts of their public officials. This in itself tends very strongly to the building up of a better citizenship.

Honest selections mean honest government and better public servants.

Public servants who lack confidence in the intelligence or honesty of the people will find their feelings reciprocated.

PRIMARY LAWS PROTECT PARTIES.

Many claim that primary laws destroy party. In my opinion, they protect and cement parties. Party success depends, under primary laws, upon the ideas and principles advocated and the nominations made by the parties in their primaries. If a majority party fails to make proper nominations, or if the minority party has better material in its electorate, then a minority party would rapidly develop into a majority party, and rightly so. Under a direct primary law no individual can acquire a large personal following or build up a personal organization, except such a following as would support the individual on account of the principles advocated by him or the demonstration made by him as a public servant. But no man would be able to transfer such a following for or against another individual, though he might influence thousands or hundreds of thousands of voters to support his ideas, constructive suggestions, or proposed solution of pending problems. This does not destroy party, but elevates and strengthens it, and fortunate, indeed, is that party which possesses in its electorate one or more individuals who are able to advance new ideas or evolve solutions which appeal to the sound judgment of his fellow-men.

POPULAR SELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

For years the desirability of popular selection of candidates for President and Vice-President has grown upon my mind. By adoption of such a plan, Presidents would be relieved of prenomination or preelection obligations, except the obligation of good service to all the people. Thus accountability to the people alone would be established and aspirants for the Presidency would be free from the necessity of consulting the wishes of men who make and manipulate conventions. To render good public service would be the sole desire, for reelection would depend upon demonstration of capability and fitness for office. Because of this conviction I have arranged to submit, under the initiative, to the people of Oregon at the next general election a bill further enlarging the scope of our present primary law. It provides for the direct primary election of delegates to national conventions, selections of presidential electors, and gives the opportunity to the elector in his party primary to express his preference for President and Vice-President.

I am confident that the people of Oregon will enact this law, and I hope that other States will follow her example, in which event, through the crystallization of public opinion, a method of popular selection of Presidents and Vice-Presidents would be secured without violation of the Federal Constitution.

NOT A REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE.

The declaration by each State of its choice for President would be in no sense a wider departure from the Constitution than was the transformation of the electoral college into a mere registering or recording board, yet no one now thinks such change in anywise revolutionary. The theory of the Constitution was that each State should choose a body of electors who should have choice—election—as to those for whom they should vote for President and Vice-President. This theory we find expressed in all the expository letters and pamphlets written by those who drafted the Constitution. The electors were to be free men, bound to no candidate, nor to any party. They were to meet and

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survey the whole country, choosing therefrom according to their own unhampered and wisest judgment the man best fitted to be the head of the Nation. This was the law in 1789, and it is the law to-day. Theoretically and legally the electoral college which cast its perfunctory vote for Mr. Taft and Mr. Sherman might have elected Mr. Bryan and Mr. Kerns. Had this been done, all the vast power of the Supreme Court could not have set the election aside or compelled a true registration of the popular decision as expressed at the polls. The Constitution of the United States was changed a hundred years ago by force of mere popular acceptance and general usage, so that its machinery to-day is used to effect an end which it does not in its letter express—and did not in its conception anticipate. We have made the constitutional machinery suit our idea of the way this Government should be conducted.

We have said that it was better that we should by means of political parties choose candidates and by moral force bind the electors whom we nominate to vote for such candidates than that we should leave the electors we might choose free to do as they saw fit. We have converted the elector into an agent—a messenger if you will—whose honorable duty it is to cast a ballot for one who may not be his personal choice for President or whom, indeed, he may regard as unfitted for the position of President. The constitutional theory has been abandoned and one more democratic has been substituted. We evolved a presidential election plan which, while departing from the philosophy of the makers of our national organic law, preserved its letter and made it subserve the purpose of a society more highly developed than that existent when the law was made. This is the history of all written law. There is nothing startling in the proposal that the Constitution or any other law shall be so interpreted as to meet modern needs and thought. We moved toward democracy when we abolished the elector as an elector and left him but a figurehead, and it will be a much less radical move to give instructions by popular vote to the delegate who names the party candidate. Indeed, it would appear that to follow the latter course would be to do no more than institute a procedure complementary to the former.

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT.

The next step in popular government in Oregon after the adoption of the direct primary law was the adoption of a corrupt practices act, which the legislature had refused to enact, but which the people of the State adopted under the initiative.

The corrupt practices act was adopted under the initiative in 1908 by popular vote of 54,042 to 31,301. It provides that no candidate for office shall expend in his campaign for nomination more than 15 per cent of one year's compensation of the office for which he is a candidate, provided that no candidate shall be restricted to less than \$100.

PUBLICITY PAMPHLET.

The act provides, however, for the publication of a pamphlet by the secretary of state for the information of voters, in which pamphlet a candidate in the primary campaign may have published a statement setting forth his qualifications, the principles and policies he advocates and favors, or any other matter he may wish to submit in support of his candidacy. Each candidate must pay for at least one page, the amount to be paid varying from \$100 for the highest office to \$10 for the minor offices. Every candidate may secure the use of additional pages at \$100 per page, not exceeding three additional pages. Any person may use space in this pamphlet in opposition to any candidate, the matter submitted by him being first served upon the candidate and the space being paid for the same as in the case of candidates. The matter submitted in opposition to candidates must be signed by the author, who is subject to the general laws regarding slander and libel. Information regarding state and congressional candidates is printed in a pamphlet issued by the secretary of state, one copy being mailed to each registered voter in the State. Pamphlets regarding county candidates are issued by the county clerk and mailed to each voter in the county. These pamphlets must be mailed at least eight days before the primary election. The amount of money paid for space in the public pamphlet of information is not considered in determining the amount each candidate has expended in his campaign; that is, he is entitled to expend in his primary campaign 15 per cent of one year's compensation in addition to what he pays for space in the public pamphlet.

Prior to the general election the executive committee or managing officers of any political party or organization may file with the secretary of state portrait cuts of its candidates and typewritten statements and arguments for the success of its principles and the election of its candidates and opposing or attacking the principles and candidates of all other parties. This same privilege applies to independent candidates. These statements and arguments are printed in a pamphlet and mailed to the registered voters of the State not later than the tenth day before the general election.

Each party is limited to 24 pages, and each independent candidate to 2 pages, each page in this pamphlet being charged for at the rate of \$50 per page. In the campaign preceding the general election each candidate is limited in campaign expenditures to 10 per cent of one year's compensation.

For the purposes of this act the contribution, expenditure, or liability of a descendant, ascendant, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, wife, partner, employer, employee, or fellow-official or fellow-employee of a corporation is deemed to be that of the candidate himself. Any person not a candidate spending more than \$50 in a campaign must file an itemized account of his expenditures in the office of the secretary of state or the county clerk and give a copy of the account to the candidate for whom or against whom the money was spent.

LEGITIMATE USE OF MONEY WITHIN LIMIT.

While the corrupt practices act limits the candidate to the expenditure of 15 per cent of one year's salary in his primary campaign and 10 per cent of a year's salary in the general campaign, in addition to what he pays for space in the publicity pamphlet, yet the law does not prohibit any legitimate use of money within this limitation. The act makes it possible for a man of moderate means to be a candidate upon an equality with a man of wealth.

Let us take a concrete example as a means of illustrating the operation of Oregon's corrupt practices act. The salary of the governor is \$5,000 a year. A candidate for the nomination for governor may take a maximum of 4 pages in the publicity pamphlet, and thus, at a cost of \$400, be able to reach every registered voter of his party in the entire State. In addition to that \$400 he may spend \$750, or 15 per cent of one year's salary, in any other manner he may choose, not in violation of the corrupt practices act. A candidate may purchase space in the advertising columns of a newspaper, but in order that this paid advertising shall not be mistaken for news the law requires that all paid articles be marked as such.

The law expressly provides that none of its provisions shall be construed as relating to the rendering of services by speakers, writers, publishers, or others for which no compensation is asked or given, nor to prohibit expenditure by committees of political parties or organizations for public speakers, music, halls, lights, literature, advertising, office rent, printing, postage, clerk hire, challengers or watchers at the polls, traveling expenses, telegraphing or telephoning, or the making of poll lists.

The successful nominee in the primary may spend in his general campaign 10 per cent of one year's salary, this expenditure, in the case of a candidate for governor, being \$500. In addition to this 10 per cent of a year's salary he may contribute toward the payment for his party's statement in the publicity pamphlet to be mailed by the secretary of state to every registered voter. In the publicity pamphlet for the general campaign each party may use not to exceed 24 pages, at \$50 per page, making the total cost to the party committee \$1,200, or about \$100 for each candidate.

* * * * *

The candidate is therefore limited to an expenditure of \$600 in his general campaign, only \$100 of which is necessary in order to enable him to reach every registered voter. He could reach every registered voter in his party in the primary campaign for \$400. Under no other system could a candidate reach all the voters in two campaigns at a total cost of \$500.

IMPROPER ACTS PROHIBITED.

The Oregon corrupt practices act encourages and aids publicity, but prohibits the excessive or improper use of money or other agencies for the subversion of clean elections. Among the acts which are prohibited I may mention these:

Promises of appointments in return for political support.

Solicitation or acceptance of campaign contributions from or payment of contributions by persons holding appointive positions.

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Publication or distribution of anonymous letters or circulars regarding candidates or measures before the people.

Sale of editorial support or the publication of paid political advertising without marking it "Paid advertising."

Use of carriages in conveying voters to the polls.

Active electioneering or soliciting votes on election day.

Campaign contributions by quasi public or certain other important classes of corporations generally affected by legislation.

Intimidation or coercion of voters in any manner.

Soliciting candidates to subscribe to religious, charitable, public, and semi-public enterprises; but this does not prohibit regular payments to any organization of which the candidate has been a member, or to which he has been a contributor for more than six months before his candidacy.

Contribution of funds in the name of any other than the person furnishing the money.

Treating by candidates as a means of winning favor.

Payment or promise to reward another for the purpose of inducing him to become or refrain from becoming or cease being a candidate, or solicitation of such consideration.

Betting on an election by a candidate, or betting on an election by any other person with intent to influence the result.

Attempting to vote in the name of another person, living, dead, or fictitious.

PUBLICITY OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES.

There is no interference with such legitimate acts as tend to secure full publicity and free expression of opinion. Personal and political liberty is in no way infringed upon, the only purpose being to prohibit the excessive use of money, promises of appointment, or deception and fraud.

The corrupt practices act requires that every candidate shall file an itemized statement of his campaign expenditures within fifteen days after the primary election, including in such statement not only all amounts expended, but all debts incurred or unfulfilled promises made.

Every political committee must have a treasurer, and cause him to keep a detailed account of its receipts, payments, and liabilities. Any committee or agent or representative of a candidate must file an itemized statement of receipts and expenditures within ten days after the election. The books of account of any treasurer of any political party, committee, or organization during an election campaign shall be open at all reasonable office hours to the inspection of the treasurer and chairman of any opposing political party or organization for the same electoral district. Failure to file statements as required by law is punishable by fine.

The candidate violating any section of the corrupt practices act forfeits his right to the office. Any other person violating any section of this act is punished by imprisonment of not more than one year in the county jail or a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both. The candidate is also subject to the same penalties.

THE RECALL.

The final step in the establishment of popular government in Oregon was the adoption of the recall amendment to the constitution, which was adopted in 1908 by a vote of 58,381 to 31,002. Under this amendment any public officer may be recalled by the filing of a petition signed by 25 per cent of the number of electors who voted in his district in the preceding election. The petition must set forth the reasons for the recall, and if the officer does not resign within five days after the petition is filed a special election must be ordered to be held within twenty days to determine whether the people will recall such officer. On the ballot at such election the reasons for demanding the recall of said officer may be set forth in not more than 200 words. His justification of his course in office may be set forth in a like number of words. He retains his office until the results of the special election have been officially declared.

No petition can be circulated against any officer until he has held office six months, except that in the case of a member of the state legislature it may be filed at any time after five days from the beginning of the first session after his election. At the special election the candidate receiving the highest number of votes is declared elected. The special election is held at public expense, but a second recall petition can not be filed against an officer unless the petitioners first pay the entire expense of the first recall election.

THE BEST SYSTEM OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

Mr. President, I reiterate that Oregon has evolved the best system of popular government that exists in the world to-day.

The Australian ballot assures the honesty of elections.

The registration law guards the integrity of the privilege of American citizenship—participation in government.

The direct primary absolutely insures popular selection of all candidates and establishes the responsibility of the public servant to the electorate and not to any political boss or special interest.

The initiative and referendum is the keystone of the arch of popular government, for by means of this the people may accomplish such other reforms as they desire. The initiative develops the electorate because it encourages study of principles and policies of government, and affords the originator of new ideas in government an opportunity to secure popular judgment upon his measures if 8 per cent of the voters of his State deem the same worthy of submission to popular vote. The referendum prevents misuse of the power temporarily centralized in the legislature.

The corrupt-practices act is necessary as a complement to the initiative and referendum and the direct primary, for, without the corrupt-practices act, these other features of popular government could be abused. As I have fully explained, the publicity pamphlet provided for by the corrupt-practices act affords all candidates for nomination or election equal means of presenting before the voter their views upon public questions, and protects the honest candidate against the misuse of money in political campaigns. Under the operation of this law popular verdicts will be based upon ideas, not money; argument, not abuse; principles, not boss or machine dictation.

The recall, to my mind, is rather an admonitory or precautionary measure, the existence of which will prevent the necessity for its use. At rare intervals there may be occasion for exercise of the recall against municipal or county officers, but I believe the fact of its existence will prevent need for its use against the higher officials. It is, however, an essential feature of a complete system of popular government.

ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

Under the machine and political-boss system the confidence of sincere partisans is often betrayed by recreant leaders in political contests and by public servants who recognize the irresponsible machine instead of the electorate as the source of power to which they are responsible. If the enforcement of the Oregon laws will right these wrongs, then they were conceived in wisdom and born in justice to the people, in justice to the public servant, and in justice to the partisan.


Plainly stated, the aim and purpose of the laws is to destroy the irresponsible political machine and to put all elective offices in the State in direct touch with the people as the real source of authority; in short, to give direct and full force to the ballot of every individual elector in Oregon and to eliminate dominance of corporate and corrupt influences in the administration of public affairs. The Oregon laws mark the course that must be pursued before the wrongful use of corporate power can be dethroned, the people restored to power, and lasting reform secured. They insure absolute government by the people.



International Congress of Advanced Thinkers,

**To be Held in St. Louis, Oct. 15-18, in Connection
with the Other Remarkable Features of
the Great World's Fair.**

The Managers expect that every Rationalist will do his duty.



INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR PROGRESSIVE AND
LIBERAL THOUGHT.
RATIONALISM TRIUMPHANT!

Jubilee Year of Science and Reason!—Scientists Will Be Fully Justified at the World's Fair Congress, October 15th-18th, in Their Specific Work of Uprooting the Great, Delusive Superstition, Known as Christianity.

The world's fair at Chicago was made notable by a great parliament of all the religions of the world; let the world's fair at St. Louis be made glorious by an international congress of all scientific and advanced thought leaders. At the Chicago Parliament, science and Freethought were not allowed the privilege of being represented, because the religious leaders thereof were not intellectually advanced enough to allow a free and full expression of what other scholarly people think and know. While it is falsely claimed by Christians that there is no conflict between science and religion and that science is its handmaid, yet the leaders of the Chicago parliament were not inclined to let science help them out. At the international congress to be held at St. Louis next October, the managers have decided to be more magnanimous and they will provide a free platform for a qualified representative of any religion, to express his views on the broad ground that TRUTH HAS NOTHING TO FEAR FROM SUPERSTITION. There is a conflict between science and religious beliefs; but none between science and reason.

Advanced thinkers have always been stigmatized by the Christian church, which has falsely claimed to have a special "divine revelation," and they have been called infidels to truth; but we now

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know, positively, that said thinkers have only been opposing a lot of childish stories based upon superstition and therefore have had a legitimate place as necessary iconoclasts in the natural order of intellectual evolution. This fact will be well established at the St. Louis congress. The iconoclastic work of advanced thinkers has been SO WELL DONE that the victory over Christian superstition is complete; and it can be truthfully said that the Christian church CANNOT FURNISH any valid evidence that it ever received a special commission to preach the only gospel which sets forth the only way of salvation for all mankind. Theological deductions from the writings of men, who did not know the real nature of things, are MERELY HUMAN ASSUMPTIONS, not divine revelations. The time has now come to make the fact of the great Christian delusion known to all the world. SCIENCE AND REASON have forced the defenders of Christianity to modify dogma after dogma until little else remains but the "golden rule," which had its existence long before Christianity was born. The international congress of advanced thinkers at St. Louis in October will be a grand time of jubilee for science and reason; let every advanced thinker wake up to do his duty, financially and otherwise, so that science and reason can be fully defended and advanced thinkers be morally justified. From the view of Christianity, unbelief in its theological dogmas is counted as a sin; from that of science, SUCH UNBELIEF IS A VIRTUE, because Christian dogmas ARE NOT TRUE. Qualified persons of any sect, who wish to speak at the congress should write to Dr. Max Hempel, 2857 N. Grand Ave., St. Louis, Mo., giving names, and subjects which they wish to discuss. Publishers of periodicals, Christian, Jew, or Freethought, are requested to send copies to Dr. Hempel to put on file at the congress. Superstition's extremity is Freethought's opportunity. REASON is alive though Christian theology IS DEAD. It will be shown at the congress what great strides SCIENCE and REASON have made and a new departure will be taken.

The following are some of the subjects that will be discussed:

The Gospel of Evolution in the place of Christianity.

The Future of the Religions.

The present Status of Darwinism.

Christian Science, Theosophy, and similar Religious Departures, viewed in the light of exact science.

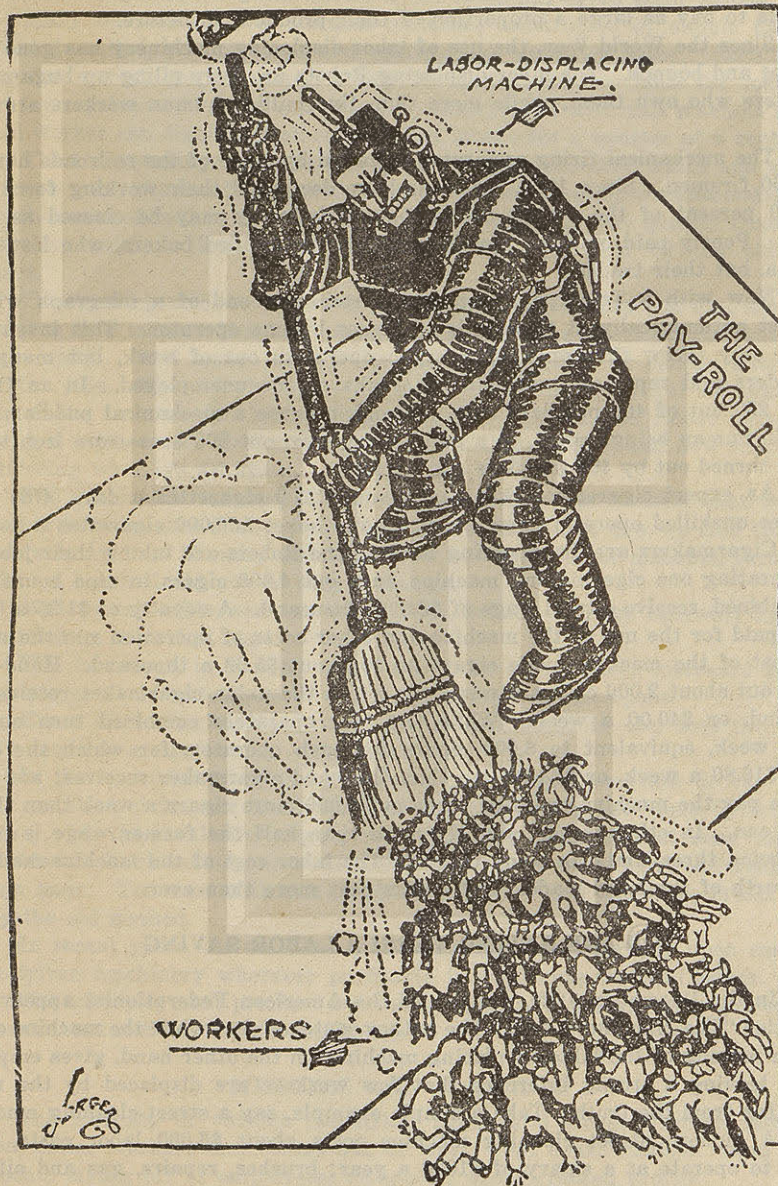
The "Non-religious" Education of the Young.
Sociology; the Youngest of the Sciences.
The Law of Evolution in Social Life.
The Knowledge of Nature in its relation to Progress in Civilization.
The International Organization of the Adherents of Progressive Thought.
The Legal and Social Position of Woman.
Ideal Law and Positive Law.
The Propagation of Philosophy as a popular Study.
The Position of the Republic with regard to the Church.
Natural Ethics as a Substitute for Ecclesiastical Dogma.
The Separation of State and Church.
The Taxation of Church Property.

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE MECHANICAL MAN



Is the Robot to be owned and managed for profit—or for human welfare?
By the capitalists—or the people?

Unemployment and the Mechanical Man

By
JAMES H. MAURER *

Human labor is being replaced by the Robot in almost every field of industry. High speed Machines, produce in a given time far more than the human workers can produce, but, they are not consumers and do not create a market for their own product as the human workers do. The workers displaced by the machine cannot buy; and the machine keeps on producing, but not consuming! The workers not displaced are unable to buy as large a proportion of their products as before.

Since the World War, the use of labor-displacing machinery has gone forward with leaps and bounds. The labor-displacing Robots are busy piling up huge profit for the masters who own them; while more than five million human workers are begging for work.

The mechanical firing apparatus installed by some of the railroads has thrown out 17,000 firemen. Since 1920, railroads have decreased their working force 235,000. About 70 percent of the output of the baking industry may be classed as machine products. Poorly paid machine tenders supplant the skilled bakers, who lost not only their jobs, but their trades.

Now with a Teletype setter at the receiving end of a telegraph wire, type can be set automatically at thousands of places by one operator. This invention will soon not only throw thousands of linotype operators out of work, but many editors copy-readers and reporters will join the ranks of the unemployed. In an Ohio mill recently, 250 out of 400 puddlers were laid off, because a mechanical puddler with the aid of 150 human beings could, in a given time, turn out 500 tons more iron than was formerly turned out by 400 puddlers and helpers.

An expert cigarette maker could make 2,200 cigarettes a day. One machine with three unskilled operators now produces and boxes 160,000 cigarettes a day.

Cigarmakers are disappearing because the Robots are taking their jobs. Four girls, operating one cigarmaking machine, turn out 4,000 cigars in nine hours and the four, combined, receive a total wage of \$2.80 a thousand. A royalty of \$1.25 a thousand must be paid for the use of the machine and other costs of operation run the manufacturing cost of the machine-made cigars up to about \$5.00 a thousand. Hand-workers can turn out about 2,000 cigars a week, for which the union cigarmaker receives \$20.00 a thousand, or \$40.00 a week. While the four operators combined turn out 24,000 cigars a week, equivalent to 6,000 cigars for each operator, for which the operator receives \$16.80 a week, or \$23.00 less than the hand cigarmaker receives; and for this miserable pay the machine operator turns out 4,000 more cigars a week than the hand-operator can. In other words, slightly more than half the former wage is now paid for production three times as many cigars! The labor cost of the machine-made cigars is one-fourth of the hand made. But cigars cost more than ever.

WAGE SAVING VERSUS LABOR SAVING

In the December, 1929, number of the American Federationist appears an article entitled "The Machinery Age." The author contends that while the machine displaces labor, the making of the labor-displacing machine, on the other hand, gives employment to labor, leaving a strong inference that few workers are displaced by the machine, which is far from the truth. Take a simple example, say a street-cleaning machine.

A modern street cleaning machine costs about \$6,000 labor costs, requires one man to operate at a salary of \$1800 a year; brushes, repairs, gas and oil costing \$1500 a year, and the life of the machine is seven years, a total labor cost of nearly

* Mr. Maurer was for sixteen years president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and is now Socialist candidate for Vice President of the United States.

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\$30,000 for seven years. To clean as many streets by hand with brush, shovel and pushcart in the same time that the machine cleans, would require ten men at \$4.00 a day, and would average \$12,600 a year, or \$88,200 for seven years. Allow \$257 a year for equipment, brushes, showels, pushcarts, etc., we have a grand total labor cost of about \$90,000 for seven years, or \$60,000 more than the wage cost of machine operation. In other words, two workers out of three are actually displaced by the machine in street cleaning.

The coming of the Machine Age should be a blessing to the human race. It would be, if the machine were used in the interest of all the people instead of the few who own the machines. In other words, if the machines saved labor instead of wages.

Many machines are of durable material, constructed of simple parts, easily assembled, installed, and repaired and operated by unskilled labor. Such a machine may require a week for the parts, a day for assembling, an hour for installation a moment for repairs—and run a quarter of a century; and with this machine a low-cost, unskilled worker can displace high-cost, skilled labor—for a quarter of a century.

The ticket-taking turnstile Robots in subways, elevated trains and amusement parks, threw many thousands of ticket-takers out of work; while the automatic-car doors relieved thousand of brakemen of their jobs and at the same time greatly inconvenienced the traveling public. Glass-blowing machines left very few of the old school of mechanics.

Card-sorting machines to analyze statistics, tickets, reports, etc., are tabulated by machines in a manner that no human bookkeeper or statistician can equal for accuracy or speed. And many more white-collar high school or college graduates are looking for jobs. The calculating machine performs mathematical calculations in a fraction of the time needed by a mathematician. Besides, the Robot never goes on a strike, but neither does the mathematician, for that matter, and now many of them are wondering what it's all about.

The automobile industry came as a god-send to the workers that were forced out of other jobs, because it absorbed many job-seekers. But now we find the Robot in the auto factories, and 30 men, with the aid of new methods of machine, turn out more work than a hundred did not so very long ago.

Modern rail mills, are now filled with Robots that are operated by a human being hotted up in a steel cage.

The last word in hosiery machinery tells same story, increased production, fewer employees, and reductions in wages for those who have jobs.

Every ditch digging machine, and there are many in use, does the work that formerly required a small army of laborers.

In the operation of blast furnaces, seven to eight men now do the work that formerly required sixty, and the loading of the pig iron is now done by from two to three men, with the result that ninety men, formerly required, lost their jobs.

Modern brick-making machines can now turn out from thirty to forty thousand bricks an hour. Ten men with one machine can now turn out more bricks than 500 could by the old method.

In recent years the machine is also making heavy inroads upon coal mining. Electric-driven machinery wherever profitable is displacing the coal miner.

The unemployment problem and the scrapping of workers over 40 years of age are however, not entirely due to the Robot.

MERGERS AND MACHINES

The merging of various industries, banks and stores, thrown thousands of salesmen, office workers and others out of work. All consolidations mean reduction of overhead, laying off of employees, monopoly, and increased profits.

So-called scientific management and introduction of the Bedeau or Taylor system with their stop-watch sleuths spying upon and driving the workers as mercilessly as any chattel slaves were ever driven, play their inhuman part. They are

ever demanding speed, speed and then more speed, refusing to employ and weeding out men and women if they are over forty, and cannot keep up the speed demanded. This moral crime is naturally responsible for its cruel share of unemployment. When one worker, by fear of losing his job, can be driven to do the work of two workers, then one of the two is sure to lose his job, and the other who holds his job can look forward to premature old age and the human scrap pile as his reward.

Radio and talking pictures are putting many musicians and actors on the bread-line. But why continue? Almost every trade and profession is being invaded by the Robot. Chain stores are doing to the independent merchant what the Robot is doing to the workers. Jobless wanderers are increasing and their dependents are suffering.

On the other hand we hear much about prosperity. It is only for the masters. In 1921 only 21 persons received an income of over one million dollars; in 1929, 496 received this vast income in one year. According to government reports, the combined profits of all corporations in this country have nearly doubled since 1922.

Profits were \$5,183,000,000 in 1922 and \$7,538,000,000 in 1927.

This wealth is in the hands, not of those who produced it, but of a few families of exploiters who by hook or crook have arrogated unto themselves our natural resources and the ownership of the Robots and other means upon which mankind is dependent for its existence.

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

What are the workers going to do about it? With unemployment growing, something must be done. Reducing hours of labor and increasing wages will naturally help, but will prove neither a permanent nor a satisfactory temporary remedy.

We, the people, must own the Robots! The whole system of production and distribution must be changed. Our natural resources, our labor-saving machinery, our socially necessary tools of production and distribution must be used in the interest of all the people instead of, as now, for the profit of a few and the misery of the many.

While these changes are taking place the Socialists say that unemployed men and women should be paid enough to live on while they hunt jobs. This could be done thru unemployment insurance, which the Socialists have advocated for years.

This can be brought about in a peaceful manner.

The workers can do it by using their political power at the ballot box, if they will quit voting for the two old parties, which are owned body and soul by the money power, the owners of the Robots, and will vote for the political party of their own class, which champions the workers' interests.

Such a party is the Socialist Party which can and will change the industrial system of capitalism from production for profit for part of the people to an industrial system of production for use for all of the people. What is your answer?

Will you vote for the continuance of capitalism or for the new order—Socialism?

Send postcard for other free literature

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA
549 RANDOLPH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Anti-Syllabus.

Von Friedrich Krasser, med. Dr. in Siebenbürgen.

Schon vor fünfzigtausend Jahren, wie die Wissenschaft bewies,
Lebten Menschen auf der Erde — lange vor dem Paradies —
Eh' die Bibel war gedichtet, eh' des Schöpfers Werderuf,
Laut der eig'nen Offenbarung, Himmel, Erd' und Menschen schuf.
Ist die Offenbarung richtig, dann beweist sie sonnenklar,
Daß der Mensch schon lange lebte, eh' er noch vorhanden war,
Daß der Himmel und die Erde schon Jahrtausende bestand,
Eh' sie „Gott der Herr“ zu schaffen und zu lenken nöthig fand.
Eh' vom Baume der Erkenntniß Adam aß in schöner Lust,
Hat die Menschheit von Jehova sicherlich kein Wort gewußt.
Gab es Fürsten da und Priester, waren solche nicht wie jetzt
Von Jehova eigenhändig auserwählt und eingesetzt?
War vielleicht auch gar nicht nöthig — seht euch an den Bienenstaat,
Welcher nebst den Arbeitsbienen immerdar auch Drohnen hat;
Seht die menschliche Gesellschaft, wo der eine Karren Gaul
Ziehen muß für zwanzig and're, die zum Karrendienst zu faul;
Denkt der Bürger, denkt der Bauern, die in harter Knechtsfrohn
Millionen steuern müssen für den Glanz von Fürst und Thron!
Denkt dazu der steh'nden Heere müß'gen Volks zu Pferd und Fuß,
Die der Mensch zur eig'nen Knechtung nothgebrungen füttern muß;
Denkt des schwarzen Heers der Kuten, das zu Gottes Ruhm und Preis
Um erlog'nes Himmelsmanna tauscht der Erde blut'gen Schweiß;
Denkt des Adels, schöner Buch'rer und des großen Capitals,
Denkt des Weibes und der Kinder und des Hilfspersonals,
Die der Eine muß ernähren, weil er eben fleißig ist.
Obendrein, zum Rasendwerden, muß er noch als guter Christ
Mästen eine Zahl von Lumpen, Gaunervolk und Thunichtgut;
Beitler, Schwindler, Bagabunden, Räuber, Mörder, Diebesbrut! —
Jedem, der zu faul zur Arbeit, haut der brave Unterthan
Kerker, Armen-, Siechenhäuser, muß ihn pflegen höchst human.
Während seines eig'nen Jammers keine Seele sich erbarmt,
Bis er selber wird zum Diebe, weil zum Hungertod verurmt.
Also lag's von Olin's¹⁾ Zeiten in der menschlichen Natur.
Wenn die Einen dienstbesessen dachten an die Arbeit nur,
Gab es And're — Erzfaulenzler, die, gequält von Hungersnoth,
Emsig speculiren mußten auf des Thät'gen saures Brod.
Waren solche Lung'rer mächtig, übten sie das Kolbenrecht,
Schwangen sich empor zu Herren, und der Fleiß'ge ward zum Knecht;
Waren sie dagegen schwächer, suchten sie mit Hinterlist
Fremde Ernten zu erschleichen, wie das heut' noch üblich ist.
Durch Sophismen²⁾ aller Arten pflanzten sie mit frecher Stirn
Transcendenten³⁾ Schwindelhafers tolle Saat in's Menschenhirn,
Lehrend, daß ein wohlgekochter, unverstand'ner Phrasenbrei
Für das Seelenheil der Menschheit unumgänglich nöthig sei. —
Also theilten sich von jeher in die Last des Regiments
Jene beiden Urgewalten ohne himmlischen Assens⁴⁾.
Hierarchen⁵⁾, Potentaten⁶⁾, bar des Gottesgnadenthums,
Herrschten kraft des autonomen⁷⁾, eig'nen Privilegiums!
Wie sie ihres Amts gewaltet vor der Embryonenzeit
Der mosaischen Genese⁸⁾, schwebt in tiefer Dunkelheit.
Schlimmer war's in keinem Falle, als es später offenbar,
Laut der biblischen Geschichte, um die Zeit der „Sündfluth“ war,
Wo des „Himmels Stellvertreter“ ihre Sünden so gehäuft,
Daß sie Gott der Herr im Zorne sammt dem Pöbel hat erlauft.
Doch Jahrtausend um Jahrtausend ging dahin in raschem Flug,

Bitte weiter zu gehen

Und noch immer keucht der Bauer darben hinter seinem Pflug,
 Und der Proletar der Städte hungert noch bei allem Fleiß,
 Und es hungern Weib und Kinder, die er nicht zu nähren weiß,
 Von der „besseren Gesellschaft“ ausgenüßt und müdgehetzt,
 Von der öffentlichen Meinung insultirt und tief verletzt,
 Geht der Arme ewig trauernd durch der Erde Paradies,
 Stumm, verzweifelnnd an sich selber, weil die Menschheit ihn verstieß.
 Allen Andern lacht das Leben, lacht der Freiheit volles Glück;
 Ihn allein, den Hoffungslosen, stößt des Bruders Hand zurück.
 Von dem reichen Freudenmahle, welches aller Welt bescheert,
 Seinen Antheil zu genießen wird dem Bettler streng verwehrt.
 Und was hat er denn verschuldet, daß er wie ein räudig Schaf
 Ausgestoßen wird von Jenen, die das Glück ereilt im Schlaf,
 Die gestützt auf ihren Stammbaum deduciren⁹⁾ ganz absurd,
 Wie das Menschenrecht datire von dem Zufall der Geburt?
 Die da schwelgen in ererbtem oder in geraubtem Gut,
 D'ran als Edelstein und Perle klebt des Armen Schweiß und Blut?
 Die in Amt und Würden sitzen, weil ihr Vetter sitzt im Rath,
 Oder sonst als Würdenträger glänzt im würdenlosen Staat?
 Sagt, ihr Reichen und Beglückten, was verbrach der Proletar,
 Wenn das Weib, das ihn geboren — eure Concubine war?
 Welcher tiefe Abgrund gähnet zwischen euch und eurem Knecht? —
 Seine Weiber, seine Töchter waren euch noch nie zu schlecht!
 Mittelst Geld und glatter Worte, in Genüssen raffiniert,
 Habt ihr in der Armuth Hütten Gift und Schande eingeführt.
 Mittelst Cölibat¹⁰⁾ der Pfaffen und Soldatencölibat
 Fröhnt man dem Laster und der Sünde der entervte Christenstaat —
 Und nun wollt ihr Den verdammen, der verwahrlost und verarmt,
 Euren Lüssen fiel zum Opfer, weil sich Niemand sein erbarmt?
 Hat der Arme, Unterdrückte hinter der gefurchten Stirn
 Nicht ein gleich entwicklungsfähig, vollgewichtig Men'chenhirn?
 Trägt er hinter Schmutz und Lumpen nicht ein Herz, das menschlich schlägt,
 Gleich empfänglich für das Gute, wie der Glückliche es trägt?
 Doch das habt ihr längst errathen, habt, von „Menschlichkeit“ beseelt,
 Schul' und Kirchen ihm errichtet, um zu geben, was ihm fehlt.
 Aber wollt ihr wirklich helfen, gründlich lindern seine Noth? —
 O verweigert ihm nicht länger des Jahrhunderts geistig Brot!
 Gebt ihm Wahrheit, gebt ihm Wissen statt dem alten Firtelsanz,
 Daß er menschenwürdig blühe im modernen Völkerring.
 Schließt die alten Trödelbuden, die man „Bildungsstätten“ nennt,
 Wo das Alter seine Thorheit uns vermacht im Testament.
 And're Schulen braucht das Leben, braucht der neue Geist der Zeit,
 Soll die Seele sich erheben aus der alten Dunkelheit.
 Ob dereinst des Weltenvaters allbekannter Werderuf
 Jenes Licht, das nicht geleuchtet an dem ersten Tage schuf —
 Ob er d'rauf am vierten Tage Sterne, Sonn' und Mond gemacht,
 Um zu leuchten auf der Erde und zu scheiden Tag und Nacht —
 Ob Jehova, der allmächt'ge, ruhen mußte hintennach,
 Weil er innerhalb der Woche täglich ein'ge Worte sprach —
 Ob mit seiner eig'nen Rippe sich ein Erdenkloß gepaart,
 Dann vom Baume der Erkenntniß ab und d'rum verstoßen ward —
 Ob das Ebenbild des Schöpfers, ob der erste Menschensohn
 Zum verruchten Brudermörder ward im Paradiese schon —
 Ob die Reihenfolge richtig spät'rer Genealogie,
 Wo sie lebten, zeugten, starben, gleichsam wie das liebe Vieh —
 Ob zur Sühne fremder Fehler Abraham das Messer schloß,
 Um den eig'nen Sohn zu schlachten, opfernd einem Wahnegriff —
 Ob den Lot die eig'nen Töchter zu berauschen so gewußt,
 Daß sie sich mit ihm besudelt in verbot'ner Fleischeslust —
 Ob in den famosen Schriften Salomoni's Dinge steh'n,
 Die der Anstand streng verbietet, schwarz auf weiß gedruckt zu seh'n —
 Ob am eig'nen Haare zappelnd hing am Baume Absolon —

Ob die Juden schrecklich stahlen, eh' sie aus Aegypten floh'n,
Und, dieweil den Raub durch Moses „Gott“ befohlen und gewollt,
In der Wüste ganz behaglich tanzten um ein Kalb von Gold —
Ob Jehova, der Gerechte, Pharao'n mit seinem Heer,
Weil sie flugs den Räubern folgten, hat ersäuft im rothen Meer —
Ob der Simson die Philister mit dem Hirschkinn erschlug —
Ob Rebekka ihren Sprößling unterrichtet im Betrug,
Bis er seinen blinden Vater also hinter's Licht geführt,
Daß er seinen Bruder Esau um die Erstgeburt geschnürt —
Ob Jehova dann zum Lohne für das sündige Geßnell
Ihn ernannt zum Stammesvater seines Volkes Israel —
Ob die Schwalbe dem Tobias wirklich hat in's Aug' gedruckt —
Ob der Wallfisch den verschlung'nen Jonas wieder ausgespuckt —
Ob Maria erst empfangen, dann den Jesussohn gebat,
Und dabei doch eine reine, unbefleckte Jungfrau war —
Ob sie sich danach gereinigt, wie es in der Bibel steht,
Was bei and'ren Erdenbüchern im Verborg'nen vor sich geht —
Ob der Heiland uns're Sünden so getilgt vor Gottes Thron,
Daß von allem Fluch gereinigt, glänzt die — *Inquisition* —
Ob er wohl sein erstes Wunder gar so trefflich angebracht,
Wie er den besoff'nen Juden hat aus Wasser Wein gemacht —
Ob er wirklich Staub genommen in die Hand und d'rein „gesprüht“
Und dem Blindgebor'nen solche Wundersalbe viel genügt —
Ob die Teufel wirklich fuhren, seinem Willen unterthan,
In die Gergeneser Säue, die sich dessen nicht versah'n —
Ob das Weiblein, das zwölf Jahre an der Mutterblutung litt,
Durch Berührung seines Kleides wurde von der Krankheit quitt —
Ob der alte Nicodemus mit dem flügelnden Verstand
Jugend, wie zum Mutterleibe wiederum die Rückkehr fand —
Ob das unsere Kinder lernen, wenn sie kaum im zehnten Jahr —
Ob sie alles Das begreifen, zweifellos und sonnenklar —
Ob ein solcher patentirter Adamentenunterricht
Ihre Sittlichkeit befördert oder ihr den Nacken bricht —
Nun, ihr Priester, „Volkszerzieher“ — unbeschadet eurer Huld —
Dazu braucht's von uns'rer Seite übermenschliche Geduld.
Blinder Glaube, den ihr fordert als gebührenden Tribut,
Nun, das wißt ihr selbst am besten, dieser ging ja längst caput;
Doch das Schlimmste, was die Schule alten Stils den Kindern bot,
War die Kreuzigung des Geistes, war der Denkgehege Tod.
Wer die Wahrheit jener Mären nur zum zehnten Theil geglaubt,
Wurde des vernünft'gen Denkens für sein Lebenlang beraubt;
Zu geschweigen jenes Schadens, daß, dem Fortschritt abgespart,
Zu viel Zeit und Geistesarbeit schlecht benützt, vergeudet ward!
Und mit solchem abgeleg'nen, tollen Unrath allerwärts
Wagt ihr heut' noch zu verpesten uns'rer Kinder Geist und Herz?
Heute, wo ein mächtig Wissen in der Welt emporgeblüht,
Gleich befruchtend für die Seele, wie veredelnd das Gemüth?
Heute, wo der Schriftgelehrte, der die Neuzeit nicht versteht,
Durch die glanzgefüllten Stätten der Kultur als Fremdling geht?
Wo der ernste Mann der Arbeit, der dem Fortschritt ferne war,
In dem schweren Kampf um's Dasein untergeht als Proletar?
Fort mit Kabbala und Traumbuch nächtiger Vergangenheit!
Baut vernünft'ge Menschenschulen dem Geschlecht der neuen Zeit!
Tief bedauern wir die Allen, die, dem Irrthum unterthan,
Nicht die wunderbare Klarheit heutiger Erkenntniß sah'n,
Die bei hohen Geistesgaben seufzend unter Müh' und Dual
Selbst ihr Leben freudig wagten für der Weisheit Ideal.
O, wie würden sie sich freuen, säh'n sie uns'rer Tage Glück!
O, wie blickten sie mit Wehmuth auf die alte Zeit zurück!
Könnte Sokrates und Christus aufersteh'n in uns'rer Welt,
Und sie säh'n das einst'ge Dunkel gar so zauberhaft erhell't,
Welcher Jubel, welch' Entzücken, o wie tauchten sie sogleich

Mit der ganzen Kraft der Seele in das neue Geisterreich!
Und wir sollten ewig hangen an ererbtem Nummenschanz,
Statt uns selig zu versenken in der Zeiten Licht und Glanz?
Und wir sollten rückwärts greifen, Kinder einer großen Zeit,
Die so weit das Abgelebte überstrahlt an Herrlichkeit?
Fort mit allen Kumpelkammern voll von Schutt und Moderduft!
Menschheit, habe deine Schwingen in der frischen Morgenluft!
Dulde nicht, daß eine Stunde unbenützt vorübergeht,
Oh' sie ihre gold'nen Saaten auch in deine Brust gesät!
Dulde nicht, daß die Minute unverstanden weiter rückt,
Oh' sie ihren Hoheitsstempel auf die Stirne dir gedrückt!
Dulde nicht, daß deiner Kinder unverdorb'ner Geisteskraft
Ferner vorenthalten bleibe die moderne Wissenschaft!
Tritt ein Pfäfflein dir entgegen mit Kapuze und Tonsur,
Singend seinen Bibelsegen — sing' du Psalmen der Natur;
Schlägt er mit dem Crucifixe, mit Concil und Krummstab d'rein,
Um dich wieder zu bekehren zu den alten Litanei'n —
Dann mit Teleskop und Spectrum 11) demontir' 12) den alten Wicht!
Oder schleud're ihm der Neuzeit Blitz und Dampf in's Angesicht!

1) Düm; ehemals; von Düm's Zeiten: von Alters her. 2) Täuschende Spitzfindigkeiten, Trugschlüsse. 3) Ueberräthlichen. 4) Zustimmung. 5) Herrschende Priester. 6) Fürsten. 7) Selbstherrlichen. 8) Schöpfungsgeschichte. 9) Herleiten, entwickeln. 10) Chelofigkeit. 11) Figürlich für: mit den Instrumenten der Wissenschaft. 12) Entwaffne.

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Organ des „Bundes der Radica-len“ und der Freidenker
von Nordamerika.

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Symptoms of National Decay

... AND ...

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By Wm. Preston Hill, M. D., Ph. D.

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"Some say that men cannot be trusted to govern themselves. How then can they be trusted to govern others? Let history answer that question."—Thomas Jefferson.

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate Justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"—Abraham Lincoln.

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"Government by the people is best where the government is nearest to the people. Wherever the Initiative and Referendum has been tried the result has been most satisfactory. It puts an effective stop to bribery of legislators. I regard this as of much importance in the final elimination of corruption and the establishment of true representative government."—Joseph W. Folk, Dem. Gov. of Missouri.

"Since the Referendum has been a part of our Constitution, we have had no boodling schemes submitted to our legislature. There has been no necessity of having recourse to the Referendum. Its presence in the Constitution has sufficed to abolish corruption."—Chas. N. Herried, Republican Governor of South Dakota.

"The results of the Referendum in Oregon have been very favorable."—Geo. E. Chamberlain, Republican Governor of Oregon.

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Symptoms of National Decay and the Remedy

What We Should Be.

Our country is one of the most favored regions of the earth. Situated in the temperate zone, it has been blessed by Providence with the greatest variety of climate, unlimited natural resources, and a soil that rivals in fertility the gardens of Mesopotamia. It is peopled by a most intelligent race, having the greatest educational advantages ever afforded on this planet, and unsurpassed inventive genius, which has enslaved the forces of nature into more wonderful genii than ever served Aladdin's Lamp. With all these advantages, we should have realized on this continent the Utopia dreamed by the poets and philosophers. Here, at last, the children of men should have found the Elysian Fields, the famed Hesperides, in which poverty and want should be unknown, in which the production of wealth should be so abundant that its general and just distribution should bring to each citizen, with a minimum of effort, the maximum of happiness and comfort. Here, at last, government should be ideal and the general industrial, economic and political equality of all citizens should best secure the equal rights and opportunities of each. This is what we should have been; let us now contemplate what we are.

What We Are.

We find that the natural resources of the country are gradually passing into the possession of an ever-decreasing number of the people, one per cent owning 30 per cent of all the wealth. (U. S. Census 1900.) The anthracite coal mines are in the hands of a few and the most conspicuous member of the group brazenly announces that the Creator has made him and his associates trustees to see that the people do not get too much coal and pay famine prices for the little they are allowed to have. Nearly all the great fields of industry are being absorbed by the trusts; and the lines of transportation are being consolidated until a small group of men practically control the freight and passenger traffic of the nation. These trusts and railroads have become so powerful that they do not scruple to issue vast amounts of fictitious capital and then imperiously demand that they be allowed to collect dividends from the people on their swindling stocks. Vast fortunes are being made from the operation of special legislation or from the absence of controlling laws that should have been enacted. Gambling upon the market is being substituted for productive industry, and men who neither sow nor reap, but simply manipulate prices, are swallowing up the wages of those who earn their bread in the sweat of their face. Fabulous fortunes are being piled up by a few, while close by, we find destitution, grim, and gaunt. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent on a single entertainment in one section of the city while in another, thousands are

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perishing for lack of proper food. The ostentatious display of wealth and the revelry of the few swollen plutocrats go merrily on, while the mutterings and threatenings of the disinherited masses and wage slaves cast a gloom over our much vaunted prosperity; and in that festering mass, volcanic forces are developing that must soon menace civilization itself.

Tenantry is increasing by leaps and bounds, the census of 1900 showing that in all large cities 98 per cent of the people are homeless tenants in rented property. Child labor is claiming its victims by the millions, sapping the vitality and undermining the health of the citizens of the future, and leaving a terrible and pitiable array of human wreckage. The sweatshop is killing its tens of thousands; and in the largest city in the Union one in every ten inhabitants is buried in the Potters' Field.

Corporations, aided and abetted by able lawyers, violate or evade laws and ride rough-shod over the Constitution itself when it interferes with their interests, and, in consequence, all respect for law is breaking down and crime is increasing in alarming proportions all over the country. In many parts the safest crime to commit is murder. Last year there were 128 homicides in Chicago, while in London, England, with four times the population, there were only 20, and in Paris, France, with double the population there were only 15. The percentage of crime, therefore, in Chicago, is 24 times as great as in London and over 16 times as great as in Paris; and whereas, in Paris and London, every mur-

derer was discovered and punished, in Chicago there were only 34 convictions and 19 murders remained unsolved mysteries. The same conditions prevail in all our cities.

Crime is distinctly a symptom of degeneration. Civilization slowly and painfully builds up definite and orderly rules of life. The criminal is a savage who discards these laws and slips back along the way, from which the race has progressed.

The increase of crime therefore is a relapse of the nation into savagery and a breaking down of civilization.

Chief Justice Lore, of Delaware, in an address, said: "Lawlessness, unrest and discontent pervade the land. Gigantic frauds are perpetrated upon the people and plants worth only a few paltry thousands are swollen into fraudulent millions. Captains of industry with their cunning and successful evasions and defiance of the law create the unrest, mob violence, labor troubles and lawlessness of the time." Judge Thomas, of Alabama, uttered a strong warning against the increase of crime and pointed out that the number of homicides in the United States in three years, was greater than those who were killed in the South African war or slaughtered by our railroads in the same period. Justice Brewer and Secretary Taft also made addresses to the same effect. And President Roosevelt's words on swollen fortunes have rung around the world.

The laboring class is finding the door of opportunity closed and the avenues of employment gradually cur-

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tailed, as industry after industry is absorbed by giant combinations, now called trusts. Instead of many employers competing for his labor as formerly, the laboring man finds but one in each line of industry and to be blacklisted by this Trust, is to be barred from the right to work. The Federal Judges are the obedient servants of these Trusts and do not hesitate to construe the law and turn the armed force of the government against the slightest attempt of the laboring class to obtain justice. Working for an employer whom they never see and who knows them not; subjected to an overseer, who, himself must produce results from the men under him or lose his own job, the working class is gradually, but surely, sinking into a new slavery, but slightly removed from chattel slavery or the serfdom of old.

Doom of The Little Rich.

But it is not alone the laboring class that is being ground down under this new industrial despotism. The small capitalist and manufacturer has found himself despoiled and reduced to working for a salary. The Beef Trust, for instance, has found it profitable to absorb the tanning of leather and it has been able to do this by controlling 85 per cent of all hides in the country. The independent tanner, who thought he had a secure business to leave to his boys, has had it either ruined or taken away from him and found himself reduced to an employe of the all-powerful trust. Men who formerly commanded large salaries and professional men of good income have found their services dispensed with as com-

petition has been narrowed, and their places taken by young clerks at \$50 a month. And this process is only in its infancy, and will gather momentum as time goes on, when industry after industry will be absorbed and multitudes of now prosperous manufacturers will be reduced to the wage-earning class. For instance, the boot and shoe manufacturing business will soon be absorbed by the trust which controls leather, their raw material, and they will be powerless to defend themselves. The time has come when no man of even independent business and good-sized fortune, large salary, or flourishing profession can feel himself secure from the insidious operations of these giant banditti controlling all the forces of the nation. It is only a question of time when the great middle class will have been annihilated, leaving only two classes—the swollen plutocrats and the great mass of the people reduced to serfdom. In the matter of taxation, we have nearly reached the condition of France before the Revolution. In that country the property of the nobility and clergy was exempt from taxation and the property of the common people had to bear all the expenses of the government. In our country the last census showed that 70 billions of property escaped taxation altogether. This is the property of the swollen plutocrats, leaving 25 per cent of the national wealth to bear all the burden of taxation.

Whence Comes Corruption.

These conditions were foreseen and foretold by the greatest economic writer of the Nineteenth century in the following remarkable prophecy:

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"When in a republic, enormous wealth is concentrated into the hands of a few; and the masses of the people are consequently impoverished, it becomes easy for the unscrupulous to seize the reins of power."

"Given a community with republican institutions, in which one class is so enormously rich that it can bribe legislators to do its will, and another so poor that a few dollars will seem to outweigh any abstract consideration; and the power is bound to pass into the hands of corrupt bosses who will wield it and sell it like the praetorians did of old."

"To establish an economic system which degrades and embitters great masses of the people into hopeless poverty and at the same time place political power into their hands, is like putting out the eyes of a Sampson and twining his arms around the pillars of national life."

"Where men are seen to raise themselves by corrupt qualities to places of wealth and power; tolerance of these qualities finally turns to admiration and that demoralization of public opinion takes place, which the long panorama of history shows us, over and over again, transmuting races of freemen into races of slaves."

With the reign of predatory wealth has come corruption, municipal, state and national. Corruption is the natural and legitimate fruit of the perversion of government. Our cities are ruled by a criminal oligarchy composed of firstly the "Big Cinch" capitalists who make money out of franchises, and looting public property by bribery; secondly, the large contractors who manipulate the juicy city contracts; thirdly, the gamblers, dive

keepers, and traffickers in vice; and lastly the corrupt politicians, who are their tools. Our representative system of government seems to have broken down completely after more than a century of trial.

Corporation Control.

Franchises of immense present, and prospective, value have been given away, despite the angry protests of the voters. Some boodle aldermen have been sent to prison but this has not deterred others from doing as they did. Philadelphia disposed of its gas plant in the face of indignant mass-meetings of its citizens; and the Mayor of Cleveland had to appeal to the people against his city government. So ruthlessly are the people's rights shattered under this corruption, that men unhesitatingly talk of revolutionary violence, and, to-day, injurious legislation arouses threats of revolt against the very institutions of government from conservative men who, a short time ago, would have rebuked such language in others. The present conditions of our legislative system are simply scandalous. Railroads own legislatures, and even ride rough-shod over our Constitutions, as in the Pennsylvania case. Everywhere the hated corporation lobby has controlled our State legislatures, and has bribed the faithless representatives of the people to betray their constituents. A visit to any State capitol during a session of the legislature would fill any honest man with indignation and disgust. Well known and notorious lobbyists openly ply their trade of corrupting and confusing the people's representatives and succeed in de-

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feating any measure for the benefit of the people to which their corporation clients are opposed. The people have seen how useless it is to try to elect a different sort of men to the legislature; because the salary of that office is so small and the inducements to corruption, which the corporations can offer, are so much greater than any individual interest of the representative that it is difficult to secure men who will not betray the people after they are elected.

Spotted Senators.

Through our State legislatures, the corporations have controlled the election of United States Senators, and have filled that body with their creatures until it has become a national disgrace, a mere collection of tainted law-makers, and notorious representatives of special interests. Two of these United States Senators have been convicted of felonies and others have only escaped by the statute of limitations. Many are notorious bribe-givers and special representatives of interests hostile to the people. The so-called Senators from New York, in reality represent the New York Central Railroad and the United States Express Company. A Senator supposed to represent Pennsylvania, in reality, represents the Pennsylvania Railroad. Another Senator represents the Standard Oil Company and some others the Steel Trust and the Sugar Trust. From several States in the Northwest, we have in reality Senators from the Hill group of railroads; from the Pacific coast and extreme Southwest, another group of Southern Pacific Railroad

Senators; and from the middle Southwest the Gould Senators. Further specification is unnecessary. Convicted felons, indicted thieves, notorious bribe-givers, men who have betrayed their most solemn trust, and sold and bartered their influence like merchandise and who have taken money feloniously from the widow and orphan—these are the brilliant characters in “the most august deliberative assembly in the world.”

Did the Fathers Mean This?

Is this the government our forefathers intended us to have? Is this the one they fought and died to establish? Evidently not. Our forefathers intended to establish the American commonwealth on the theory that the people themselves are the source and origin of all law, both constitutional and legislative, and that their various governments were instituted solely for their peace, safety and happiness. It is self-evident, that a government in which corruption has become prevalent and paramount, is to be controlled by the small minority whose money corrupts it, and to be administered for their special benefit. Therefore it must perforce be hostile to the interests of the majority of the people and cannot truly be said to represent them. In a word, a corrupt Government means the rule of a corrupt plutocracy taking the place of the government our forefathers intended us to have, to-wit: A government by the majority of the people. Therefore the swollen fortunes and the special monopoly privileges of the few plutocrats, on the one hand, and their ownership of the government

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by political corruption on the other, form the two links of the vicious circle in which the nation is bound to-day.

Here is the Remedy.

It is self-evident that *some remedy* for these conditions must be found or we will go from bad to worse in the pathway of national decay like Rome and the other great nations that have preceded us on that downward course. Some of our most earnest and patriotic citizens have endeavored, with little success, to find a cure for these evils. We have had Citizens' Unions, Business Men's Leagues, Committees of Fifty, Committees of One Hundred, and other organizations too numerous to mention, only to find ourselves to-day with the same problem on our hands. Where has been the mistake? Certainly not in the sincerity and earnestness of those who have labored in these movements. The mistake has been in working simply for a change of men or party while we leave the system, the real source of corruption, unchanged.

The best thought of the civilized world has come finally to realize that it is the system itself that must be changed and that the first step towards an effective remedy that strikes at the root of this political decay, is to restore to the people themselves an effective control over their government. This can be done by a system established in Switzerland many years ago and known as Direct Legislation by the Initiative and Referendum.

What is the Initiative?

When the Initiative becomes a part of our constitu-

tion, 8 per cent of the voters of the state can, by signing and filing a petition for any measure, compel its submission to the voters of the state at the next general election. It will then be printed on the ballots and every voter can vote yes or no. If approved by a majority, it becomes a law at once without action by the legislature or governor; and the law will read: Be it enacted by the people of the State of Missouri, instead of, Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Missouri, as it does now.

What is the Referendum?

When the Referendum becomes a part of our Constitution, if the legislature passed any law or gave away a valuable franchise against the wishes of the people, then 5 per cent of the voters of the state can, by filing a petition within 90 days after the adjournment of the Legislature, compel it to be referred to the vote of the people of the state. That law would then be held up and printed on all the ballots at the next ensuing general election and if rejected by a majority it would be marked vetoed by the people. If, however, it was approved by a majority it would be "*Enacted by the people of the State of Missouri.*"

The Referendum Optional.

Thus is it made optional with the people whether or not they will bring questions to a direct popular vote. Under this system they will have all the convenience of a representative government, but when, in their opinion, their government ceases to represent them, they may

enact or repeal laws by a direct vote at the polls, thus exercising directly the lawmaking function.

Does Not Abolish the Representative System.

This system does not aim to abolish the representative form of government we now have, or substitute another in its place. It leaves our representative system just as it is, but guards it from abuse and from becoming misrepresentative. It will perform the same function as the safety valve on an engine. Silent and unnoticed when not needed, but most useful when the danger line is reached.

Two theories in regard to representative government have prevailed. One is that the representative is elected to think for the people. The other is that the people think for themselves and elect representatives to act for them. In this country we have adopted this last theory, because the people make their constitutions, and regulate and control their legislatures by constitutional provisions. Furthermore, our parties pledge their candidates to certain platforms, to which they must adhere after election, which shows that we believe that the representative is bound by the will of the people. If we believed that the representative was to do our thinking for us, we would not hamper or direct him with a platform.

The Referendum Makes the People the Real, Instead of the Nominal, Masters.

It takes away from the representatives, the abso-

lute, uncontrolled power they now often claim, and brings them under the control of the people, whose agents they are. The Referendum will make them the true responsible agents of the people, instead of the irresponsible masters they now sometimes become.

**It Applies to Political Life the Well Known and Successful
Principles of Business Life.**

The reason that there is no trouble, in private life, to secure a faithful agent, is because the agent is at all times under the control of his principal, who can veto his acts or discharge him, if he finds him working against his interests. If a private business man should adopt the plan of electing his agent for a term of years and give him an irrevocable power-of-attorney to do what he liked with his business and property during his term of office, it is self-evident that, at the end of the agent's term, the principal would, in the majority of cases, have no business or property left. Yet this is exactly what we have done under our representative system.

In adopting the Referendum therefore, we simply apply the well-known rules of business prudence, to our political life.

It Will Abolish Corruption.

Anyone can readily see that this amendment will practically put an end to the corruption that has invaded and dominated our political life. When we take away from our legislatures the power to *finally* dispose of, or sell, or give away anything without the reviewing vote of

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the people, then bribery will cease, because nobody will pay out money to those who cannot make final delivery of the desired legislation. When the acts of the legislature are liable to be reviewed at any time by the people, then the opportunities for rascality and corruption will have passed away. After the adoption of the Referendum the whole people alone will be able to make final delivery of franchises, legislation, etc.

Professors Commons' Opinion.

Prof. J. R. Commons, the well-known professor of Political Economy, says: "One of the most important issues before the American people to-day, is bribery. No reform movement, no citizens' union, or the like, can fully cope with it. The Referendum is the only complete and specific cure for this condition. It alone goes to the source of corruption. It deprives the law-makers and executives of their monopoly of legislation. After the adoption of the Referendum they can no longer deliver the goods."

Voting to Be Done at Regular, Not Special Elections.

It is not proposed that there shall be special elections. It is proposed that the initiative and referendum questions may be placed on the official ballot to be voted on at *regular* elections. It will therefore not increase the number of our elections or make them more cumbersome or burdensome than at present.

It Will Not Be Invoked for Trivial Reasons.

The expense and labor necessary to get up the pe-

titions are a sure guarantee against its being used for any trivial reason. The percentage required to invoke either the Initiative or Referendum mean that the signatures of at least 50,000 voters in a State like Missouri, must be secured, which is by no means as easy a task as it might appear.

It Will Have a Profound Educational Effect.

Every citizen's sphere of thought and responsibility will be enlarged by the Referendum. With the reality of power comes the feeling of responsibility. The nation will become one great parliament. Each citizen who expects to vote on a new measure, must give it his attention, and thus grow in intellect, stability of character, and public spirit. Under the present system, the difficulty, almost hopelessness, of carrying any reform legislation against the interests of the great corporations and the politicians, tends to discourage our citizens from taking an active interest in public affairs.

It Provides a Safety-Valve for Discontent.

An open door to popular discussion and decision disarms discontent and gives it a peaceful vent. It prevents its accumulation and draws it away from destructive methods of escape.

It Will Simplify and Purify Elections.

It is much easier to vote upon measures than upon men. Each law will be adopted on its merits. Under this system a man will not have to vote for one or more

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things he does not approve of in order to vote for another thing he does favor. He will not, as under the present system, have to help elect some black-leg or trickster to the position of Councilman, Sheriff, Legislator, etc., in order to save the tariff, free trade, free silver, sound money, or other policy in which he may believe. It frequently happens under the present system that neither one of the parties represents entirely the views of some voters. One voter, for instance, may favor; a reduction of the tariff (Democratic), a colonial policy (Republican), an elastic currency (Republican), and Public ownership of railroads (Democratic). If he votes for either one party or the other, under the present system, he must vote against some of the measures he favors. And his choice is often still more complicated by the nomination of candidates whom he does not consider fit to hold office on the very ticket he would like to vote for. Under the Referendum, however, each question being presented separately to his vote, he could voice his sentiments accurately on every point and could also vote for the best candidates regardless of their opinions on disputed issues.

Can the People Be Trusted?

It has been objected "that the people are not competent to vote on laws; that they might act rashly or be too easily swayed by a demagogue." This is not so much an objection to the Referendum as it is an objection to the whole American theory of government. Popular Sovereignty is the living spirit of our institutions. The

American idea of justice holds that those who are to obey the law should have an equal voice in making the law. It was to guarantee this right that our representative government was established. But those who object to the Referendum, on the ground that the people might act rashly, seem to be wedded to the representative system, not because it gives the people a voice in their affairs, but because, to a degree at least, it thwarts the popular will. Apparently they prize the representative system because it sometimes fails of its purpose to give effect to the popular will. The advocates of the Referendum, however, are better friends of the representative system. They prize it because, in spite of its defects, it sometimes reflects the popular will. We urge the initiative and referendum as safeguards of this system. By making it more directly answerable to the people, we hope to cure its defects, and prevents its perversion. We say with Lincoln: "Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people. Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"

The People Will Make Mistakes.

This has been objected against the Referendum. We admit that the people will sometimes make mistakes, but the minority will make mistakes, as well as the majority, and there is one important difference between their mistakes. The majority never *intentionally* make a mistake and when they do, they correct it as soon as they find it out, but the minority sometimes find it so profitable to make mistakes at the expense of the majority, that they are slow to correct them.

The Referendum Already in Use in the United States.

The Referendum is already a fundamental fact in American government and a settled principle in our legislative system. It does not require the adoption of any new principle or method. Both the Initiative and the Referendum have been in *constant* use in America ever since the Mayflower crossed the sea. All that is needed is an extension of established principles and methods to cases quite as much within their scope as those to which they are now applied. In the old New England town-meeting we have the ideal democracy in respect to local affairs. Any citizen could make a motion or enter the discussion and all could vote. The town meeting is the Initiative and Referendum applied to town business. The famous historian, John Fiske, called it "the best political training-school in existence."

Makes Our Constitutions.

It has been the universal practice in America to use the Referendum in making and amending our Constitutions, which shows that our citizens are already convinced that it is the best possible plan of legislation since it is the one *they adopt* in respect to their highest and most important laws. But objections to the Referendum are best answered by the experience of communities where it has been given a trial. Arguments are no longer necessary for it is now possible to judge it by its fruits. We turn, therefore, *from controversy to history.*

The Achievements of Swiss Statesmanship.

Fifty years ago Switzerland was infested with class rule, political turmoil and corruption, profligacy and plunder of the people's rights. To-day, after twenty-five years' experience of the Referendum, it is the best governed country and the most ideal democracy of the world. Prof. Charles Boregeaud, of the University of Geneva, says of the Referendum: "It has won its case. Unquestionably it has proved a boon to Switzerland and has no more enemies in the generation of to-day." Hon. Numa Droz, the venerable statesman and ex-president of the Swiss Republic, says: "Under the influence of the Referendum, a profound change has come over the spirit of both parliament and people. It has abolished corruption."

Its Progress in America.

South Dakota was the first American State to incorporate these amendments in its constitution, in 1898. Hon. Chas. N. Herried, Governor of South Dakota, Republican, said: "Since the Referendum has been a part of our Constitution, we have had no charter mongers or railroad speculators, no boodling schemes submitted to our legislature. There has been no necessity of having recourse to the Referendum. Its presence in the Constitution has sufficed to abolish corruption."

In 1900 the people of Utah adopted a Constitutional amendment embodying these principles in their Constitution.

The next year, 1901, the Illinois legislature passed

what is called the Public Policy law, which permits the submission to popular vote, at any regular election, of three questions placed on the ballot by Initiative petitions signed by a percentage of the voters. In spite of the fact that the Referendums under this law are merely an expression of public opinion, which the representatives are not compelled to obey, yet they have been a powerful weapon in the hands of the people in their fight against franchise monopolies. The action of the Illinois Legislature was followed, in 1902, by the people of Oregon, who adopted an effective Constitutional amendment providing for both the Initiative and the Referendum. Since that time they have had two general elections in the State. At the first election, in 1904, they used the Initiative in two bills, and at the next election, in 1906, they used the Initiative to secure the submission of five Constitutional amendments and five statute laws, and they also invoked the referendum on one act of the legislature.

In 1904, the people of Nevada adopted a Constitutional amendment providing for the Referendum.

In 1906, the people of Montana adopted, by Constitutional amendment, both the Initiative and Referendum, and in the same year the people of Delaware, by a popular vote of over eight to one, requested their Legislature to pass such a measure.

In 1907, the new State of Oklahoma adopted both the Initiative and Referendum in its new Constitution.

In Municipal Affairs.

It would be difficult to chronicle the progress that

has been made in applying this principle to municipal affairs, so many are the city charters, that now contain some provision for the Referendum. Among the cities having either complete or limited direct legislation are Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Buckley, Wash.; Alameda, Vallejo, Sacramento, Pasadena, San Bernardino, Cal.; Portland, Oregon; Denver, Minneapolis, Nashville, Detroit, Houston, Texas; Tucson, Ariz.; Buffalo, and Grand Rapids, Mich. In many of these cities, where it has had a full and fair application, it has routed the forces of corruption and given the people an honest government for the first time in their history.

In Cincinnati, one application of the Referendum saved the people \$222,000,000, which the politicians were preparing to loot. In 1906, the corrupt politicians had conspired to sell the railroad to Chattanooga which Cincinnati owns; but the sale had to be ratified by the direct vote of the people and they promptly turned down the conspiracy of their legislative assembly. Subsequently the people ratified a sixty year lease of the road on terms which gave the city \$222,000,000 more than the previous proposition would have realized. These are startling figures and should teach us a profound lesson.

To Stop Bad, Make Good Laws.

The question of Direct Legislation, therefore, is equivalent to the questions: Ought the people's will to govern all the time, or only a part of the time? Shall the ascertainment and execution of the people's will be

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The business of the corporation lobbyist and the legislative blackmailer is to secure bad laws and obstruct good ones. By the Referendum the people will be able to defeat bad laws and by the Initiative they will be able to overcome the obstruction to good laws. It is therefore, the most important "next step" in political reform in this country. To deny the Initiative and Referendum is to deny self-government; to affirm self-government is to affirm the Initiative and Referendum.

Citizens everywhere have awakened to a realization of the abuses of our representative government. A crisis has undoubtedly been reached in our national life. We must choose whether we will allow our government to continue in its downward course and become an oligarchy of boodle, bribery, and corruption; or whether we will restore it to the strength and purity our forefathers strove for and transmit it undefiled to our children.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide

In the strife of truth with falsehood for the good or evil side

Some great cause, God's new Messiah, bringing each the bloom or blight,

Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right

'And the choice goes by forever twixt that darkness and that light.'

Back to the People.

Shall history record that the glorious experiment of free government, inaugurated on this continent by our forefathers, and consecrated by their blood and sacrifice, has dwindled, at last, into a miserable failure? Shall Democracy, the guiding force of the human race, after emerging victorious from all its mighty conflicts with the armed forces of despotism, be at last overwhelmed by the slimy embrace of corruption? Where shall we turn for the civic virtue to withstand the enemies of the Republic? We have answered that question and have pointed out the way. It is *back to the people*.

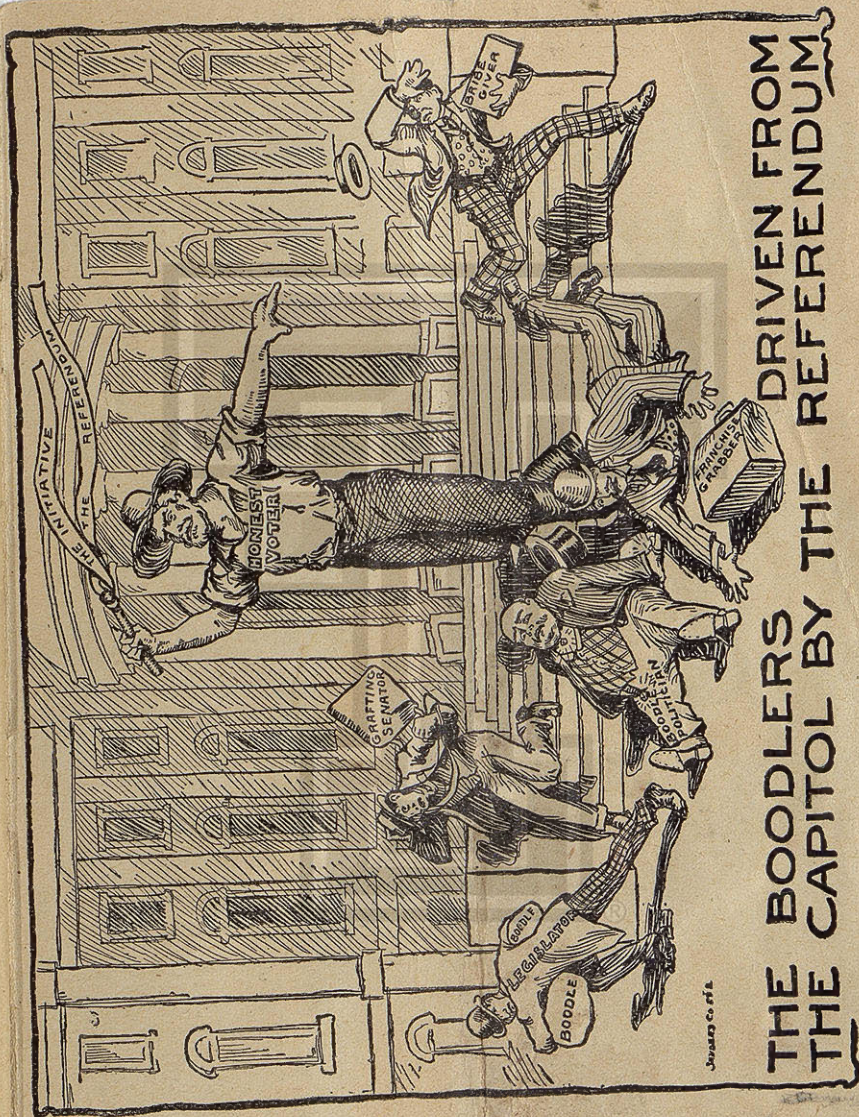
Back to the great fundamental principles of true Democracy. Back to a truly representative government. Back to real self-government by the people, henceforth securely safe-guarded and forever guaranteed by the Initiative and Referendum.

The time has come when, to echo distantly the sublime Gettysburg address of Abraham Lincoln, every American citizen, who cherishes the traditions of our glorious republic, must dedicate himself anew to protect the sacred heritage left us by the heroes and martyrs of liberty. We must highly resolve that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.



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VOTERS OF MISSOURI.

The Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution has now been submitted by the Legislature to the people to be voted on at the next general election, November, 1908. It is up to every good citizen to do his best to help pass this measure. Every reformer should join our league. The dues are only 18 cents a year, for which every member will receive our excellent literary monthly for one year.

Copies may be secured for free distribution by addressing

Referendum League of Missouri

NON-PARTISAN

1026 North Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.

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102 N. 8th Street, St. Louis, Mo.

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Vice-Presidents - - - - - WM. H. PRIESMEYER
JOSEPH FORSHAW
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St. Louis, Mo.

By-Laws
of the
WEST TEXAS MUTUAL
INSURANCE ASSOCIATION



Sagerton, Texas

JULY, 1922

of the seal of the Association, shall attest all orders, certificates, powers or other instruments issued by the President of the Association. He shall keep a record of the members of the Association, and of the property insured by the members of the Association and of the property insured, showing the kind of property, the estimated value thereof, etc., and of all disbursements, expenses and transactions of the Association. He shall keep a true and correct statement and account of all money and effects received by him belonging to the Association, and all money paid out by him and all bills and accounts allowed by the Board of directors shall be o. k'd and signed by the President or the Vice-President in the President's absence. He shall make his report in writing to the board of directors at each regular meeting of the board, or when requested by them to do so at any time, showing the financial condition of the Association, and all other duties as may properly relate to the duties of his office or may be imposed by the board of directors.

MEMBERS

Article 13.

A member of the Association is any person elected to membership and qualified as a member of a Local Chapter in the way and manner hereinafter provided.

LOCAL CHAPTERS

Article 14.

Ten or more honest and trustworthy citizens may make application to the President to form a local chapter, the extent and limits of the district covered by the chapter to be set out in said application, and upon the granting of the permit by the President may form a local chapter, subject to the conditions and qualifications hereinafter set out.

Article 15.

The duties and powers of the Local Chapter are as follows:

- (1) Receive and act on applications for the admission of new members and vote thereon by secret ballot, and to vote on and determine the amount of insurance allowed on the property of the members, the allowance of insurance on any particular property to be subject to the review, reformation or annulment of the Board of Directors before the issuance of the policy of Insurance on said property.
- (2) Look after the property which is insured with the Association and situated within their respective districts covered by the jurisdiction of the chapters.
- (3) Annually inquire as to the condition of such property.
- (4) Hear and entertain charges and complaints against members, subject to the appeal to the Board of Directors and the review of the board.
- (5) Each Local Chapter shall be bound and held liable respectively for the failure or refusal of any of their members to perform his or her duties as a member of this Association and shall have the

power to fine its members for malfeasance, or misfeasance, or suspend or expel them for the Association and have the power to levy and collect assessments to defray their expenses. All convictions for malfeasance or misfeasance punishable by suspension or expulsion are subject, however, to an appeal to the Board of Directors.

Article 16.

Each local chapter should meet once a month to transact the business of the chapter. At least seven members of a local chapter shall constitute a quorum to transact its business.

Article 17.

Three or more members of a Local Chapter residing in a part of the territory under the jurisdiction of any Local Chapter adjoining the territory over which another Local Chapter has jurisdiction, shall have the right to have such territory annexed to the territory of such other Local Chapters when not less than two thirds of the members living in such part of such territory agree to such annexation, and when the Local Chapter, to whose territory such part is to be annexed assents thereto, and when the Local Chapter, from whose territory such part is to be taken, shall after such annexation have not less than ten members, ten or more members living on one side or part of the territory of such Local Chapter, shall have the right to form a new Local Chapter, when such Local Chapter will, after such new Local Chapter is formed, have not less than ten members; and when in any city or town a Local Chapter has more than one hundred members, then not less than ten members of such Local Chapter shall have the right to form a new Local Chapter.

DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF MEMBERS

Article 18.

Any person to become a member of this Association must be an honest, moral, sober, inhabitant of the State of Texas.

Article 19.

Every member of this Association shall:

- (1) Abide by the rules and By-laws of the Association and Local Chapter.
- (2) Obey all orders, rules and regulations of this Association that are properly made, and comply with all orders issued by competent authority.
- (3) To the best of his ability further the interests of the Association.
- (4) Attend the meetings of his Local Chapter.
- (5) Promptly contribute his or her proportionate share to defray the current expenses of the Association and of his Local Chapter and to pay losses, which any of the members may suffer.

Article 20.

Every member of this Association shall:

(1) Be eligible to any Office of this Association.

(2) Be entitled to vote on amendments to the Local By-Laws or Constitution, and on any question that may arise in the meetings of his Local Chapter and in the election of officers in his Local Chapter and on questions presented at the meetings of the members of the Association.

(3) Be entitled to cast his ballot for the admission of new members to this Association.

(4) Be entitled to have such of his property as is herein specified enrolled and insured by the Association under the conditions herein mentioned.

In no event shall any member enroll his property for a greater sum than two thirds of its actual value and receive insurance for more than two thirds of its actual value.

Article 21.

Any person who has received an invitation from a Committee consisting of two or more members, to join the Association, shall make an application in writing to the Local Chapter of which such person desires to become a member stating in such application his desire to become a member of the Association, that he has property, which he desires to have insured in the Association, and shall conclude such application with the promise, that if elected a member of this Association, he will faithfully discharge all the duties imposed upon him as a member of the Association.

Article 22.

When these conditions have been complied with, the Local Chapter, to whom such application was made shall at the next meeting, ballot for the admission of such person as a member of this Association. Three black balls shall be sufficient to reject any candidate, but if elected the candidate shall be a member of this Association, and the Secretary of the Local Chapter shall notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, who shall thereupon enroll the name of each person in the membership of this Association and the President of the Association by and with the attest of the Secretary of the Association shall issue the candidate a certificate of membership, together with the policy of insurance on the property insured by the member, provided the insurance has been duly allowed as hereinafter stated. If the candidate is elected to membership, he may apply for insurance and if the application is refused, he may resign his membership. If his property is not insured, he may remain a member with the privilege of making subsequent applications; but he shall not be allowed to vote unless he has property insured by the Association.

Article 23.

The certificate of membership issued to each member of this Association shall certify that the person, to whom issued is a member of this Association and that such person is entitled to all the rights and privileges to which members of this Association are entitled, so long as such person faithfully discharges his or her duties as a member of this Association.

Article 24.

The members of the Board of Directors shall not be required to serve on Committees or attend meetings of their Local Chapters, but otherwise their duties shall be the same as the duties of the other members of the Association.

Article 25.

A local chapter may at its option authorize a representative to represent by proxy, and vote for, the members of said Chapter at any meeting of the members of the Association. This will not preclude any member of said Chapter from attending said meetings and voting for himself. Such representatives may be instructed by the respective members of their chapters to vote in a particular way on any given question or election to be considered at the meeting, all such instructions to be in writing, however. If such representatives are not instructed to vote in a particular manner by various members of his chapter, however, he may, if duly authorized to represent the chapter, use his discretion in voting for the chapter, he being allowed to vote as many votes as there are members of his chapter. The authority to represent a chapter must be given in writing.

Article 26.

The members of the Board of Directors shall receive Four dollars (\$4.00) per day for every day that they are in attendance upon the meetings of the Board. They shall also receive such compensation for the time required in traveling to and from the place of meeting, and in addition shall receive the amount of their traveling expenses to and from the place of the meeting by the nearest route.

Article 27.

Each officer of the Association shall be required to make a good and sufficient bond before entering upon the duties of his office upon such conditions and for such amounts as shall secure the prompt and faithful discharge of his duties. Such bonds shall be approved by the Board of Directors.

ASSESSMENTS

Article 28.

The members of this Association insured under the provisions, rules, and regulations of the Association shall each be liable for a sum equal to one annual premium on his policy, in addition to his annual premium paid in cash, or in cash and premium notes, assessable at the discretion of the insurance commissioner or the Company's Board of Directors, for the member's proportionate share of the losses and expenses should the Association's funds become impaired—this as provided by Article 490/a. Revised Civil Statutes of Texas.

Article 29.

The directors shall determine the amounts to be charged as pre-

miums for the various classes of property to be insured and to fix the rate of insurance from time to time keeping in mind the rates fixed by the Insurance Commission and the Insurance laws relating to rates and schedules.

Article 30.

The premiums to be charged on the policies herein provided for shall be paid for either entirely by cash or else one-half cash and the remainder by note due in not later than sixty days. If the premium is secured partly by note as above provided, it shall be necessary to have the Local Chapter to approve such payment by note or to require any security it may deem necessary on said note. The president shall have the power to reject the payment by premium secured by note as above provided or to require any security he may deem necessary.

Article 31.

The directors of this association shall set aside ten per cent of the annual saving made by the company as a surplus fund to secure the association against emergencies. At the end of any fiscal year the amount of the net income over and above said surplus fund on hand shall be refunded to the members in proportion to the amount paid by them in premiums during said year. The policies shall contain a stipulation to the effect that these by-laws are a part of his contract with the company.

Article 32.

The directors shall see that the officers of the Company are properly bonded in reliable Surety Companies in order to protect the funds of the Association. The funds of this Association may be invested in the securities stipulated in Article 4907-F of the Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas. The directors shall confine the expenses of the Company to not more than thirty five per cent of the annual premiums and a statement must be made annually to the Commissioner of Insurance and Banking by the president or secretary of the company that they have been so limited—this as provided for by Article 4907-G Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas.

ENROLLMENT AND INSURANCE OF PROPERTY

Article 33.

Any member of this Association who desires to have his property insured in this Association shall make an application in writing to the President of his Local Chapter, and such application shall state:

(a) If the property described in the application be a building—the size, whether wood or stone, its condition, whether or not the Fire Appliances and fixtures are in good condition, if built so as to resist an ordinary wind-storm, the present value of same, location of same—if in town the street and number—if in the country, the farm, how far and in which direction from the nearest Post-Office.

(b) If personal property, it shall give a definite description of

the respective Local Chapter.

Article 34.

Such application shall be handed by the applicant to the President of his Local Chapter, and such President shall as soon as practicable refer the same to a Committee, consisting of three disinterested members of this Association, and such Committee shall thereupon make a thorough investigation as to whether the facts stated in the application are true and correct and shall report the result of such investigation at the next meeting of the respective Local Chapter.

Article 35.

In the event such report is in accordance with the application it shall be submitted to the respective Local Chapter for consideration, and each member of this Association present at such meeting shall have an opportunity and have the right to object thereto, and to state, why such application should not be accepted.

Article 36.

When the Committee report unfavorably on such an application, it shall state its ground for doing so. Such objection must be secured before the application can be further considered by the Local Chapter. Whenever a Committee does not report unanimous on such an application, both, a majority and a minority report shall be made and submitted to the Local Chapter for consideration there shall act at least one man who is familiar with the carpenter trade, if possible.

Article 37.

In the event a member of this Association makes an objection to the adoption of a report, and if such report is not adopted over such objection by a vote of two thirds of the members present at such meeting, the report and the application shall be referred back to the respective Committee and such objection must be complied with before it can be further acted upon by the Local Chapter.

Article 38.

After such Local Chapter has acted on such report and when no objection has been interposed thereto and after such report has been adopted by a two thirds majority vote of all the members present at such meeting, the President of such Local Chapter with the attest of the Secretary shall approve such application and forward the same to the President of the Association, together with the report.

Article 39.

Whenever the President of the Association finds the application and report sufficient and in conformity to Law, the Secretary of the Association shall enroll such property in the Property Roll of this Association and shall issue a policy of Insurance showing that the

property described in such application has been duly enrolled in the Property Roll of the Association, and insuring same as hereinafter stated.

Such policy shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the respective Local Chapter, who shall deliver the same to the Applicant. But if the President or the Board of Trustees has considered and acted upon such report, and finds that the same has not been properly adopted and approved by the respective Local Chapter, it shall refer the same back to such Local Chapter together with his or their objections thereto in writing and the Local Chapter shall reconsider the same in accordance with the objections thereto; should however the irregularities in the adoption of such report be of trivial importance, then the President shall, if it can be done, correct the mistake and order the enrollment of the property and the insurance thereof described in the application notwithstanding such irregularities.

Article 40.

Should the owner so desire, a mortgage clause may be attached to the certificate of enrollment, but such mortgage clause shall only be effective if signed by the Secretary of the Local Chapter and the Secretary of the Association.

For the issuance of such mortgage clause the owner shall pay the sum of one dollar (\$1.00), of which one-half shall go to the Secretary of the Local Chapter and the other half to the Secretary of the Association.

Article 41.

The enrollment of property shall become effective from the time of the adoption of the report of the Committee by the Local Chapter, provided; the President finds that the application conforms in every particular to the requirements of the rules and regulations of the Association.

Article 42.

In the event the members of this association who do not reside within the jurisdiction of any Local Chapter of this Association and who have no Local Chapter in their vicinity, desire to make application for the enrollment and insuring of their property, they shall have the property and the application, so far as the description and value of the property is concerned certified by one or more of their neighbors who are honorable and creditable men, which certificate shall be taken in place of the Committee report on same.

Vacant buildings may be enrolled in the Property Roll of this Association only for losses by storm or lightning, but not by fire, if the owner is willing to pay the full assessment thereon.

It is the duty of the owners of buildings which are enrolled in the Property Roll of this Association, should they become vacant, to notify the Secretary of the Local Chapter in whose jurisdiction such buildings are located, and such buildings shall thereafter be protected only against loss by storm or lightning.

Should buildings be used for purposes other than stated in the application, the applicant shall notify the Secretary of the Local Chapter of the fact and get thereto the consent of the Local Chap-

ter, otherwise such buildings shall not be protected.

Article 43.

In cases of emergency the Local Chapter shall have the right to empower their respective Committee to act and report upon applications for enrollment of property and to recommend the enrollment of such property to the President of the Association without further action of the Local Chapter, but since the duty is imposed upon the Local Chapter to carefully examine the fire apparatus and appliances, they and their Committees who act upon the applications for enrollment of property are cautioned and urged to see and require that such apparatus and appliances are safe and in good condition.

Hereafter, flues or chimneys shall be either of stone, concrete or brick; they shall be laid in lime and sand or cement and sand, and the flues or chimneys shall be well plastered.

Patent flues of galvanized iron with ventilators are admissible.

Buildings with a tower thirty-five feet and higher must be provided with lightning rods, otherwise they are protected only against loss by fire or storm.

It is the duty of any member of this Association who is a renter, to see to it, that the fire apparatus and appliances of the building which he proposes to rent are in keeping with the rules and regulations of our Association and such renter should not occupy any building until the fire appliances in such building are in good condition; failures to comply with this rule shall nullify the enrollment of his property.

Article 44.

A member who has property which is not within the jurisdiction of any Local Chapter shall have the right to have the same enrolled through any Local Chapter of which he is a member, but should the investigation of such property cause unforeseen expenses, they shall be borne by the applicant.

A member who has property within the boundaries of another Local Chapter shall hand his application for enrollment to the President of the Local Chapter under whose jurisdiction the property is located, with the request to have such property investigated by their investigating committee and then to return the application together with the report of the Committee to the Local Chapter to which the application was made.

Article 45.

In the event the owner of a building, which exceeds the value of twelve hundred dollars (\$1200.00) desires more insurance on the same than can be given by this Association, the Local Chapter, having jurisdiction over the same shall appoint a committee of three members, to appraise the value of the same and authorize him, to insure two-thirds of the excess appraised value of the same over and above two hundred dollars (\$1200.00) in some other Insurance Association or Company; but such fact shall be reported to the Secretary of the Association.

If members whose property is situated on such an area desire

more insurance, they may obtain the same in other Companies; the total amount of insurance on the same shall in no case exceed two thirds of its aggregate value.

Article 46.

When property is totally destroyed, it shall be cancelled from the Property Roll of the Association, but when the property is only partially destroyed and the same has been replaced or repaired, it shall be sufficient that the owner of the same report the same to the Local Chapter and that a Committee report the same to the Local Chapter and that a Committee examine such repairs and report the same to the Secretary of the Association.

Personal property, such as furniture, wagons, carriages, etc. may, if such property has been sold or worn out, be replaced by new articles of the same kind and same value without making application therefor, but in such case the owner of such property must notify his Local Chapter, the secretary of the Local Chapter must take notice therefor and notify the Secretary of the Association.

In cases of partial cancellation of property, the certificate of enrollment must be sent in together with the application for cancellation.

Whenever improvements or additions are made on old buildings which are enrolled, the old enrollment should be cancelled and a new application made for enrollment of the property so improved.

Article 47.

Threshing-machines shall be insured against fire only when not in use or in the field, but they shall be protected against storm or lightning.

Automobiles and Auto-Trucks may be enrolled on following conditions:

(1) When in good order, but only protected when not in use, and when not in a public garage or other public building.

(2) In the application for enrollment must be stated: the name, seating capacity, engine number, state number, and how long used.

(3) The insurance shall be valid for two years, and only such automobiles shall be enrolled, which serve for private purposes.

At the expiration of two years the insurance must be renewed according to its valuation as estimated by the local Committee of appraisement.

(4) Gasoline tanks or cans shall be kept not less than 25 feet from any building under the protection of the Association.

Silos may be enrolled if made of brick, sheet iron or concrete and must be anchored with four resp. 8 good anchors made of wire not less than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; the foundation must be concrete not less than two feet in the ground.

Silos of wood may be enrolled, but they shall only be protected against loss by fire or lightning.

Incubators may be enrolled.

Windmills now enrolled or intended to be enrolled must be set with anchor plates in good concrete foundation.

Cistern on platforms should be fastened to the platform.

Article 48.

All property which has been enrolled for a term of five years shall be cancelled and the investigation and application renewed and re-enrolled.

The Secretary of the Association shall inform the owners of the expiration of their policies.

The President of the Association is herewith authorized at any time to appoint a special representative of the Association, who shall have the right to inspect any property, enrolled by members of any Local Chapter, and to report whether the same is in conformity with the value stated in the application and if the property, especially the fire appliances are kept in good order.

Article 49.

The property now and hereafter to be enrolled shall be divided into two classes, viz. Country and City property.

All property lying within the corporate limits of a City or which belongs to or is a part of an incorporated town, village or a suburb of a large City shall be considered City property.

Article 50.

Notice shall be given to the President of the Local Chapter having jurisdiction of a loss by a fire, lightning or storm, as soon as it occurs, and such President shall thereupon appoint a Committee of five capable and disinterested men who are members of the respective Local Chapter, who shall immediately examine the loss, appraise the same, make report thereupon to the Association within fourteen days, thereafter.

No loss or damage for less than five dollars shall be considered or paid by the Association, neither shall losses sustained by damage to wall-paper through rain be considered.

The president of the Association shall have the right whenever he deems it necessary, in regard to the settlement of claims for loss or damage, to demand a written sworn statement showing in detail all property injured or lost by fire, storm or lightning.

He shall also be authorized, in case of losses, if he deems necessary, to send a representative to examine such loss and report thereon.

Whenever in any one or in several Local Chapters numerous losses by fire, storm or lightning have been sustained at the same time, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of such Local Chapter of Chapters to inform the President of the Association of such fact at once; and said President shall, without delay, send a competent representative of the Association to the scene of such losses, who together with a Committee appointed by the Local Chapter, shall inspect such losses, make a just and equitable appraisal of same and report the result to the President of the Association.

In case of a loss or damage to property, situated outside of jurisdiction of his Local Chapter, the member who has sustained such loss or damage shall report the same to the President of his Local Chapter; the Officers of this Local Chapter shall then send the report of such loss to the Local Chapter in whose jurisdiction such property is located or to the Local Chapter nearest to it for investi-

gation and the report of such investigation Committee shall then be sent to the Local Chapter whose member the affected party is, this Local Chapter shall act on such report and with its recommendation forward same to the Secretary of the Association, but should any expenses be connected with the investigation, then the owner of the property shall bear them.

Article 51.

In the event a member fails to pay his assessment when an assessment is necessary and required within thirty days after he has been notified, to the Treasurer of his Local Chapter, a penalty of ten per cent of the amount of the assessment shall be levied upon him without any further formality on the part of the Local Chapter or its officers, but due notice shall be given such member through the Secretary of the respective Local Chapter or by any of its members duly authorized and instructed to do so, and such member shall at once be liable to be sued for the amount of his assessment and the penalty assessed, and may be suspended from the Association by the Local Chapter in a regular meeting.

Should such member fail or refuse to pay his assessment within further thirty days (that is within thirty days after he has been notified of the delinquency of his assessment) together with the penalty of any costs, then such member shall without any further formality or notice by a resolution of his Local Chapter in a regular meeting be expelled from the Association and he shall lose his membership rights in this Association.

As soon as a member is liable to be sued for his assessment and penalty so delinquent, the Secretary of the Local Chapter shall notify the Secretary of the Association of the fact and the delinquent member shall be held to pay the amount of his delinquent assessment, together with the penalty to the Secretary of the Association at Sager-ton, Texas, not to the Secretary of the Local Chapter, and he may be sued for same in Haskell County.

Whenever such delinquent assessment has been placed by the cabinet in the hands of the Counsellor, for suit or collection, such delinquent member shall be bound to pay all Court costs as well as a reasonable fee for the services of the Counsellor.

It is hereby made the duty and obligation of the members of this Association, to pay their assessments promptly and punctually and to see that such assessments together with penalties and costs are paid before they are suspended or expelled from the Association after they have been notified that their assessment is delinquent and that the Association will give them no further notice of their suspension or expulsion from the Association.

ADJUDICATION OF CLAIMS

Article 52.

Against the members of the Board of Directors:

In the event complaint is made against a member of the Board of Directors, the President shall appoint a Committee of five members of the Board of Directors to investigate the matter, and shall have the power to either suspend or expel such member from the Association according to the nature of the offense.

But such member shall have the right to appeal to the next annual meeting of the Association, provided he notifies the President within thirty days of his intention to do so.

Against Local Chapters:

Should any complaint be made against any Local Chapter, the party making such complaint shall set out in writing the cause or causes of such complaint, to be signed by the President and attested by the Secretary of the Local Chapter and shall forward said instrument to the President of the Association.

The president of the Association shall assign such complaint to a Committee of arbitration, consisting of three disinterested members of this Association for decision.

The President of the Association, the member making the complaint and the Local Chapter against which complaint is made, shall each nominate one of the members of this Board of Arbitration.

Such Board of arbitration shall as soon as possible act on such complaint publicly in the ordinary manner and shall send in its decision in writing to the President of the Association.

Both parties shall have the right to appeal to the Board of Directors and the Board of Directors may order another proceeding in the case if such is demanded by either or by both parties.

The party finally losing the case shall bear all expenses therewith connected, but shall have the right to appeal to the next meeting of the Association.

Against members of the Association:

Whenever complaint is made against a member of the Association, the President of the Local Chapter shall appoint a Committee of five members of the same, who shall hear and adjudicate the complaint, and the Local Chapter shall have power to either suspend or expel such member if found guilty, from the Association according to the nature of the offense.

Should such member be convicted, he shall have the right to appeal to the next meeting of the Board of Directors, but he must notify the President of his Local Chapter of his intention to do so, within thirty days.

Article 53.

It is hereby made the duty of each Local Chapter to see that transfers of property, the death or moving from place to place of its members, or any other changes are promptly reported to the Secretary or their Local Chapter and such Secretaries are held to report same to the Secretary of the Association as far as necessary.

If members of the Association remove their personal property from the Local Chapter by which such property was insured, to other places, the Secretary of the Local Chapter shall be held to notify the Secretary of the Association that such property is no longer under its care and shall be cancelled from the Property Roll of the Association; and such member shall inform the Secretary of the Local Chapter of their new place of abode.

Property which is insured, if sold or passed to other hands, must at once be reported and cancelled.

Article 54.

Whenever a member of the Association moves from one Local

MADE IN STAMFORD BY THE LEADER