

of the Company in Reno, by the President at Cleveland, Ohio, or by The Scheeline Banking and Trust Company at Reno, which bank is the company depository and transfer agent and will receive payments on subscriptions and forward the stock certificates. Subscriptions should be sent in at once in order to secure some of this small allotment of stock.



*The*  
**RENO-PEAVINE  
MINES COMPANY**

Incorporated October 22, 1910

*President*

W. B. SLUSSER, Cleveland, Ohio

*Secretary*

A. GRANT MILLER, Reno, Nevada

*Transfer Agent*

THE SCHEELINE BANKING AND  
TRUST COMPANY, Reno, Nevada



Capital Stock, \$1,000,000.00




Par Value of Shares  
\$1.00

Stock Fully Paid and Non-Assessable

**PRINCIPAL OFFICES, ROOMS 9 - 10  
JOURNAL BLOCK, RENO, NEVADA**

*The*  
**R E N O  
P E A V I N E  
M I N E S  
C O M P A N Y**

Mines in    
Peavine Mining  
District, Washoe  
County, Nevada

   
Principal Office  
Rooms 9 and 10  
Journal Block   
Reno, Nevada

## NEVADA A GREAT MINING STATE

**A**S Pennsylvania is noted as an oil and coal state, Wisconsin for dairy products, Massachusetts for shoes and cotton goods, Iowa for corn, Ohio for agriculture, so Nevada is known as a great mining state. From her rock-ribbed bosom the hardy miners have torn hundreds of millions of dollars in gold, silver and copper. Nevada is a state of mountains and deserts. Every range of mountains contains rich lodes of mineral bearing ores and, as yet, these rugged hills have only been scratched. From the Comstock lode alone more than Six Hundred Millions have been taken and a thousand men are yet busily engaged in opening up new ore bodies in its depths. Away to the south at Goldfield another thousand men are taking millions in rich ores yearly out of the heart of the earth.

At Tonopah, Ely, Manhattan, Round Mountain, Austin, Eureka, Yerington, National, and scores of other camps there is a regular stream of mineral wealth pouring from the mouths of shaft and tunnel. Not a week passes but what some new and rich strike is reported from some part of the state. The simple fact is that the whole state is one great mine with rich ore shoots discovered here and there throughout its length and breadth. In the early days attention was chiefly directed to placer gold mining and silver mining, later gold mining developed on a large scale and recently immense copper deposits have been opened.

At Ely the largest copper deposits known to the whole world have been discovered and from one mine at Copper Flat, 20,000 tons per day are being now shipped to the near-by smelter, the largest smelter in the world. The output of the state for the year 1910 will be nearly FIFTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, according to the report of the State Bullion Tax Collector.

In no part of the state has real mining failed to reveal mineral wealth and only a beginning has yet been made. In the early days the prospector would not look a second time at anything that did not yield hundreds to the ton. He had little or no capital and could not reach the great deposits at depth. But now the miner's drill and pick are searching the hidden treasures in the very heart of the mountains and steady producers are added to the list of fortune-making properties constantly.

Great mining men and syndicates are looking to Nevada as the foremost mining center of the world. The day of the wildcatter has passed, and earnest, energetic business men are at the front. Laws have been enacted that prevent the scheming promoter from reaping his harvest from the ignorant investor and mining has settled to a solid business basis. And the steady increase in the mining industry will be maintained and the output of metals grow from year to year. There are greater opportunities now than ever before.

Right after the great discoveries on the famous Comstock there was a host of prospectors going over all the adjacent country looking for similar rich outcrops. They would not stop to look a second time at anything that did not pan into the hundreds of dollars, and only examined formations like that on the Comstock. Among the districts so superficially prospected was the high mountain standing out from the great Sierra Range and overlooking the Truckee Meadows, locally known as Peavine Mountain on account of the wild peavines growing on its slopes. At its base this mountain is about ten miles in diameter from north-west to south-east and its summit reaches an altitude of 8,500 feet. The work of the early prospectors proved that there is an immense deposit of low grade silver ores in the eastern half of the mountain, but there was very little work done on the western half or on the main divide. The silver ores proved to be very rebellious and work soon ceased on them, though recently experienced mining men are taking hold of them and before long will be producing great quantities of silver.

Just west of the silver zone there is a great iron capping and here the experienced eye of an Idaho prospector detected the signs of a great deposit of copper-gold ore in the fall of 1906. Grant Miller had traveled over a great deal of the mineral bearing area of the west and when in 1906, he visited this great butte of the Sierras, he made his camp and has kept steadily at work since that time, in the firm belief that here was the chance of a life-time. After years of labor and the expenditure of money, the property has been so far opened that the development of the ground on an extensive scale is justified.

During 1908 a number of other men became associated with Mr. Miller, and in October of this year (1910) one

of them, W. B. Slusser, of Cleveland, Ohio, visited the property and became convinced that Miller's ideas of the possibilities were rather underestimated than otherwise, and the formation of a corporation was at once begun in order to carry on the work vigorously. The Reno-Peavine Mines Company was formed and has duly commenced business. A small allotment of the stock is offered at the introductory price of ten cents per share.

It is not the intention of the corporation to offer any more stock than will just meet the expenses of the development, as the stock will be worth a great deal more when such development is made. The property now consists of the following: The Ethel E. Lode, The Happy Home Lode, The Wedding Bells Lode, The Jessie Belle Lode, The Lottie May Lode, The Big Six Lode, The Ann Louise Lode, The Cleveland Lode; approximately 160 acres. They have been duly recorded and the assessment work done. At present the company is sinking a shaft five by seven feet in size at a point on the Ethel E. Lode where the main iron capping is intersected by the quartz-porphry lode. Close to the shaft is an outcropping ledge two feet wide that carries free milling ore to the value of \$12.40 to the ton. Copper-gold ore has been struck in the shaft at a depth of 52 feet and it is of the same character as the ores found on other properties adjoining our ground. On the south the Lewis people have a vein running \$17.00 to the ton on the average. On the north the Red Metals Company is shipping ore that goes \$75.00 to the ton and they have some that runs as high as \$350.00. Their last car netted them \$70.00 per ton. Our property lies between these two and has much better showings than either of them.

We will continue sinking until we reach the water level in the lode, then cross-cut the vein. In order to do this it is necessary to sell some stock. The property is only ten miles from the railroad and there is abundance of timber and several springs. The company is capitalized at One Million Dollars and the par value of the shares is One Dollar each. The stock is issued fully paid and is forever non-assessable. W. B. Slusser, of Cleveland, Ohio, is President, and A. Grant Miller, of Reno, Nevada, is Secretary. The principal office is at Room 10, Journal Block, Reno, Nevada.

Subscriptions to the stock will be received at the office

## PREAMBLE.



We realize that the sweet union of brotherly and sisterly love and confidence does not exist among us that we owe to each other, and for lack of these things there is a cause which, if not checked at once, we will go down in darkness and be unfruitful.

(1) Being in the days of the greatest changes that society ever passed through, we find ourselves entering into new business methods which cannot recognize any one (even a brother) except by property qualifications.

(2) We see the dark clouds of a rotten commercial system that is an abomination in the sight of God, which is being taught (by practice and silence) to us and our children as being harmless, and those who are trying to follow the Christ teachings are being led into darkness and are entangled with the devil for gain, thereby losing our influence for good.

We, the undersigned, earnestly request all Christians to join with us in a solemn protest against this extortionate or speculative system.

(Signed:) A Y Pemberton, Emery Anderson, W J New, J R New, R Brooks, G W Vickers, A M Scott, R Riddle, E R Riddle, O B Smith, S Donaldson, M H Dolman, J H Lee, — Dool, R J Freeman, Rev C G Malone, W Riddle, J H Dolman, J A McCanless, B B Wooldridge, W F Gholston, C W Collier, M C Waltrip, M R Wood, T J Wood, R L Riddle, Nannie Stewart, E C Dolman, Violet McCanless, M J Brooks, Eld E T McCanless, Jennie Riddle, Thenie Waltrip, Lula Freeman, Rosa Freeman, Ettie Riddle, Iva Riddle, Mrs A A Waltrip, E T Waltrip, V M Waltrip, G M Pritchett, L M Pritchett, Susie Anderson, N B Pemberton, M M Cole, R J Williams, D J Pritchett, L B Daniel, E J Waltrip, B P Clark, Sanford Reed, S C Pritchett, J R Wood, A G Cole, J B Anderson, N W Harris, W T Williams, Joe Wood, J H Townsend, A T Ritchie, Rev A M Reed, Rev H R North, A J McLeod, Rev G L Ewing, Rev B W Mann, Rev B F Young, Rev S B Johnson, J M Cales, F A New, Myrtle New, S M Smith, C L Daniel, Lula Wooldridge, C L Daniel, C A Reed, Alice Turbyfill, S A Riddle, T A Townsend, S C Cox, Annie Walker, M E Wade, Nona Johnson, M J Fuston, Mattie McBroom, Allie Stephens, Ida Johnson, Chloe McCarty, Mary Davis, Fannie Tolar, Galay Wade, L V Bevers, A C Cox, Wyatt Malone, R J Fuston, H McBroom, C W Stephens, Solon B Johnson, C C Johnson, M O McCarty, T L Tolar, W B Tolar, L W Wade, Joe Bevers, Jas W Davis, Susie McCanless.

[NOTE.—Jas. W. Davis, of Rule, Haskell Co., Tex., and a few others in that section circulated the above document, secured the signatures and had 2,000 copies of it printed in circular form for distribution among the people.]

[Jan. 8 1918]

Waco - Tex

My own: I have been in jail x  
I am out and happy and well x  
The one armed boy & scatte byer  
got me x

I paid a small fine x  
Lesieur comes in tomorrow x  
be cheerfu; I know you  
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Love to all

Your own husband who  
is faithful to the end

Tam

X X X X X X X X

# Auf Wiedersehen



So near, so near, thine inmost  
thought I understand;  
So far, so far away, I can not  
touch thy hand.

So near our souls commune  
as though no longer twain;  
So far, our yearning arms reach  
forth in vain, in vain.

So near and yet so far!  
God grant, in yonder land;  
Life's dawn may find us heart to  
heart and hand to hand.



*Clara Bowen Linder's Files 1909.*

# THE NEW CHIVALRY

PRICE 10 CENTS

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We bury our children in dungeons like those of the middle ages, Is Chivalry dead? Does the green old earth bring forth no royal natures today?

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By  
BERTHA S. WILKINS

P u b l i s h e d b y  
THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST  
163 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

To Mother Jones:

Who lived IT with the boys in Colorado  
and from whose impassioned lips I gathered the  
historic setting of this little story.

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# THE NEW CHIVALRY

A STORY, BY BERTHA S. WILKINS

"We're going to be a picked crowd in this car," Mrs. Stearns of Gunnison confided to Mrs. Gunther, as they settled their various belongings in adjoining sections of a tourist sleeper before the train pulled out from the station at Denver. "That car ahead of us is a sight," Mrs. Stearns went on, encouraged by her neighbor's general air of good fellowship. "Flies and vittles and Chinamen, Italians, Greasers and no end of children, of course. I'd ask for my money back if they had put me in there. We are not crowded at all here and the porter tells me that we are all through to Chicago. Your baby is the only child in our car. Does it cry at night?"

After a reassuring statement from Mrs. Gunther as to her baby's nocturnal behavior, Mrs. Stearns took a gingham pillow from a shawl-strap, gave a final shove to her satchels and then settled down to study her neighbors.

"I saw a great how-d'ye-do at the palace car 'Ypsilanti' as I came up," Mrs. Stearns began again. "Tiny bit of a baby three months old in the care of a wet nurse. Mother died when baby was born. She's in a metal coffin in the baggage car. He's taking her home to be buried with her folks. He's a millionaire here in Denver; has a mansion in Chicago, too. He's a swell, all right—a vallet to wait on them, the porter tells me, and all the rest of it."

When the train began to pull out Mr. Gunther joined his wife, carrying the rollicking baby.

"Your husband looks pale and gaunt," remarked Mrs. Stearns, eyeing Gunther closely as he passed down the aisle. "Has he been havin' typhoid fever or something?"

"Not that, but he's had a hard time lately," Mrs. Gunther answered evasively, yet touched by the older woman's desire to be neighborly and helpful.

About ten hours out from Denver the train stopped at a siding.

"We're wreck-bound," Gunther reported. "Our train won't turn a wheel for ten hours. Company economized on the wages of a track-walker. The result is the loss of two lives and a load of freight."

Gunther smiled grimly as he took up a magazine and began to read aloud to his wife, who was carefully catching up loose stitches in a tiny knitted shirt.

"That's him—that's the swell I was telling you about," whispered Mrs. Stearns, pointing out to a tall man evidently from one of the palace cars, who was crossing the platform with a baby in his arms.

"What can be the matter?" Mrs. Stearns cried effusively, as she left the car to interview the porter of the "Ypsilanti."

"Phil, I believe that baby is starving," Mrs. Gunther said, turn-



ing to her husband. "It cried just as they do when they can't wait another minute. If something has happened to the nurse, tell him that I can tide the baby over. Hurry, Phil; that man is headed for the house over there!"

Gunther left the car and in a few moments returned with the tall stranger. Mrs. Gunther welcomed the little one as mothers do. The agony of protest in the wailing was drowned in a surprised gurgle of satisfaction in the universal baby language and then all was still.

"I am altogether unable to express my gratitude," said the stranger, wiping his forehead. "I was at my wits' end. It looked green over there and they had a cow. I hoped to keep the child from actually starving to death."

He turned to go.

"Take that seat, please." Mrs. Gunther indicated the seat opposite her own. "I am not ashamed of being a mother, and as a trained nurse I know that your baby is in rather a critical condition." She was gently rocking the little one in her arms as she held it close. "You see, she is too frail to get so hungry without its endangering her life. I want you to know that I have done all that could be done to give her a chance!"

He nodded relieved assent.

"I was forced to change nurses a few days ago," he began again. "She seemed to be getting along all right in Denver, but on the train that fine, healthy looking woman became unaccountably ill." He spoke with a touch of impatience in his voice. "That woman is altogether too ill to care for the baby. It was a contingency that I was not prepared for; then this indefinite delay made the situation desperate. I can't describe my feeling of relief when your husband delivered your offer of help."

"Yes; as you passed the window I heard that pitiful cry of hunger," she said. "I know it so well—our baby is only nine months old." She turned to the little sleeper in the hammock as she spoke.

Mrs. Gunther looked calmly into the eyes of the man opposite. She read in his face the habit of commanding; there were severe lines, but she noticed that an expression of embarrassed gentleness veiled the habitual scowl. He took out his card.

"Myron P. Burnham, Denver," she read aloud, her face changing color. She looked at the handsome, somber man intently for a moment. Then she turned her attention to the babe in her arms.

"You dear hungry lassie," she crooned with the gentlest mother-mischief in her face and voice, holding the little one up. "We know you're an abused little girl, but you'd better not be too greedy or you'll get a colic. You little pink fraud, we don't believe in starving babies; no we don't. Your daddy, away out there in Colorado, turns babies out on the cold, cold world to starve. Yes, he does, lassie. He wants their fathers to work long, long hours down in the deep, black holes. Never mind; we'll take care of you; we don't believe in starving babies!"

She covered the little one again and looked placidly into the troubled eyes of the man of the world opposite, who seemed more inclined to go than to stay.

"Your name, madame?" he asked at last, with a puzzled, disgruntled look from her to her husband, who sat in the next berth, his face hidden behind a newspaper.

"Philip Gunther of Cripple Creek is my husband." Her face was lighted up by a whimsical smile as she spoke.

He answered with a look of embarrassed amusement as he said:

"Why, as I remember his case, he was in prison for——"

"Yes, in the bullpen," she rejoined, "for what, did you say?"

"For inciting the men; they were in a dangerous mood when he was taken." He ended limply.

She laughed with a note of bitterness in her voice.

"You captains of industry have had a time of it trying to trump up charges against our men!"

"But, madam, he was surrounded by thousands of infuriated men when he was arrested. We had done all we could to win him for our side. When he refused——" Burnham finished with an eloquent wave of his right hand.

"You arrested the boss because he would not turn traitor to his men and in a larger sense to his class!" she added.

"He was one of our best men, and we tried to keep him, of course," Burnham said, uneasily.

"When you found that you could not buy him to fight with you, he was arrested without a warrant for peacefully addressing his fellow citizens."

"There wasn't time to get a warrant," protested Burnham. "It was unsafe to allow such meetings. We had to protect our plants. The easiest way to disperse a crowd is to arrest the leaders."

"You did that against the law. But it's a notorious fact that rich men make laws for poor men to obey. We do not expect justice at the hands of the employers who are our masters." Then in a lower tone she went on: "We are not leaving Colorado to give up the fight, Mr. Burnham. We are to spread the truth about the condition of the miners. We will divide with our comrades in Colorado whatever money we may succeed in earning. The two sides represented by my husband on the one hand and yourself on the other are the two sides which have faced each other in all the wars of history, but the exploited ones did not know it. The fight in Colorado is simply one of the latest manifestations of the world-struggle. The men who work against the men who do not work!"

"But, my dear madam, you reason like a Socialist," he protested, "and Socialism is all wrong. If it were not for our enterprise, what chances would your men have to find work? How could you get along without the capitalists who take risks and make things happen?"

"We could get along without the capitalists as a potato plant lives without potato bugs; or, as my husband is getting along without

the vermin which infested his clothing when he escaped from your bullpen ten days ago. Yes, we can and will get along without the capitalists. Just as pirates have been driven from the high seas, so will we drive the pirates from our economic life.

"Our men make the machine, they run the machine, they improve the machine; they must own the machine and thereby control their own destiny!"

Gunther brought a tray with a glass of milk and wafers.

"You seem to be launched into deep water," he remarked dryly, setting the tray before his wife. "I remember you, Mr. Burnham. I conducted your party through the mines last April. There were ladders to climb; do you remember?"

"Surely, our guide; that's where I saw your eyes before. I never forget the look of a pair of eyes," Burnham rejoined cordially. "By the way," he said, awkwardly, looking at the tray, "you'll allow me to send in something from the diner?"

"My husband has lived in camps," Mrs. Gunther answered. "He understands getting up delicious things like any chef—you couldn't tempt me with anything from the diner."

Gunther's jaw set squarely as he remarked: "You may as well understand first as last that we have nothing to sell to your baby. She is our guest, and as such she is welcome——"

"Oh, certainly; excuse my suggestion. I was trying simply to make a difficult situation easier because of the added burden!"

"As my wife says, I've roughed it all over the west and we prospectors learn how to make the best of unfavorable conditions. So it has been in the mountains and I hope to be able to make her comfortable even now, driven from our home and employment to begin all over again. We mountain men have established a code that no woman shall cook in a moving camp. This little journey shall be no hardship for Mrs. Gunther if I can prevent it. When we get to Chicago, there'll be enough to tax her strength."

Mrs. Gunther laid the sleeping babe upon a bed of pillows beside her. "She will sleep a little while now, dear baby lass," she said tenderly.

"Perhaps I could make you more comfortable in the other car," suggested Burnham rather timidly; "I have several sections in there——"

"We are comfortable here, thank you." Mrs. Gunther smiled suavely as she spoke.

"Mrs. Stearns does not object to moving farther down, giving us the use of her section," explained Gunther. "It is much pleasanter to travel in a tourist car for those of us who like to feel free and easy."

"The air of a palace car would be close, indeed, to revolutionists," remarked Mrs. Gunther mischievously. "That would be especially true if a millionaire oppressor were paying for all the grandeur!" Burnham looked bewildered.

"By the way, Mr. Burnham," asked Mrs. Gunther, changing the subject, "is the baby's nurse in the other car?"

"Yes; she is suffering quite severely, but I charged my man to give her every care.

"What is her name?" asked Mrs. Gunther, with some curiosity.

"Why, I really don't know," he answered, embarrassed. "I took the doctor's word as to her reliability."

"Did she leave her own baby in Denver?" queried Mrs. Gunther, relentlessly.

"No. I think the doctor said something about this woman's having lost her child a few days before I saw her."

"I shall take the liberty of calling upon her and getting baby's things," Mrs. Gunther said, rising. "Allow me to go alone—she will be less constrained if you are not there. I'll leave you here to take my husband to task for escaping from your bullpen," she said archly.

When Mrs. Gunther returned in half an hour she found a frolic in full swing. Her husband was holding the uneasy little guest while her own baby was taking liberties with Mr. Burnham's mustache and hair, crowing into his face with dare-devil good fellowship.

When the little stranger was again snuggled in her arms Mrs. Gunther said: "Mr. Burnham, your nurse's name is Mrs. Wardner. Her husband is a union man, out of work, of course. Her baby died at the age of three weeks, because of exposure and lack of care during the excitement lately. When she saw the doctor's advertisement she left, against her husband's wishes, tempted by the high wages you offered. But we can bear only a certain amount of suffering. Carried beyond a certain point, endurance gives way to unconsciousness. I aroused the poor woman from a stupor which was simply the accumulation of sadness for the loss of her baby and homesickness for the husband and two little ones left in Denver!"

Burnham looked thoughtful.

"What do you advise me to do?" he asked.

"Pay her off liberally and send her back on the next train," she answered promptly. "When I suggested such a possibility it was touching to see the light of hope that came into her eyes. I'll take care of your baby for the time being. In her frail condition she is safest with me, since she seems to be thriving."

Burnham nodded relieved assent.

"I'll carry out your suggestion," he said, rising to go.

"One word more of advice, Mr. Burnham," she said. "The poor woman is in a state so near to prostration and utter collapse that I hope you will allow no tone of impatience to reach her ears. She is a sensitive woman and you can afford to be generous, Mr. Burnham, and that not only with money."

"Certainly. Thank you, Mrs. Gunther. I'm a blunderer with women," he said, almost humbly. "I'm so accustomed to come down hard on the men, you see."

In the evening Burnham sat in an empty seat of the tourist car holding his baby. He had become quite accustomed to handling the youngsters alternately. Never in his life had he realized that a baby could be an object of interest until he saw Gunther's breezy enjoyment of his own "little cuss," his intelligent discipline of the little chap, and the careful physical culture exercises which he delighted in giving between day and night clothes. Burnham saw a new world, of which he had known nothing, open up before him. He found for the first time that there were many things that a father might do for his child that no money could buy from a stranger.

Gunther brought in a young man from the platform and introduced him cordially to his wife.

"Gertrude, here is a young man from Oregon. He's a bona fide class-conscious Socialist; a man after your own heart, right up on Marx and all the rest of the prophets. He's about to take a course in oratory and general culture lines to make an agitator of himself!"

"Comrade Casey, I'm delighted to know you!" she exclaimed, seating the young man opposite; then with the Freemasonry of a common enthusiasm between them, the two launched into a discussion on the conditions of the Socialist movement in the West and the strike in Colorado. Burnham listened intensely interested. He was surprised to find the young fellow a remarkably clear reasoner, a fluent speaker, and fiery with the sincerity which comes from suffering at first hand.

"I worked on ranches for ten years after my sister and I were left alone in the world," he explained. "Now my sister is teaching and well able to care for herself. I was working with a pretty tough gang and I took things in with the boys until I became a Socialist. Since that time I have taken ten Socialist papers and doing what I could for the cause among the boys in a quiet way, and I've about cut out whisky and certainly reduced my tobacco to a third what I used to allow myself. It seems a crime to sit down and blow away in smoke money that is needed for propaganda literature. But this strike in Colorado is the best kind of propaganda that we could have. The boys all over the West are tumbling on to Socialism. They see now that the mines must be collectively owned and it is not a great stretch of the imagination to think of all work being done collectively under the most favorable condition to the workers!"

"Let us hear from you, Comrade Casey," Mrs. Gunther said, when the young fellow took his leave. "A letter to the National Headquarters in Chicago will always reach us." They parted like old friends.

"Charles Hoffman Casey," she read from his card in her hand. "He's a fine young fellow! He'll make his mark with his Irish magnetism and his German balance and good common sense."

"So you workers feel quite sure that you could get along without capitalists, do you?" Burnham asked as he seated himself opposite

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Mrs. Gunther. She was sipping a cup of beef tea which Gunther had just prepared.

She looked up into his face quizzically.

"Be careful, Mr. Burnham, you are speaking to a professional agitator for Socialism. I am tempted to throw great broadsides of our philosophy at you as I should do if you were a workingman. If you are afraid of being bored tell me so and I shall be content to say something rather more suited for babes, sociologically speaking."

"No, I promise not to be bored, so send along your broadsides. The boy certainly had a grip on conditions in the West. I see that the reasoning is fundamentally different from that of the business world. I want to understand your position. The fact is, my wife was very much interested in these lines in her club work and I have never met any one before I met you who had the ability to make the matter clear."

"I think I can do that, but remember, I have warned you beforehand because I do not like to be tiresome to anyone. You asked me how we would get along without capitalists?" she began in a voice of light good humor. "We get long without robbers in our homes and we do not miss pirates on the high seas. You take risks, you say. Robbers take risks and they work hard in just your way. We can elect experts to direct enterprises from our own men. We do not need you capitalists but we do need that which gives you power. We need wealth. We must have factories, railroads, farms and all other means of production. That is wealth—we must have it all to run our business."

"Wealth is the product of ability and labor," he interposed. "We have the ability—the workers have the labor-power. Working together in harmony would—"

"But don't you see that harmony is impossible between the robber and his victim? That is hard for you to see because you have never been the victim. You must rob the workers to make profits and you must make the largest profits possible—that's the fundamental law of the game. When your dividends show up big at the end of each quarter, it is just so much life-energy taken from the workers for which they have received no returns. We do not blame you, we blame ourselves; for that reason we do not care to waste our time talking Socialism to men of your class. You are doing all in your power to bring it on by your merciless tactics. If you were kind and considerate and careful to your victims, our workers would be grateful and inconveniently loyal to you. You capitalists are class-conscious, intensely so. We need to make our men class-conscious and when they are, then your dividends, which is their life-blood made current in coin, this then will not be given to you. As capitalists you cannot exist under our scheme of things; as men you will have an equal chance to life, liberty and happiness that we all have. Under your management the workers have no chance as workers nor have they a chance as men. You make absolutely no provision for

us. Since the machine does the great part of the productive work, we are not necessary to you. The workers are facing starvation not as individuals, but as a class. It's not 'Your money or your life,' but it's 'Your money and your life.' Mr. Capitalist, we workers are playing your game because we must, with dice loaded to tumble your way at every throw. We are getting ready to quit your game and make you play fair. That will be when society passes from the competitive to the co-operative form of production. You have a refreshing way of speaking of ability as something apart from labor," she went on. "Ability does not count in industry until it is applied to produce something of value to man and then it becomes labor, too—brain labor for which you pay wages."

He looked into her animated face thoughtfully.

"We contend that all ability that really counts in production comes from the working class," she began again. "The men who worked with the primitive tools invented better ones and now that the little tool has become the great machine, the workers are dependent upon the capitalists as never before in the history of the world. The workers must go to the capitalists——"

"Yes, we furnish the money to build the factory and put the machines in for the workers to use," he broke in.

"But the joke that you can't see is that the workers furnish the money," she said smiling. "If the workers didn't produce the wealth where would your capital come from? Your class simply scheme to capture it from those who have produced it. But not one brick do you lay upon another in the building of the factory, nor get the iron from the ground, nor did you change that iron into steel; nor did you invent the machine. The whole thing, capital and all was produced by the workers!" Her eyes were shining, her cheeks a vivid pink. She was evidently in her element in economic discussions.

"Take my husband's case, for instance. He took out two patents on mining machinery and is hoping to get out another when we get to Chicago. The company helped him with the patents, paid him a few hundred dollars for them and gave him a better paying position in the mines. We had a pleasanter home than the other miners. We had music, books, pictures for our friends and neighbors to enjoy with us. Our home was a center for teaching the revolutionary doctrines and the revolutionary songs. Our large living room was like a little hall where many workingmen heard for the first time the new gospel of discontent with the anarchy of the competitive system as we have it to-day. Now our home is sold for a song, our furniture is stored and our little bank account has been drawn. Half of it has been turned over to the strikers' fund, with the other half we are facing the new life and we know the difficulties ahead. My husband has skill to sell in a world where skilled workmen are a drug on the market. The machine is the skilled workman of our time." She paused; it was evident that she fully realized the difficulties in the near future. "While Mr. Gunther was at work improving machin-

ery and directing a shift of men, you were scheming to get more and more out of them. To do that, you had to make them sick with overwork and desperate when not at work; all this you must do to get large dividends upon your watered stock, and then you complacently call it 'Ability.'"

"You misunderstand me," he began, holding his ground, "what I mean by 'ability' is the power to direct an enterprise on the outside. It's that foresight which is necessary to insure the success of an undertaking."

"You mean that watchfulness which keeps ahead of some competitor in the same line of business," she said, "but that kind of foresight is necessary only under competition, of course. The legitimate work of producing wealth is not interesting to you, however. You have a royal road to wealth which brings you millions where the old honest way brings but hundreds. You, as the leader of the men who control the mining stock market in Colorado, manage that market so that legitimate investors have absolutely no chance to win. Monte Carlo offers a sure thing to the gamblers in comparison with your game. You decided, for instance, at some dinner among yourselves, that your mines were petering out. Next day, the sad news was noised abroad, spreading their blight of dismay. Shares dropped to the limit and your men were on hand to buy them up. So the widows and the tottering invalids and the rest of the gullible folk sold out. Soon after that to your great surprise, you struck a wonderful vein of ore. Specimens of this new find were sent around to be tested by experts. Great chunks of it were exhibited in store windows. Your mine was declared an inexhaustible bonanza. Shares soared and then you sold out to another set of gullible folk and made millions in the little deal. But with all your ability and foresight, you have produced nothing but misery. This is one department of your work—but there is another." She paused until he said, with a wry smile:

"Go on, I'm intensely interested in my work."

"The other department of your work is 'coming down hard on the men.' When they ask for an eight-hour day in the dripping, steaming, smoke-laden mines, when they as voters, decide that an eight-hour day shall be established by law throughout the State, then you exert your ability in buying up legislatures, courts, all departments of the civil government and hiring the militia from the State to shoot down miners or club them into the bull-pen."

"Come, come now," Burnham laughed testily as Gunther took the sleeping babe from its mother's arms to put it to bed. "Did you teach her all this, Gunther? She knows more about the tricks of my trade than I do myself!"

"You'll have to get up early in the morning if you want to keep up with her on tricks!" Gunther remarked, laying the baby down carefully. "She was a school ma'am before she was a trained nurse. What the school boys and the invalids didn't teach her, she has



learned lately, running women's clubs. But I'm not good at talking to millionaire oppressors. I'm going to leave that to her!"

"He's more at home on a soap-box with thousands of wage slaves around him listening to his call for a great revolution!" she said, archly.

As a man of the world, Burnham was punctilious in every grace of the social custom toward women; but he had never especially enjoyed their society for the very reason of the restraint to which he felt bound. In spite of the constant clash of ideas and war of words, he felt more at home with these two young people than he had ever felt with strangers before. His presence at all times of the day was taken as a matter of course; he was drawn into discussions as if he were an old friend while his consuming interest in his baby and her welfare was taken for granted by the young parents.

"We're raising this little cuss according to Hoyle," Gunther remarked, holding the dimpling smiling baby up high in one hand. "We take a snap-shot of him at least twice a month, and his mother makes records in the baby-book whenever the young idea has done some shooting!"

"The gall of the man!" she laughed. "That baby-book is more than half in his writing—a clear case of joint authorship which is to be given to the lad when he is fourteen years old. So you see we're planning ahead."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Let's tune up a bit," suggested Gunther, later, taking the seat beside his wife. "All the chores are done for the night and if you're careful not to drown me out, I'll make it soft and tender." He led off with "Annie Laurie" in a fine baritone of considerable training to which she added an exquisite harmony.

When the impromptu duet was sung encores from the passengers gave an excuse for "The Marseillaise" and other songs of freedom. The last was "Nearer My God to Thee."

Burnham had not heard it sung since the simple Episcopalian service over his wife's coffin which seemed like yesterday as the song carried him back over the weeks.

"Go on, go on," he said, rising. He stooped beside the hammock in which his little one lay asleep. The older child lay in baby oblivion upon a bed of pillows.

When the singers had refused to respond to any more encores from the passengers, Burnham returned to his seat opposite the young people.

"Please do not take my question as an impertinence," he began, "but what are you planning to do, Gunther, when you get to Chicago?"

"Get my family settled as best I can and then strike out to find a job as an expert machinist," Gunther said frankly. "I want to get into some shop if possible where I might work up my model on the side. It will take a good six months, working at odd times, to finish

that and get my application for a patent ready to send to Washington."

"Have you made any arrangements ahead for securing quarters?" asked Burnham.

"No, we'll go to some hotel for a day or two until I get a little flat furnished up," Gunther returned. "That's the way we poor folks do."

"My home in Chicago is a great empty place," Burnham began, apologetically. "I hope you will not refuse me the great pleasure of having you make it your home. I shall be at my club, but there will be trusty servants to see to your comforts. With Mrs. Gunther and the babies there it would seem full of life where now it is desolate."

Burnham looked at Gunther, who was evidently waiting for his wife to speak. He turned to Mrs. Gunther, there was a gleam of intense appeal in his somber eyes.

"I'm sorry, Mr. Burnham, but I should not draw an easy breath in such a place." The magnetic sincerity which he was beginning to know shone from her face. "I could not be happy in a grand house. I should be afraid of becoming used to the beautiful things which I so long to enjoy. But I do not want to enjoy them until I know that everybody has them. As it is, the beautiful pictures, the bits of bric-a-brac, the books, the rugs, all that idle money invested in dead things would cry to me in voices of children without food, or clothes, or shelter! The very stones at your door would cry in protest against ease for the shirker and squalor and starvation for the worker!"

"I'm afraid we'd be very unhappy there, Burnham, the two of us. I was leaving it to her and you see it's out of the question," Gunther spoke gently. "But do not be uneasy about your baby, if you care to leave her with us for a while. She's thriving like a little pink pig, as it is, and I see no reason why she wouldn't continue to improve even if she stays with poor folks a while to get a good grip on life."

"It wasn't the baby only," Burnham said, crestfallen, "for strange at it may seem, I was thinking of the difficulties confronting you!"

"Chicago is not likely to hold terrors compared with those we have left behind," she said. "Not for some years yet. We escaped from your prison and the swill which we were supposed to eat. Can you blame us for thinking that your solicitude for our welfare would have been more opportune if we had experienced a little of it in Colorado?"

Burnham arose, his face firm with purpose. "It seems to me that under the peculiar circumstances it would have been but generous on your part to have accepted my offer," he said, rising to leave the car. Defeat at every turn was evidently an uncommon experience to him. His lips were set as he entered the telegraph office at the next station. "Hold the train a moment, conductor," he spoke with easy assurance, "I have a telegraph of some length to send."

The telegram was already written but he changed words here and there as he read it over. It was as follows:

Mrs. Margaret Elliott, ———— Prairie avenue, Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Aunt Margaret—You are a good Socialist, I am a bad capitalist. A pair of comrades of yours, husband and wife, will be on the train which gets into Union Station at 8:30 to-morrow evening. The wife has a baby and it so happened that she saved my baby's life as the nurse was ill and baby starving. We were wreck-bound and only just well started now. They are fiercely proud; will accept nothing from me. I want you to ignore me entirely when you board the train. I want you to ask for Mr. Philip Gunther in the tourist sleeper which is just ahead of the Pullman car "Ypsilanti." You must have a flat all ready for them. Take them in a street car—a carriage would frighten them. Don't make the flat too fine—they would suspect. You are a simple old-fashioned woman who has received a telegram from comrades in Denver asking you to meet them. Call up Tom Heath for me and tell him that if Philip Gunther comes to his shop for a job to put him on anyhow. Give Gunther Heath's address the very first evening, so they may have as little worry as possible. If she feels inclined, I should be glad to have Cousin Lucy meet me in the car 'Yysilanti.' Harrington will be there to represent the boys from the club. They will go with me to follow my dead. You, mother Margaret, will go with my little one.

"Answer at Burlington. Don't fail me. I know what a hustler Lucy is. She'll get the flat all ready and have a good girl on hand to help. Let her be a Socialist instructed to keep mum. Don't let them suspect my hand in this. They are too proud to do anything with. I never was so abused in my life. I'm worth about 15 cents.

"M. P. Burnham."

Next morning at the stop for breakfast Burnham was hesitating at the door of the tourist sleeper when Mrs. Gunther emerged carrying his little one, followed by Mrs. Stearns with the older child.

"We're going to take a turn with the babies while the men clear up the camp," Mrs. Gunther said, gaily. "Babies need fresh air. We had a splendid night until about 5 o'clock, and since that time the little citizens have kept us moving!"

Burnham took his baby from her arms. They made several brisk turns on the platform, Gertrude between them with a hand on the arm of each. On their return to the car, Burnham began to look through a pamphlet—it was an economic discussion on the evils of rent, profit and interest.

"By the way, Mrs. Gunther, the theory of the Socialists is to divide the property of the country among its citizens, isn't it?"

"No, we want to stop the dividing up. That's what we have now!" she answered, alert and ready for a discussion. "What part of the United States post office system do you or I own, Mr. Burnham? Divided up, we might each get a nail or a piece of wood; as it is we are

served at cost. A dividing would make the postal service of no value to us."

"But the abuses in the management of the postoffice are an argument against the public management of other industries," argued Burnham.

"The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy,' we say with Carlyle," she began with ready recourse. "We would not turn our postal system into private hands, would we?"

"The great railroads and telegraph corporations have attached themselves to the postal service and rob the nation of hundreds of millions of dollars annually. The government pays a certain railroad which is especially well represented in the United States Senate, nine cents for every pound of mail carried, while the privately owned express company gets the same service on the same road for less than two cents a pound. But notwithstanding drains of this kind, our postal service is the best, the cheapest and the most satisfactory public service that we have. Do the express, telegraph or railway companies serve us as well or as cheaply?"

"Go on," he said, smiling, "I catch your argument."

"If the government owned the telegraph system, for instance, we should be sending telegrams to all parts of the country for a few cents, as we now send letters. The postal service is planned to serve the people. The telegraph service is planned to insure profits to its owners. If all business now run for profits were carried on with the one purpose of giving the people the best service possible at cost, then the co-operative commonwealth would be practically established. Food, clothing and shelter would become matters of course as the air that we breathe. If a child takes a loaf of bread to-day, to keep from starving, he is punished; the bread is cared for—the child is not. Bread is property; our government is planned to protect property not to serve the people nor to protect them from starvation nor anything else."

"You do not seem to deplore the great consolidations of capital," he remarked, tentatively.

"No, we know that concentration of capital is inevitable. It is childish to think of going back to the good old days of competition, and it is futile to spend time trying to prevent combinations of capital. We can not make history backwards as a man can not wear the garments of the boy. Industrial development pushes irresistibly toward the crisis when the combinations of wealth will be so obviously national in scope, controlling the judicial, legislative and executive departments of the government, that the change from private ownership to collective ownership will be inevitable. In the beginning of manufacture there was practically no competition and no men out of work because the work of many hands was required to provide the necessities of life for all.

"As the machines were invented and improved, competition became general and even deadly until all but a few were out of the game and the final consolidation into the trust resulted. The trust control

the price paid for the raw material, the transportation facilities, the wages of the workers yet necessary, and the price to be charged the consumers for the finished product. Under the trust there is no competition."

"Your labor unions are simply trusts doing away with competition in the labor market," Burnham remarked.

"When a man raises a club to strike your head, don't you instinctively raise your arm to protect the vital seat of consciousness?" she asked. "The organization of the labor unions was like the raising of the arm. Labor unions are a pitiful attempt at self-protection. They are a part, a result of capitalism. However, only one worker in ten is in this labor trust, although the standard of living is kept up by the unions; what of the men, women and children working desperately on the outside? We must arouse the workers and by a great sweep of the popular will ownership of all the wealth produced shall be vested in the people who produce it. In ownership lies power. The trusts are good for the people when they own them. The labor unions are not keeping pace with the employers' unions. Capital is entrenched irresistibly, but as at present organized labor unions are not ready to cope with organized capital; we must make our union complete, and then guard against the traitor who comes in as a misleader. When we have our unions organized into a great vital, universal industrial phalanx, then we shall be ready to demand of the capitalist the whole of our product. We will refuse to give the employer four dollars out of every five that we produce. The old unionism is like an old coat which we must wear yet a little longer until the new coat is ready to wear. There may then be a radical and rather sudden change or crisis, as a man takes off the old coat, which has done him noble service, and puts on the new coat. It will be a changing of the competitive system, with its privately owned trust and its labor unions, to collective ownership and co-operative production.

"Each and every citizen of the country will then have a stockholder's interest in each and every productive and distributive plant of the country. Instead of throwing men out of work as it does now, the machine will shorten the hours of labor for all. We will produce in profusion what we ourselves need; there will be no desire to work for foreign peoples nor to fight for foreign markets. The people of each country will be as well equipped to do their work as are we to do our work. Do you call this plan of absolute concentration a dividing up, Mr. Burnham?"

He shook his head dubiously. "No, but such an arrangement would lead to degeneracy, Mrs. Gunther. There would be no incentive to work!"

"To those of us who see that the best work has been done without the incentive for gain, and in the very teeth of those who stood for the system of exploitation, there is no fear for the race under the freedom which the co-operative commonwealth will insure to all citizens. Under a rational social adjustment we should be prepared for our

various vocations in the necessary social service, be that work raising wheat, making shoes, filling teeth, teaching music, or painting pictures. Our work might then be a joy to each one of us because free from the anxiety, risk and overwork which harass us to-day. Degeneracy among the poor is the child of hunger, despair and hopeless endeavor."

"But what will you do with the lazy ones who will not work?"

"You mean what will we do with the non-producer?" she asked.

"Yes, with those who refuse to work."

"That includes the tramp riding the brake-beam and the tramp in the palace car; it includes the quack doctor, the highway robber, the pickpocket and the mining stock broker." She paused, smiling.

Burnham seemed confused for a moment. "Pickpockets!" he repeated.

"All these non-producers will get what they produce," she went on, placidly. "If they produce nothing by their own effort, they will be entitled only to the income from their inheritance."

"Inheritance? Haven't you wiped that off your slate?" he interrupted.

"Yes, and no. As the child of a certain man I am not entitled to an inheritance; as a human being I inherit an undivided share of all the lands of the earth and of all the achievements of the human race. No billionaire can leave to his son such an inheritance as each human being is by right of his humanity entitled to. I have a right to machinery, to art, to literature. I am heir, in short, of all the wealth of the world. The unfortunates, prevented by some disability from taking part in the social service, will not depend upon public charity for their maintenance. They will be amply protected from want by this universal inheritance which is theirs. So the lazy tramp who is fed at our back doors, and the lazy tramp who lolls at ease upon his yacht, too languid to draw the smoke from his rare cigar, both alike are heirs to the wealth of history." She looked at Burnham uneasily. "I beg your pardon, Mr. Burnham, I am tiring you!" she exclaimed. "I absolutely refuse to make a bore of myself with this message of mine. But when I feel the pressure of a little head on my arm and the drain of a little life at my breast, I want to cry out the good news to all my weary mother-sisters that the day is not now so far away which will give them deliverance from the struggle for bread at the same time that they are rearing their little ones. So I forget myself and talk to you as I should to a working man." She looked up into his troubled face.

"I can not make you understand my interest in this, Mrs. Gunther," he began, huskily. "My wife was studying along these lines, and since I have met you a great light of understanding has been thrown upon the character of that sensitive, tender woman. I did not know what the poor child wanted; I tried to buy everything with money and then I left her with the hired people. Her sympathies were entirely with the miners in our fight. She was heart-sick with sympathy. So do not say that you tire me. I should be glad to make restitution for

my thoughtlessness by giving every dollar that I call my own, and beginning over again with a better understanding of what she suffered."

Mrs. Gunther's eyes were swimming. "I'll go on with my argument then," she said, "for it is a vital point, it seems to me. We were speaking of work. As I know children and human nature in general, not one in a thousand dislikes pleasant, inspiring work. We need work as we need food—children cry for work to do; men fight for work to do.

"To-day the man who works with all his might is starving to death, while the men who produce nothing corner the richness of the world for themselves."

Burnham was thoughtfully looking out of the window.

"It's a new point of view to me, all this," he said, eagerly, as she paused. "Won't you discuss that further? I am slowly taking it in."

"Among us revolutionists," she began, "there is a type which I think of as a scientific tramp. He is logically lazy. He reasons out his leisure in this way: 'When I produce five dollars' worth of wealth at the shop, I get one dollar in wages—my boss gets four. He uses this wealth which I produce for him to club me into submission. I starve when I work, so it's pleasanter to starve and rest. I work enough to barely live, then I have some leisure to spread the revolutionary doctrines which will put an end to all starving and to all exploitation.' That's our scientific vagabond. Isn't he logical, Mr. Burnham?"

"This is all so new to me," Burnham protested. "You must give me time before I commit myself."

She was looking down at the babe asleep in her arms. "See how her face is filling out!" she observed. "In a few weeks she will be plump—a beautiful child. When I see a sleeping babe I believe in guardian angels!"

"It was her mother's last word—a promise to guard her," Burnham said, intently studying the baby face.

Gertrude Gunther's eyes were filling again. "My instinct would be the same," she began, "but I've extended my motherhood to want all children guarded. Think of these tender baby arms doing twelve hours of hard work for a pittance; the baby desire for play and gladness, in harness to the call of 'Cash' or to the factory whistle at 5 o'clock in the morning. Doesn't it make your blood boil to think of this modern Moloch? We bury our little children in dungeons like those of the middle ages! Is chivalry dead? Does the green old earth bring forth no royal natures to-day?"

Burnham's hand supported his head; yet she felt that he was intent upon every word that she spoke.

"This industrial warfare of ours," she went on, "is a period like the dark ages of history. Our workers to-day are robbed of their very lives, our women are degraded bodily and industrially, our children have no food, no clothes, no joys; all the weak and helpless ones of the world are ruthlessly trampled down. But in these dark ages

of capitalism, we see the dawn of a new chivalry. As the brave knights of old protected the weak and did battle for the defenseless ones, so the worker-knights of the new chivalry are preparing to make impossible the injustice and the cruelty of our day." She turned to the window. "Oh, it will be a glorious time when this diabolical struggle for the merest necessities of life is over. This barren country will be a garden, a park ringing with the activities of a race so noble that out highest ideals would jangle discords in their harmonies!"

"That's a beautiful dream, Mrs. Gunther," Burnham interposed, rousing himself. "You'd have to change human nature, and that is impossible."

"What do you mean by 'human nature'?" she asked.

"Well, it's selfishness—that's about the size of it," he answered.

"Why, that's the very cornerstone of our philosophy," she contended. "We don't intend to do away with selfishness. Upon the wise selfishness, or self-interest of the great producing class, the cooperative commonwealth will be builded as upon a rock."

"The civilization of competition is resting upon the selfishness of a hundred men—a small controlling class; the eighty millions are mere grist for their mill of death. But the selfishness of the few must yield to that of the millions—you think in dollars not in human lives. But the eighty millions are clamoring for recognition and capitalism must make way for collectivism. This is my solution of the labor problem, Mr. Burnham. What is your solution?"

"I've always contended for a carefully adjusted system of arbitration," he said.

"We've passed that 'Velvet Glove and Iron Hand' stage," she answered. "I realized the change on that dark night when Mr. Gunther was arrested on the street without a warrant. They raided our cooperative stores where we women were hard at work distributing supplies. It is the iron hand without the velvet from now on to freedom."

His eyes wavered as they met hers.

"On the night of his arrest, a comrade brought me a message from my husband urging me to leave town with baby. Before I could get things together, they were surrounding our house. They broke in the door and walked into my room. I can't tell you how it feels—this being at the mercy of ruffians. The comrade started down with me carrying my satchel. 'Allow me to carry this for her,' he pleaded, when the leader stopped him.

"No, ——— you, this is a hen-party. You clear out!" When I had baby in one arm and my heavy satchel in the other, they marched me over the frozen ground toward the station. Other women joined me. We passed Sallie Morgan's cabin. She was about to become a mother. I knew, and I trembled as for the safety of a young sister. We had planned for her little one, together. I had given her all of my baby's tiny clothes and had promised to be with her as a trained nurse. Fred Morgan, her husband, had been taken to the bull-pen a



few days before for the crime of working in a co-operative store—that was my crime, too.

"The cabin-door was open as we passed. Only Sallie's old father was with her. We heard the coarse jokes of the ruffians and the old man's pleading voice. Mr. Burnham, those hirelings of yours carried the dear child out into the snow on a bit of a mattress because your company wanted the house, they said. That night Sallie died. Her old father wrote me her last message. She had whispered it to him as she lay dying with her dead baby in her arms."

Burnham was looking out of the window, brokenly.

"Mr. Burnham," she went on almost sternly, "is that your solution of the labor problem? Then in Heaven's name let the streets run red! It's better for the workers to die fighting than rotting. As a tigress fights for her young, so could I fight for my babe; and not for mine alone, but for yours as well—for any child. I can feel the blood of my Teuton mothers rushing in my veins. I know how they felt facing their enemies by the side of their men. But times have changed. It was a fair fight then—we are disarmed to-day. Your men are armed and ready to use their guns. Mr. Burnham, what can we do, what is there left for us to do but to organize on the industrial and on the political field so that we may work together and so that we can vote together. We will vote that human life, its safety, its gladness shall be the foundation of our government. That property shall be man's servant, not his master. What will Fred Morgan do when he leaves your bull-pen a homeless wanderer? In one way, your experience and his were similar. The loss of the mother in your case was inevitable. All that science and human skill could do was done for your wife. But put yourself into Fred Morgan's place when he hears the farewell message which his young wife sent him as she lay dying in the cold, dark night."

Burnham groaned aloud as he turned to the window.

"Socialists do not stand for using dynamite," she went on. "We oppose all killing even by wholesale on the battlefield. But think of the self-restraint necessary for Fred Morgan to overcome the impulse to revenge the wanton murder of his child-wife and babe. Think of the patience we need to subdue the impulse to wild action and to let the great plan work out as a flower becomes a ripened fruit?"

Burnham's head was bowed upon his hand.

"They had freight cars for Denver on the track," she went on, with her story. "About twenty-five of the men to be deported were in one of these cars. With curses and insinuations too vile to repeat, we were hustled toward the car. A gray-haired Irishman held out his hands to take my baby.

"I'm not afraid of men who strike for liberty and fair play?" I said. For this remark I received a stinging blow upon my arm. It turned me sick for a moment; then I thanked the kind fate which had protected my breast.

"A more gentlemanly group of men I have never met than were these rough miners, huddled in that freight-car.

"This is not civilization, poor girl,' said the old man as I took my baby. 'This is divilization. Ther's not a mother's son of us but would have took your part when you was sthruck if it would have been our's to do at the risk of our lives.' He was right. It was more heroic for those men to restrain themselves than it would have been to act in a one-sided attempt at revenge. Those brave men of the mountains have faced danger with steady eyes every day in the mines, and of such stuff heroes are made.

"We women were taken off at Denver and left free to shift for ourselves. The men were taken on to Kansas and left loose on the prairie. I lived in a Denver rooming house nine weeks, until the glad night just twelve days ago when I was awakened by a gentle knock at my door. It was my husband, looking like a tramp. He had escaped from your pen!" She leaned back, smiling, her eyes shining up at Burnham, with a glad light in them. "He is mine again, well and loyal, and true as ever; more true—there used to be something between us!" she paused, smiling.

"And that was?" asked Burnham, fascinated.

"Tobacco," she laughed. "I was jealous of the Lady Nicotine," she went on, archly smiling. "Many times I had decided that it would be easier for Phil Gunther to get along without his wife or without his baby than without his smoking. You know, men can face cannons easier than give up such a habit. But you didn't offer him cigars in the pen as you do now. Then he would not have refused them, but now he says that as long as a child is hungry, the ten dollars shall feed a child each month. Do you understand now, why I did not care to live in your mansion, Mr. Burnham?"

He looked into her face with smiling eyes.

"I know that Gunther is the man of all my acquaintances, most to be envied—that I know," he answered, irrelevantly. "Of all the men I know, rich or poor, Gunther is certainly the most to be envied!"

"Oh, I'm to be envied," she said, her color rising. "I'm proud of my brave knight of labor!"

\* \* \* \* \*

At Burlington a messenger delivered a telegram to Phil Gunther. He opened it and read:

"Mr. and Mrs. Phil Gunther, Burlington train to Chicago:

"Dear Comrades: Will board your train at union station, Chicago. Received notice of your coming from a Denver friend. Quarters all ready for you. If you see an old white-haired woman that's me. Fraternaly,  
Margaret Elliott."

"Isn't this splendid!" Gertrude exclaimed, when Burnham entered the car. "A comrade is to meet us at Chicago, and she has quarters all ready for us; an old woman she says she is. I'm so relieved to think of having a place to go to!" Her face glowed with enthusiasm,

as she added, "Don't you see what this great movement means to us workers, Mr. Burnham?"

Gunther searched Burnham's face suspiciously, but he was puzzled. Burnham was either innocent of collusion or a consummate actor.

"Yes, Mrs. Gunther," he said, smiling into the pink face of his baby, "that word 'comrade' means something to you. Freemasonry isn't in it with your movement!"

\* \* \* \* \*

"The furniture and the piano in this little flat belong to my daughter," Mrs. Elliott was saying as she led the little family into their new home. "I pay the rent for her. It is eighteen dollars per month. This is Comrade Rose Clark," she said, introducing a pleasant, energetic young woman. "She has often helped me with my work and is willing to help you."

When they had gathered around the table to enjoy Comrade Rose's dinner together, Mrs. Elliott remarked, "By the way, Comrade Gunther, you said something about going out to find a job to-morrow. I want you to try this firm."

"Why, I'll be glad to; there's nothing to do here," Gunther said, quizzically. "I expected to hustle for just such a little place as this is, but with Comrade Rose here I am free to turn matters domestic over to the ladies and get right down to business myself."

"This is a very good firm," she said, passing him a card. "My boy Jack learned his machinist's trade with them some years ago when he was studying electrical engineering."

\* \* \* \* \*

Burnham called next evening. The two men were sitting on the back porch near the hammock, in which the two babies lay asleep.

Through the open window the two men could hear an animated discussion on the fine points of each of the babies as the dishes rattled gently.

"Well, I called at the office of the Michigan Iron Works to-day," Gunther began, "and I got an A No. 1 job!"

"Why, that's fine; what's the work?" Burnham asked, innocently.

"Never mind about that detail," Gunther said. "Of course, the lass is delighted. She's been singing all afternoon. She thinks Heath, the manager, was imbued with second-sight and that he saw my surpassing usefulness to his company shining from the very pores of my skin." He stopped, laughing. "I do enjoy a joke on that girl," he went on. "You've gotten ahead of her on tricks, Burnham, she's completely fooled. You've played your bluff to a finish—but you haven't pulled wool over my eyes!"

Burnham looked dumfounded. "For God's sake, Gunther, let it stand," he blurted out.

"I accept the situation, Burnham. I'm in a fever to get at my rock-drill. Heath took me by the arm and showed me that laboratory shop they have. He treated me like a man, not like a workman; that

gave the thing dead away. But that's a shop to gladden one's soul, and the apparatus at my service there will shorten the work of my experiments from months to weeks."

"Your hand on that, Gunther," Burnham said, pleased as a boy. "If you need capital, call on me. Mrs. Gunther does not suspect my hand in this, you say? Mrs. Elliott is my aunt; I couldn't have done it all without her; but there's no bluff about her Socialism."

"You need not apologize for her," Gunther said; "when my wife is an old woman she will be like Mrs. Elliott!" Burnham assented.

"She was an abolitionist in Boston and now she is in the fight with you." Burnham seemed to enjoy getting the secret off his mind now that it was out. "Heath was a college friend of mine. But don't let Mrs. Gunther suspect. Think what a sensitive woman like that suffers facing difficulties such as you were likely to encounter. There's not much doing in your line in Chicago just now, and I wished to save her the worry of having you come home without work, even the first day."

"Yes, I know, it would have been a fierce struggle for me, as it is for others in my line, and she is sensitive, Burnham, you're right; but think how all women suffer," Gunther's voice was impressive. "For her sake, for whose life I should be willing to give my own many times, in the name of my wife, I think of other women. By their very constitution they are all sensitive. If they are not, if they have become hard, then the damnable system which makes beasts of us all, is to blame."

"Gunther, you tell me to think," Burnham began, slowly. "Never in my life have I done so much thinking as during the past week. What stuff do you think I'm made of? First the tragedy in my life had left me suspended. Then Mrs. Gunther's illumination came, and I am frank to say, you helped me, too. I am not the same man who left Denver a week ago. I must have been blind. I must have been stone-blind!"

Burnham rose to go.

"I have an appointment and shall make my adieus to the ladies," he said, slowly.

"By the way, have I given you my word of honor not to explain this—joke to my wife?" asked Gunther, dubiously.

"Not so bad as that, perhaps, but don't you think it's wiser to—"

"It may be wiser, but I confess to a tremendous curiosity to see how she takes it."

"That's it—there's no telling how these complex women are going to take things—she may insist upon moving pellmell—"

"Well, you see this is different from living in your mansion," Gunther began, judiciously. "That was more loyalty to my poverty than anything else. She didn't want to get used to grand things, and then find all others cheap. I'm inclined to trust to her sense of humor; it's the keenest thing about her. Really I'm afraid I'll make bad

business of keeping this—my curiosity may get the better of me——”

“When it comes to that,” Burnham conceded sheepishly, “I’m curious myself, and if you think it safe, I don’t see why we shouldn’t settle the matter. Cousin Lucy has a boy of four—he’s heard just enough about the babies to be a nuisance—their is no living with him. So let me know my telephone in the morning!”

“Yes, I’ll let you know to-morrow morning, Burnham, and I think that I can promise the little boy a welcome here to see the babies and to play with them to his heart’s content, but remember, we do not change our attitude in any way because of any kindness which we may accept!” Gunther’s eyes flashed his distrust of the man of wealth as he spoke. “You see, we are on our guard against all temptation to live on easy street at the cost of principles.”

“You may not believe me, Gunther, but I wouldn’t have you change if I could make you! Mrs. Elliott is speculating as to your work as a street corner agitator! Moreover, she insists that I am almost persuaded myself!”

#### A Personal Word to the Comrades:

Shortly before submitting “The New Chivalry” to the editor of the Chicago Socialist I asked C. T., associate editor of one of the most radical magazines in the United States, and Jack London to pass judgment upon it. In both cases the criticism is not only upon this story in particular, but upon “fiction with a Socialist purpose” in general, and as it might be not only interesting, but vitally instructive to Socialists, I quote the essential parts of each letter of criticism.

C. T. writes: “I have read your story, and my criticism is primarily what I told you the evening we talked about it—that is, I think it is very dangerous to try and do prognostic work through fiction. If the story is sufficiently human to carry you into the conversations without realizing the motive of the author, then it may be successful to use arguments such as you have, but I doubt if this can ever be done in short story form. Zola and Tolstoi, with their perfect art, are able to do it in long stories. You have here two distinct things—a very interesting encounter between the capitalist and the intelligent miner and his wife, and the child incident is original. \* \* \* This is not so much a criticism of your story as it is a criticism of the tendency of our most earnest Socialist writers. I feel the matter very strongly, because I am so anxious that we should develop as Socialists a literary art that was unexcelled. I think to do that we must deal with human facts and experiences. Could you have told the story of the woman’s hardships, and made her encounter with the capitalist a climax, you would, I think, appeal to many readers who would not now give the conversations and the story their attention. As you have written it for Socialist papers, it may be that you prefer to clothe the matter in this way, but I wish our Socialist papers might feel as I do on the subject.”

Jack London says:

“I think there is a middle ground to be found between your position and C. T.’s position. C. T. is right when she says you cannot successfully embody economic arguments in a short story. Such a short story would certainly not be an art product. On the other hand, as far as propaganda literature is concerned, I believe that a story such as you have written in ‘The New Chivalry’ has its place and power. But of course we must

frankly admit on the face of it that such literature is not art. C. T. is right as far as the art side is concerned, while she is wrong, I believe, when she thinks no one but a Socialist would find interest in reading a story like 'The New Chivalry.' You are right where you think that such a story is good propaganda literature, but you are wrong where you think it is good art. \* \* \* I enjoyed your story very much, and consider it splendid for propaganda purposes. The argument was especially good. Wishing you all the success in the world, Yours for the Revolution, J. L."

As for myself, I did not mean to intimate that this particular story of mine was "art." I tried simply to make the story strong and human enough to float the argument, so the baby incident, which occurred on one of my cross country trips, suggested itself to me.

C. T. says that "we must deal with human facts and experiences." I contend that this vital movement just dawning upon the consciousness of the people is a tremendous "human experience." It makes drunkards sober and frivolous women sincere; it has even been known to prompt a man to cut down his allowance of cigars in order to have more money to spend for the "cause." Such a movement, it seems to me, is bound to find its place in the fiction of a people.

Socialism is beginning to take the place which patriotism, religious fervor, philanthropy and honor of name and profession held in the fiction of the immediate past. Since realistic fiction is the reflection of life as people live it, Socialism cannot much longer be avoided even by our best writers in their shorter works of "art."

# Every Man Needs Home Protection

—Why Not Get  
the Best?

## The Woodmen of the World

### RATES

Pays for \$100 monument in addition  
to amounts specified

Ages	\$500	\$1000	\$1500	\$2000	\$2500	\$3000
18 to 25.....	.65	.80	1.15	1.45	1.80	2.10
26 to 29.....	.70	.90	1.30	1.65	2.05	2.40
30 to 33.....	.75	1.00	1.45	1.85	2.30	2.70
34 to 37.....	.80	1.10	1.60	2.05	2.55	3.00
38 to 40.....	.90	1.25	1.85	2.35	2.95	3.45
41 to 42.....	.95	1.35	2.00	2.55	3.20	3.75
43 to 45.....	1.00	1.45	2.15	2.75	3.45	4.15
46.....	1.10	1.60	2.40	3.05	3.80	4.55
47.....	1.15	1.70	2.55	3.25	4.05	4.85
48.....	1.25	1.85	2.80	3.55	4.40	5.20
49.....	1.30	1.95	3.00	3.80	4.70	5.55
50.....	1.45	2.20	3.30	4.15	5.05	5.95
51.....	1.60	2.50	3.70	4.60	5.55	6.45
52.....	1.80	2.90	4.30	5.20	6.15	7.05

PRELIMINARY APPLICATION

I hereby make application to become a member of.....  
 Camp No..... Woodmen of the World. I hereby promise to be examined  
 by the Camp Physician. If accepted by the Camp I will accept a Beneficiary Certificate,  
 pay one advance assessment and Camp dues when introduced and my Certificate of  
 Membership is delivered to me.

Certificate wanted for \$.....; \$....., Age....., Occupation.....  
 entrance fee accompanies this application.

Dated at....., State of....., 191.....  
 Recommended by..... Applicant.....

Address.....

## Investments

OF THE  
**WOODMEN OF THE  
 WORLD**  
 IN THE STATE OF  
**Texas**

THE WOODMEN OF THE WORLD  
 OWN AND HAVE IN THEIR  
 POSSESSION FOR MA-  
 TURITY THE  
 BONDS LISTED  
 WITHIN

TOTAL RESERVE ASSETS  
**\$20,000,000.00**

W. A. FRASER  
 SOVEREIGN COMMANDER

J. T. YATES  
 SOVEREIGN CLERK

HOME OFFICE  
**OMAHA, NEBRASKA**

## Investments in Texas to May 1, 1914.

Location—	Par Value
Abilene, reservoir site.....	\$ 20,000.00
Amarillo, school district.....	10,000.00
Austin, hospital.....	36,000.00
Austin, school.....	50,000.00
Beaumont, abattoir.....	25,000.00
Beaumont, jail.....	15,000.00
Beaumont, school.....	25,000.00
Beaumont, water works, series No. 2..	10,000.00
Bee County, bridge.....	15,000.00
Bexar County, common school district No. 48.....	24,000.00
Bexar County, court house refunding..	100,000.00
Big Springs, Independent School Dist..	16,000.00
Bishop, Independent School District...	10,000.00
Brownsville, electric light.....	15,000.00
Brownsville, water works.....	35,000.00
Brownwood, water works.....	20,000.00
Burnett County, bridge.....	8,000.00
Cameron County, court house and jail.	50,000.00
Carthage, school district.....	21,000.00
Clebourne, water works.....	50,000.00
Corpus Christi, school.....	36,000.00
Corpus Christi, sewer.....	45,000.00
Corpus Christi, street improvement....	100,000.00
Corsicana, sewer.....	20,000.00
Cuero, Independent School District...	27,000.00
Dallas, public improvement.....	50,000.00
Del Rio, school district.....	7,000.00
Dublin, Independent School District...	44,000.00
Eastland, Independent School District.	20,000.00
El Paso, sewer, series No. 5.....	25,000.00
El Paso, street improvement.....	55,000.00
El Paso, street paving.....	10,000.00
El Paso, water works.....	20,000.00
El Paso, water works, series No. 2....	33,000.00
El Paso County, road.....	65,000.00
Floresville, school.....	20,000.00
Fort Worth, improvement, series No. 19.....	15,000.00
Fort Worth, school, series No. 18....	40,000.00
Fort Worth, water works extension...	100,000.00
Frio County, road.....	63,000.00
Frisco, school district.....	13,500.00
Gainesville, refunding.....	2,000.00
Galveston, grade raising, series B....	20,000.00
Galveston County, road.....	50,000.00
Gorman, school district.....	20,000.00
Grand Prairie, Independent School Dist.	20,000.00
Greenville, electric light and power plant	47,500.00
Greenville, fire station.....	14,000.00
Greenville, street paving.....	70,000.00
Greenville, water works.....	14,000.00
Gregg County, road.....	15,000.00
Handley, Independent School District.	20,000.00
Hardin County, (Saratoga) school dist.	10,000.00
Harlingen, school district.....	30,000.00
Harris County, court house.....	25,000.00
Harris County, School District No. 10.	10,000.00
Harris County, School District No. 17.	10,000.00
Harris County, common school, district No. 25.....	20,000.00
Harris County, School District No. 29.	8,000.00
Harris County, road.....	30,000.00
Hemphill County, School District No. 1	6,500.00
Henrietta, Independent School District	30,000.00
Hereford, Independent School District.	20,000.00
Hillsboro, school.....	40,000.00
Holland, school.....	20,000.00
Houston Heights, fire station.....	20,000.00
Houston Heights, school.....	50,000.00
Houston Heights, sewer.....	100,000.00
Houston, pavement.....	35,000.00
Houston, school, sewer, street paving and fire station.....	11,000.00
Houston, water mains, drainage and sewer.....	132,000.00
Howard County, court house and jail..	46,000.00
Jacksonville, school district.....	25,000.00
Jim Wells County, court house.....	70,000.00
Jim Wells County, road.....	125,000.00
Jones County, court house.....	42,500.00
Longview, school.....	7,000.00
McCulloch County, bridge.....	43,000.00
Manor, Independent School District...	6,000.00
Marshall, High School.....	26,000.00
Marshall, street improvement.....	28,000.00
Memphis, school.....	40,000.00
Midland, school.....	20,000.00
Mission, Independent School District..	20,000.00
Navarro County, common school district	16,000.00
Neuces County, School District No. 20	10,000.00
Palacios, school district.....	25,000.00
Palestine, fire station.....	18,000.00
Palestine, school.....	15,500.00
Paris, High School.....	7,000.00
Paris, street improvement, series B....	25,000.00
Paris, street improvement, series D....	25,000.00
Paris, street improvement (1913).....	34,000.00
Paris, water works.....	15,000.00
Paris, water works, series E.....	37,000.00
Quanah, Independent School District..	15,000.00
Reeves County, School District No. 2..	25,000.00
Reeves County, School District No. 4.	15,000.00
Rising Star, Independent School Dist..	20,000.00
Robstown, Independent School District	20,000.00
Rogers, Independent School District...	30,000.00
Rosebud, school district.....	35,000.00
Rotan, school district.....	10,000.00
Round Rock, Independent School Dist.	29,000.00
San Angelo, school.....	31,000.00
San Antonio, refunding.....	50,000.00
San Benito, Independent School District	30,000.00
San Patricio, School District No. 1....	29,000.00
Sherman, water works, refunding.....	33,000.00
Silsbee, school district.....	10,000.00
Sweet Water, school district.....	50,000.00
Tarrant County, road and bridge.....	100,000.00
Temple, school.....	23,000.00
Temple, water works.....	56,000.00
Temple, water works, series No. 2....	30,000.00
Texarkana, bridge, series No. 1.....	10,000.00
Texarkana, sewerage, series No. 2....	10,000.00
Texarkana, street.....	20,000.00
Texarkana, ward school building.....	50,000.00
Timpson, school district.....	9,000.00
Troup, school.....	19,000.00
Tyler, High School.....	25,000.00
Uvalde, school.....	20,000.00
Venus, school.....	20,000.00
Waco, water works.....	107,000.00
Waxahachie, water works.....	8,500.00
Waxahachie, street improvement.....	4,500.00
Wharton, school district.....	12,000.00
Wichita County, bridge.....	10,000.00
Wichita Falls, Independent School Dist.	30,000.00
Wichita Falls, sewer.....	10,000.00
Wichita Falls, street improvement....	12,000.00
Winters, Independent School District.	18,000.00
Wood County, road and bridge.....	53,000.00
Young County, bridge.....	20,000.00
Total.....	\$4,098,500.00



1.650  
*Query  
Book*

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*Pertinent  
Questions  
Answered*

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## *On the Witness Stand!*

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### *QUESTIONS ANSWERED*

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*"Truth, the Whole Truth, Nothing  
But the Truth"*

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*IMPROVED AND PERFECTED ORDER  
OF WOODCRAFT*

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**Q.** What is the Woodmen of the World?

**A.** A fraternal beneficiary society, founded by the originator of all Woodcraft, Gen. Joseph Cullen Root, June, 1890.

**Q.** How does the Woodmen of the World differ from a life insurance company?

**A.** Life insurance companies are for speculative investments, dealing principally in endowments, its policies are made payable to anybody having an insurable interest. Its cost, by reason of extravagant expenses and meager dividends, makes it a rich man's insurance; men of moderate means cannot afford it. The W. O. W. insurance is payable to dependent relatives only; its cost, the actual cost of carrying out every contract; its expenses reduced to a minimum. It is for home protection. It places a monument to the memory of every deceased member. Aids a member when he reaches 70 years and is disabled by reason of old age by payment of one-tenth of his certificate each year. Its Camps attend the sick, also the unfortunate, and

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participate in the burial of their dead. Who ever heard of a life insurance company doing this?

**Q. Is the Woodmen of the World a chartered corporation?**

A. Yes, incorporated at Omaha, state of Nebraska, and licensed by state insurance departments that send expert actuaries to examine its affairs.

**Q. What other characteristics does the Woodmen of the World have?**

A. Its assessments are payable monthly. A member can pay twelve months in advance and get a receipt in full for an entire year. It never skips an assessment, the surplus goes to its emergency reserve fund to the credit of every persistent member to protect against extra assessments. A feature of inestimable value. Three assessments could have been skipped last year and enough money remain to meet all death claims.

**Q. What is present membership and financial standing?**

A. Six hundred forty-two thousand three hundred. The surplus and the emergency fund now aggregates \$20,000,000. Death losses paid, \$56,000,000, and 38,000 monuments erected.

**Q. How are its affairs managed?**

A. It has a representative government. Is composed of Camps, Head Camps and a Sovereign Camp. Every Camp is entitled to delegates to a Head Camp, which

elects delegates to the Sovereign Camp, the senate of the Order; which makes its laws, elects and instructs its officers.

**Q. How are its surplus funds invested?**

A. In United States, state, county, municipal and school bonds, deposited in safety deposit vaults in charge of the custodian and a committee of three, required to give ample surety bonds; all four must be present to gain access to the bonds, to cut off coupons or deposit additional bonds purchased. The securities are the best investments known and produce a fair rate of interest which is added to it. All surplus derived from assessments is invested in this fund, which is increasing at the rate of over \$2,250,000 per year. The bonds are counted by officers of the Executive Council several times annually, also by state insurance auditors and sworn statements required of them.

**Q. What about the accumulative certificate?**

A. This is one of the safeguard features of the Order. A certificate of membership is worth double as much the third year than it is the first, and one-fourth more the third year than the second. It protects its members from higher assessment rates or extra assessments to meet payment of premature deaths of bad risks, who manage to get into every organization, occasionally, in spite of the most exacting requirements. The W. O. W. is not seeking men who expect to die within less than three years. If such a fate befalls a member, however, his ben-

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eficiary will receive a big return for its trifling cost. This plan has been adopted by several societies and is regarded as one of the strongest and most commendable features—being just to the living and liberal to the dead.

**Q. Are the assessment rates equitable?**

A. The rates were adopted in 1901 and no change is contemplated. Our rates are lower than old line companies, because our expense element is correspondingly less. The average mortality has not increased, and over \$20,000,000 surplus has been accumulated. There is no apparent good reason to change the rates.

**Q. Is the cost of monument deducted from the insurance?**

A. No, sir; the full amount called for by the certificate is paid. In addition thereto, \$100 is paid for an enduring monument, which is dedicated by impressive ceremony.

**Q. How about "riding the goat"?**

A. The ritual is impressive, beautiful, and instructive. No "horse play" or insults. It is ennobling, elevating, grand and inspiring; rich in dramatic power, with no humiliating of candidates. It does not pall like an "oft-told tale," but fresh features are discovered on every repetition. Its funeral, burial, unveiling monuments, decorating, installation and other special ceremonies are inspiring and beautiful, as every member will testify.

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**Q. What is necessary to be done to join?**

A. "See the man"—Clerk of a Camp, solicitor or organizing deputy. Make written application, pay entrance fee, if accepted by vote of the Camp, be examined by Camp Physician. When notified your certificate is received, attend a meeting of the Camp, be "introduced," pay one assessment and one month's Camp dues, receive your certificate and your insurance begins. Pay one assessment and dues on or before the first day of each month to keep in good standing, or, better still, pay twelve payments and have the satisfaction of knowing that your loved ones are protected for an entire year without any further bother or payments.

**Q. Is the Order prosperous?**

A. Most emphatically. Its increase of membership and emergency reserve funds exceeds every other beneficiary society in the United States, and its growth this year is greater than ever before in its history. The Woodmen of the World is becoming a household word. It is the most popular and progressive ever known and, best of all, is in an absolutely solid financial condition. If you doubt it consult official reports of state insurance departments.

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If you still desire further information, write to

**W. A. FRASER, Sovereign Commander**  
**or JOHN T. YATES, Sovereign Clerk**  
*W. O. W. Bldg., OMAHA, NEB.*

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### RATES OF ASSESSMENT.

Rate is fixed at age at nearest birthday when admitted; \$100 in addition is paid to erect a monument to the memory of every deceased member.

Ages	Annual Cost per						
	\$500	\$1000	\$1500	\$2000	\$2500	\$3000	\$1000
18 to 25...	.65	.80	1.15	1.45	1.80	2.10	9.60
26 to 29...	.70	.90	1.30	1.65	2.05	2.40	10.80
30 to 33...	.75	1.00	1.45	1.85	2.30	2.70	12.00
34 to 37...	.80	1.10	1.60	2.05	2.55	3.00	13.20
38 to 40...	.90	1.25	1.85	2.35	2.95	3.45	15.00
41 to 42...	.95	1.35	2.00	2.55	3.20	3.75	16.20
43 to 45...	1.00	1.45	2.15	2.75	3.45	4.15	17.40
46...	1.10	1.60	2.40	3.05	3.80	4.60	19.20
47...	1.15	1.70	2.55	3.25	4.05	4.95	20.40
48...	1.25	1.85	2.80	3.55	4.45	5.45	22.20
49...	1.30	1.95	3.00	3.85	4.85	5.95	23.40
50...	1.45	2.20	3.30	4.20	5.25	6.45	26.40
51...	1.60	2.50	3.60	4.50	5.65	6.85	30.00
52...	1.80	2.90	4.30	5.30	6.55	8.15	34.80

Ferd Hanzlik  
 Brooklyn  
 99  
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*Brandenburg Texas 1910  
Celina Brewer*

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# Theodore Roosevelt

## THE POLITICAL DR. COOK

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A CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF  
THE POLITICAL LIFE OF  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PUBLISHED BY  
T. A. HICKEY  
ABILENE, TEXAS



# Theodore Roosevelt

## The Political Dr. Cook

A Chronological Review  
of the Political Life of  
Theodore Roosevelt

PUBLISHED BY  
T. A. HICKEY  
ABILENE, TEXAS



Price 10 Cents

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# Theodore Roosevelt

THE POLITICAL DR. COOK

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Theodore Roosevelt by T. A. Hickey.

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

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

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

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



## ROOSEVELT

## Chronological—1883.

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

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

## 1884.

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

## 1886.

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

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

## 1887-1893.

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

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

1894.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1895.

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

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

## 1896.

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

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

## 1897.

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

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

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

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

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

1898.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 1899.

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

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

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

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

#### 1901.

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

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

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

1902.

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

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

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

1903.

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

1904.

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

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

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

It is the first faint glimmering of the dawn.

#### 1905.

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

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

#### 1906.

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

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

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

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

1907.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 1908.

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

The light was commencing to break in the skies.

#### 1909.

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

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

1910.

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

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

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## The Threat of Barbarism

BY GEORGE D. HERRON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T. A. HICKEY.

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## Socialist Party Platform--1908

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

### Declaration of Principles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever

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

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

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

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

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

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

### PLATFORM FOR 1908.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## PROGRAM.

### General Demands.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Industrial Demands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Political Demands.

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

9—A graduated income tax.

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

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

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

12—The abolition of the senate.

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

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

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

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

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

18—The free administration of justice.

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



*The  
Ever  
Mighty  
Appeal*

By George Allan England



## The Ever Mighty Appeal

**H**OW well I remember that truly crucial moment in my life when I saw my first copy of the APPEAL! It was some ten years ago. I was exiled by poverty and ill-health, out among the mountains of Maine, far from a railroad, in a remote logging settlement. Somebody—I know not who, but I bless his unknown name—some obscure colporteur of the revolution, some scout of liberty, left a copy at the camp. I was not a Socialist in those days, and knew almost nothing of Socialism. As for the APPEAL, I hadn't even heard of it. But I heard of it *then*—and from that day to this, all has been changed.

I am not saying that one copy of the APPEAL, flung at random into the Maine wilderness, made a Socialist of me. No; it took many months of thought and growth and study to complete the process. But the initial germ was sown by that copy; and the APPEAL thereafter furnished a "culture-medium" for it to grow in; and, on the whole, I came into the world via the APPEAL. I belong to the family, so to speak—and if I am proud of anything, it's this same fact, that I feel myself one of the APPEAL'S G. A. R.—Grand Army of the Revolution.

To me, the APPEAL is the most wonderful little fighting sheet in this whole world, bar none. The story of its persecution forms the most

amazing narrative of governmental and capitalist underhandedness to be found any where among men. Every subterfuge, trick, meanness and abuse the unclean harpy-brood of grafters could possibly think of has been tried against this staunch little giant; and the APPEAL has come out of each conflict with colors unspotted, with crimson banners still flying in the breeze of freedom, with an ever larger and more enthusiastic Army, and with a tremendously increased power for good. Its circulation figures read like fairy tales; its exposures of the meanness and nastiness of capitalism, its messages of hope to the oppressed, its clarion calls to action, its absolutely fearless defies to the Powers of Greed and Grab—these mark it as supreme in its class, the greatest fighting machine the proletariat of this or any other land has ever known!

Friends, comrades, think for a minute, if you will, of the vile practices, the grafts, extortions, abuses, murder plots, steals and slimy capitalist filthinesses already laid bare by the trenchant little APPEAL! Think of the titanic struggle between the Powers of Prey that hate it for its truthfulness, and this heroic band of men out in Girard! Think of Wayland, a victim to capitalist hate—Wayland, the martyr, our martyr! Think what this paper means to us and to the workers of the world; and then in your own souls declare: "*This paper shall not die! Whatever else happens, and at whatever cost, the APPEAL TO REASON shall surely live!*"

For it is building a better world. It is bringing to pass that New Time which seers and prophets have greatly longed to behold. It is

already, now and here, making possible the reality of "a world where work and worth go hand in hand; where labor reaps its full reward. A race without disease of flesh or brain, perfect and fair, the married harmony of form and function. A world in which life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth, while over all, in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope!"



## *The Appeal to Reason*

*is fifty cents per year;  
twenty-five cents for  
forty weeks in clubs of  
four; four years one  
dollar. The Appeal is  
printed EVERY Sat-  
urday at*

*Girard, Kansas, U. S. A.*

**Suppressed Information**  
*and*  
**Federal Court Speech**



BY

**FRED D. WARREN**

MANAGING EDITOR APPEAL TO REASON

PRICE } 10 Cents Per Copy  
      } \$5.00 Per Hundred

Suppressed Information  
AND  
Federal Court Speech

By  
FRED D. WARREN

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CHICAGO  
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY  
CO-OPERATIVE

## PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

Two large editions of "Suppressed Information" have been printed and circulated by the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, the most widely-circulated Socialist newspaper in the world. Our co-operative publishing house has lately taken over the Appeal's book business, and we now present this third edition of Mr. Warren's pamphlet.

A notable addition will be found in the latter pages. It is the speech that Fred Warren delivered before the United States Court at Fort Scott, Kansas, on July 1, 1909.

When Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone had been kidnaped from Colorado by State officials of Idaho, with the connivance of the Governor of Colorado, and when the Supreme Court of the United States had refused to release the kidnaped men, Fred Warren and his associates in the Appeal to Reason resorted to a novel object lesson to show the people that kidnaping had been upheld by the courts.

They offered a reward for the kidnaping and delivery to the Kentucky authorities of ex-Governor Taylor, who was under indictment on a charge of murder and had taken refuge in Indiana. Of course no injury to Taylor was intended; the object was to expose the class character of the United States courts, and to arouse public opinion in behalf of Haywood.

For mailing a notice offering this reward Fred Warren was indicted. By a jury composed of Republicans he was convicted. He was asked to show cause why sentence should not be passed upon him. His answer was the great speech with which this pamphlet ends.

To make room for it we have omitted some of the less essential portions of "Suppressed Information," and we believe that the pamphlet, as it now appears, will prove wonderfully effective in the propaganda of Socialism.

## SUPPRESSED INFORMATION

In the Congress of 1776 John Adams observed:

That as to this matter, it was of no consequence by what name you called your people, whether by that of free men or of slaves. That in some countries the laboring poor men were called freemen; in others they were called slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm, gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand?—From "The Lost Principles of Sectional Equilibrium," by "Barbarossa," 1860, p. 39.

The following pages are made up very largely from the "Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor," issued by the United States Department of Labor. This report is now "out of print"—though at the time I write scarcely six months have elapsed since it was issued from the press of the government printing office.\*

Many thousands of requests have been made to the department for copies. These requests have been met by the department officials with the statement that the "edition was exhausted and no more copies would be issued."

The explanation was made by the acting labor commissioner, C. W. Hanger, that "there were no funds available for its reissue." When one takes into consideration the millions expended by the United States government, and the resources at its command, such an excuse sounds childish. It is hardly in keeping with the boasted prosperity of the nation. But a poor subterfuge is better than none at all.

\*Four years later, as the third edition of this pamphlet goes to press, the report is still "out of print."



The truth is that the report contains information of so damaging a character against the capitalist system that its votaries would fain keep it hidden from the eyes of the public—especially that portion of it known as the working class.

It shows, as does no book of modern times, the abject dependence of the wage worker upon the capitalist for the means of life—a job—and it shows, too, the utter inability of the capitalist system to provide steady employment for more than one-half of the great army of workers ready and willing to convert their lives into wealth in exchange for the food and clothing necessary to maintain an animal existence.

President Roosevelt, in his letter of acceptance, referred to an advance bulletin of this report as evidence of the "high standard of living" which his administration and the previous republican administrations had made possible for the working class. When the volume itself was issued it was so at variance with the high-sounding phrases of the president that word was hastily sent along the line to "bury the book."

If you will follow me through the pages of this little pamphlet you will understand why the supporters of the capitalist system did not want Carroll D. Wright's "Eighteenth Annual Labor Report" to gain general circulation. In quoting from other writers to support Mr. Wright's figures, I have been careful to select only those who are recognized by the capitalists as authorities. I do this in order to disabuse the mind of the prejudiced reader, so far as possible, of any partisanship on my part.

From these sources I will produce evidence showing—

FIRST—That, as John Adams pointed out 100 years ago, there is no real difference between the laboring poor man who to-day works for wages, which he must spend for the necessities of life, and the chattel slave who received those necessities from his master;

SECOND—That, in reality, the condition of the av-

erage American workingman is worse than was that of the chattel slave in the United States before the civil war;

THIRD—That the state of unemployment is the inevitable result of and necessary to the maintenance of the capitalist system of production;

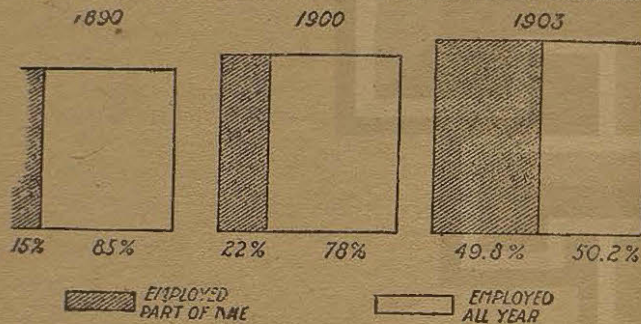
FOURTH—That so long as it (the capitalist system) continues the condition of the working class will steadily grow worse.

These four propositions I will prove by the words and evidence furnished by the supporters of the system itself. I will then prove to you, my plain, practical friend, that only by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth on the ruins of the competitive capitalist system can the condition of the wealth producers of the nation be improved.

## THE UNEMPLOYED.

Our modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin, some reserve of labor.—Prof. Charles Booth.

## STATE OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.



Employed all the time ..... 50.19 per cent  
 Employed part of the time..... 49.81 per cent  
 —Page 42, 18th Annual Labor Report.

Is there an unemployed army composed of men and women who are willing—yea, anxious—to work who can find no one to employ them?

The average man will dismiss the question with little consideration. If he happens to belong to that group of wage-earners, comprising 50 per cent of the working class, constantly employed, he may tell you there is a job for every man willing to work. On the other hand, did he belong to that other group, comprising 50 per cent of the working class, employed part of the time, his answer would doubtless be entirely different.

If you ask this question of a politician belonging to the dominant party, he will dismiss it with a wave of his hand and tell you that in this wonderful land of prosperity there is plenty of work, and to prove it he will quote from the February, 1904, issue of the *Na-*

*tional Magazine*, published at Boston, the words of the late Senator Hanna: "There are two jobs for every man."

But do the facts, as disclosed by your personal experience and observation, backed by the official figures of your government, bear out these optimistic and careless statements?

The most important contribution made by Commissioner Wright to the economic literature of the nation is his "Eighteenth Annual Labor Report." It is labeled the "Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Food." The investigation, however, covered a larger field. In it we find carefully compiled the earnings of the American workingman, his wife and children. More than this, it shows the state of employment and of unemployment, and the causes of the latter condition. It is with the unemployed problem I will deal in this chapter.

In the preface of his report, page 11, Mr. Wright, in order, doubtless, to impress the reader with the thoroughness with which the field had been covered, says:

Inasmuch as the families canvassed were distributed over thirty-three states, and the proportion in each geographical division corresponds very closely to its importance in an industrial sense, and owing to the large number of families investigated, selected without reference to industry, it is believed that the data here given relative to cost of living are fairly representative of the conditions existing among the wage workers of the whole country.

"There was a disposition," continues the report, "on the part of the families visited to give exact information," and "while individual statements may not be absolutely accurate, it can be safely assumed that averages based on any considerable number of statements correctly represent the group of families from which they were secured."

Mr. Wright's conclusions, based on his investigation, in which he was aided by the resources and prestige of the United States government, agree with those of other investigators, who followed different methods.

"The figures of unemployment," says Robert Hunter, in his new book, "Poverty," "although imperfect, show that the evil is wide-spread, *even in times of prosperity*. . . . *In every industrial community the same insecurity of livelihood, due to irregular employment, exists.*" It has been said that during the anthracite coal strike of 1902 the entire supply of mined coal was exhausted, but the excess of laborers in that district is so great that within a short time after the strike was settled a report was sent out on reliable authority that "intermittent labor is again the lot of anthracite employes. The collieries do not average more than two-thirds time."

The census of 1900 shows that 3,523,730, or 15.1 per cent of all the workers over ten years of age engaged in gainful occupations, were unemployed a part of the time during the year. The census of 1900 places the number of unemployed during some part of the year (1899)—at 6,468,964, or 22.3 per cent of all workers over ten years of age. These figures include the country as a whole, and include agriculture.\* In manufacturing alone the unemployment rose to 27.2 per cent of all the workers, the industrial states of the North and East showing the greatest per cent of unemployment. In the industrial towns of Haverhill, New Bedford and Fall River the number of unemployed ranged from 39 to 62 per cent.\*\*

These figures, if one could read behind the returns, tell a story of pitiful hardship and privation which the black slave never knew. The chattel, in whose body the master had from \$500 to \$1,000 invested, was at least provided with food, clothing and shelter. He may have felt the lash on his back at times, but he never knew the haunting fear of hunger, which is the lot of millions of free American wage workers of to-day.

\*Census Reports, Vol. I. Occupations, page cccxvi.

\*\*Census of Mass., 1895, p. 105.

The significance of these figures of unemployment is apparent when we compare them as follows:

1889 (census of 1890).....	15.1	per cent unemployed
1899 (census of 1900).....	22.3	per cent unemployed
1903 (18th Labor Report).....	49.81	per cent unemployed

Study those figures calmly and dispassionately, my practical friend. What sort of a story do they tell you? What are the causes of this unemployment? Back of every effect is a cause—search far enough and you will find it. Commissioner Wright enumerates the superficial causes of unemployment as follows, page 296 of his report:

#### CAUSE OF IDLENESS.

Establishment closed, unable to get work, and slack work .....	56.96
Sickness .....	23.65
Vacation .....	6.45
Bad weather .....	2.25
Strike .....	2.07
Accident .....	1.66
Not given .....	6.68
Drunkness .....	.26

Before entering into an analysis of the real causes of the unemployment of the wage workers, I wish to consider the above table briefly, in order to puncture some of the glaring fallacies spread broadcast by capitalist writers and speakers. The real causes of unemployment, as we shall see presently, are not hinted at by Mr. Wright and his co-laborers.

We are calmly told by a group of self-satisfied reformers that "drunkness causes idleness—hence misery and degradation. Abolish the liquor traffic, and you end idleness."

Mr. Wright's investigation shows that one-fourth of one per cent of the idleness which he found existing among the working class was caused by drunkenness. "It may be well to remark," says Mr. Wright, page 46, "that it is quite probable that drunkenness in some cases was reported as 'sickness' by the forbearing wife when giving data for the schedule." Assum-

ing that this is true to a certain extent, that the figures given are not far from wrong, one has but to remember that Mr. Wright tells us the average workingman's family spends 25 cents per week for liquor. As one-half of the families investigated reported no expenditure for liquor it would leave an average expenditure for each workingman who did spend his money in riotous living of 50 cents per week. Fifty cents per week wouldn't go very far towards habitual drunkenness. In the absence of any more definite figures on this particular phase of idleness, we must accept the conclusions of the Labor Commissioner as approximately correct—in which case drunkenness among the working class as a cause of idleness may be dismissed as of little importance.

Driven to the wall on this proposition, the bourgeois economist, anxious to throw the responsibility for chronic idleness upon the working class, points to the long array of strikes—strikes, we are told, that are in all cases and at all times inaugurated by the men. Assuming that this is true, we find charged up against them responsibility for 2.07 per cent of the idleness we find in the country. Add to this the .26 of one per cent charged against drunkenness, and we find, according to the best figures produced by the capitalist class, less than 3 per cent of the appalling total of idleness which exists in the United States, at a time when the country is enjoying a gratifying period of "prosperity," chargeable to the working class.

"You surely will not charge our beneficent system with the idleness caused by sickness," protests the capitalist apologizer.

I will let Mr. Robert Hunter answer this question, as follows:

There is no other nation, comparable industrially to the United States, which is so backward as this country in its knowledge, in its legislation, in its administrative machinery for dealing with the insanitary conditions in factories, mines and workshops, and in preventing or regulating those dangerous processes in industry which are responsible for a very large number of unnecessary diseases,

accidents and deaths. . . . No other country has so much as our own permitted individuals to disregard, to a criminal extent, the health and welfare of employes. I dare say no other nation has so many cases of illness wholly due to preventable industrial causes as the United States. The workmen who are crushed, crippled, or killed, who contract incurable diseases, who are poisoned, or who are incapacitated by carelessness, insanitary conditions, or dangerous machinery, are so numerous in this day that in a very few decades we shall look back upon this period as one of downright barbarism. . . . No one can help knowing that sickness is caused by vile tenements, by dangerous employments and insanitary workshops; furthermore, no one can fail to know that an excessive number of deaths occur among the work people employed in certain industries and living in certain tenements. The cause and effect are clear. Then why does not the owner or employer remedy the cause of the sickness, poverty and death? "He probably does not know it exists" is the ordinary answer. But it is no answer. Attempt to remedy the evils by legislation, or by enforcement of the laws, and then you begin to realize that you are in a fight, and that, for one reason or another, the landlords and employers are against you. Every movement you make is watched and attacked. Even bribery will be used to defeat sanitary measures; that is to say, measures to save life. Now the conclusion one is forced to draw from an experience of that sort is not a pleasant one, but the logic by which one reaches the conclusion seems clear and certain. These men are murderers.

This is a strong indictment, but who is willing to undertake to refute Mr. Hunter's statement of facts and his conclusion that the employing and landlord classes are responsible to a very large degree for the sickness and disease among the working class?

"But these men do not have to work in these unsanitary and dangerous surroundings!" again protests our capitalist apologizer. Sidney Webb, in "Industrial Democracy," says:

The wage earner sells to his employer, not merely so much muscular energy or mechanical ingenuity, but practically his whole existence during the working day. An overcrowded or badly ventilated workshop may exhaust his energies; sewer gas or poisonous material may undermine his health; a badly constructed plant or imperfect machinery may maim him, or even cut short his days;

coarsening surroundings may brutalize his life and degrade his character; yet, when he accepts employment, he tacitly undertakes to mind whatever machinery, use whatever materials, breathe whatever atmosphere, and endure whatever sights, sounds and smells he may find in the employer's workshop, however inimical they may be to health or safety.

The workingman to-day has no choice—if he does not like the conditions of employment, the employer or his agent shrugs his shoulders and informs him there are plenty of men willing to do the job. Pressing necessity and the cry of the little ones at home decide the day, and for the bread necessary to sustain life men will face risks which the slave master would never have permitted his slave to take.

I stood at the mouth of a coal mine in Missouri several years ago, and I saw cageful after cageful of blackened corpses brought to the surface; to this day the wails of anguish from wife and children as the body of the loved one was discovered rings in my ears, and I wondered why men would take such risks. I was young then—I know better now. I can now understand why, the day after the wreckage of the explosion had been cleared away, men took their lives in their hands and faced the unseen dangers of black-damp, falling slate and gas. *They had to live.* And then I learned that a few thousand dollars spent in measures of safety would have prevented this sacrifice of human life—that the law required this to be done. But over against the law, against the lives of these men, against the tears of the widows and the fatherless, was balanced the dividends of the stockholders of the mining corporation. They lived in New York and London, and could not be expected to know the local situation—they demanded profits and dividends of their superintendents. The superintendent knew he had to produce dividends or hand in his resignation, and to have done that meant that he, too, must face death in the darkness of the mine. And so the law was violated and the safety appliances were not installed. Mr. Hunter is right—these capitalists

are murderers—but there is yet no law to punish them.

We now come to that other phase of idleness—the “closed shop.” Not the “closed shop” which Mr. Parry and his friends talk about—but the shop that is closed because the capitalist can find a market for no more of his goods. Mr. Wright enumerates under the headings, “Establishments Closed,” “Unable to Get Work” and “Slack Work,” responsibility for 56.96 per cent of the idleness which he found existed among the workers. There is no other explanation; simply the shop was closed, or work was slack and the applicant was unable to secure employment.

Now, in considering the real causes which lead up to this condition of unemployment we are going to get very close to the trouble which afflicts the organism we call society.

Since the beginning of the wage system it has been the dream of reformers and philanthropists that there would come a time when all men would be employed. Wise solons in the past and law makers of the present have sought to solve the riddle, but it has baffled their very best efforts. The capitalist, the employer of men, knew the effort was futile. He readily grasped the fact that should all men be employed the employer would become the slave of an aristocracy of labor.

He understood, dimly it is true, that his modern system of industry would not work without a great reserve army of labor. He wanted this reserve for two reasons: In times of prosperity he needed it to bring him extra profits, but, in addition to this, he wanted this reserve army of labor to keep in subjection his employes. There is no known method of keeping a workingman to his task so effectual as the fact that just outside the factory door stands a man willing to take his job should he be dissatisfied with the conditions made by the employer.

The cry of “work wanted” was never heard until the wages system became firmly established as the prevailing mode of production. The slave never lacked for a task, nor did the serf have any idle time. In

these former periods there was a constant effort on the part of the workers to jump their jobs—*today men fight for the chance to work.*

A few months ago a new packing house in Kansas City advertised for 300 men. Six thousand applied for the jobs—and *they fought for the chance to work.* I talked with one of them a few days after the riot—that's what the newspapers called it—a "riot for work." He was a big, open-faced Swede—with arms muscled like an ox. He told me they tore down the railing surrounding the stairway as the maddened crowd surged forward trying to get to the packing house agent. The agent selected the most likely and the others turned away.

"Modern life," Mr. John Hobson has said, "has no more tragic figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wandering about the crowded centers of industry and wealth, begging in vain for permission to share in that industry, and to contribute to that wealth; asking in return, not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family which would be practically secured to him in the rudest form of savage society."

I think it is clear to the reader that there exists in the United States a great army of unemployed—you have the evidence of capitalist statisticians and capitalist writers—and above all you have the evidence of your own experience. But why?

There are, you will at once recognize, a number of causes, but we may, for the purpose of this discussion, sum them all up in the one word—MACHINERY!

So evident is this that even the unimaginative compilers of the United States Census Reports, p. cxxiii, volume VII, say: "A factor that has had a real tendency to lower the actual average earning of the wage earner in many industries is the displacement of the skilled operative by machinery, which permits the substitution of a comparatively unskilled machine hand. The tendency is noticeable in many lines of in-

dustry. Its effects are twofold: *To reduce the number of employes producing the same or an increased quantity of product,* and, hence, to lower the total wages of the group; and to reduce the average rate of wages because of the lower degree of skill required."

The census reports are rich in illustrations of this twofold tendency, but we will consider but one showing to what extent modern methods reduce the number of men required to produce a given amount of wealth, thus increasing the number of men unemployed.

"In the tanning of leather," says the census report, "by reason of improved machinery, there has been a constantly decreasing demand for skilled workmen. Women and girls are now performing work formerly done by men. In 1890 a 'shaver,' who had to serve an apprenticeship of several years before he became a skilled workman, received as high as \$6 per day at hand work. In 1900 he had been quite generally supplanted by the 'handy man,' who did the same work by machinery, accomplishing four times as much, and, perhaps, received a third of the pay. . . . These statistics indicate that the increase in production has been accomplished very largely through the utilization of new and improved machinery *without a corresponding increase in the number of wage-earners and wages paid.*"—Census, 1900, Vol. VII, page cxxiv.

## TENURE OF HOMES.

	Rented, per cent.	Free, per cent.	Mort- gaged, per cent.
1903. For the United States (U. S. Labor Report, 18th Vol., pp. 54-55), working class families .....	31.1	10.6	8.3
1920. For the United States (Census Re- port, Vol. II, p. cxcli), all fam- ilies .....	53.5	31.8	14.7
1890. For the United States (Census Re- port, Vol. II, p. cxcii), all fam- ilies .....	52.2	34.4	13.4

America is very rapidly becoming a nation of tenants. A glance at the above summary discloses this fact—a fact which our friends of the capitalist parties would hide from their constituency. Mr. Roosevelt of late has had much to say about “race suicide”—but I have seen nothing from his pen which would indicate that he was aware of the startling tendency toward “home suicide.”

Did you ever read of a “homeless chattel slave?” Did you ever read of a chattel slave who lived in a rented or a mortgaged house—in constant fear that he would be kicked out by the landlord for non-payment of rent or failure to meet the interest installment? No! Rented and mortgaged “homes”—excuse the satire—among the working class came on with the establishment of the wage system of production by “free” labor, which concentrates the workers into large cities and industrial centers.

“When this revolution,” says Hunter, “brought into the world large cities and a new industrial life, it, at the same time, destroyed what has been described as the Home. In our largest cities this home no longer exists. The economic development of the last hundred years has destroyed it and left in its stead a mere

shadow of what once was the source of all things essential to the world. The home is now a few rooms in a crowded tenement or apartment house.”

But homelessness, however, is not confined to the large cities, as one would infer from Mr. Hunter’s remarks, but extends to the remotest districts in the agricultural states. The per cent of rented and mortgaged homes is greater in the North Atlantic states—the most advanced industrial section of the country—where we find the greatest per capita wealth and the greatest per capita of production—the more recently settled sections showing a greater per cent of free homes.

Take New York City, for instance. New York, it might be mentioned in passing, is the wealthiest city in the Union. Its banks stand on a par with the financial houses of Europe, and it is whispered that the seat of financial power is soon to be, if not already, located on Manhattan Island.

In the value of its manufactures it stands at the head of the list.

Its per capita wealth production is exceeded by but three other American cities.

It leads in the number of millionaires within its borders—in point of fact, New York City typifies American financial and industrial progress, and yet what do the census reports show?

Read in the history of New York City the history of every other city—and know to a certainty that the homeless condition of its inhabitants is the condition in which the people of every other city will find themselves at no distant day.

In New York City there are, reported by the census, a few over 400,000 “homes.” Of this number less than 9,000 are owned free and unincumbered; less than 14,000 families have even a mortgaged title to shelter over their heads;—

*And 384,349 are rented!*

Ponder over the spectacle. Of the two millions of people in New York City, surrounded on every hand by

wealth outrivaling as does the sun the stars the dazzling splendor of Rome in her most palmiest days of robbery and rapine—a few over *two per cent* can say *they have a home exempt from the toll of the landlord and the money shark!*

New York City is but a type, a little more intensified, of other American cities.

The census statistician has painstakingly gathered his information, and it should damn any politician who claims responsibility for the prosperous times of the past twenty-five years.

Bad as this showing is, it does not convey to the mind a picture of the true condition of the working class—the great army of wealth producers.

Turning to page clxiii, Vol. II., Census Reports, we find that Manhattan's 2,000,000 people, embracing 433,000 families, live in 100,000 dwellings. Take from this one-half of the houses owned free and mortgaged, and, assuming that but one family lives in each, it leaves 90,000 dwellings to 400,000 families.

Startling as this condition is, the situation is steadily growing worse. Says the United States Census Report, page cxcii, Vol. II.: "These percentages, as compared with similar percentages for 1890, show a slightly increased proportion of both hired and encumbered homes, and a corresponding decreased proportion of homes owned free. Nor is this homeless condition confined to the city proletariat." Says the Census Report, page and volume last quoted: "A comparison of the percentages for farm homes shows conditions similar to those already stated for all homes."

On page 59 (lix), Volume VII., the report says:

The census of 1900 was taken at a time of special activity and productivity in manufactures, and thus its record is of a volume of industry at almost high-water mark. The same general conditions existed during the census of 1890, in a degree less marked, perhaps, but so nearly identical that comparison between the statistics of the two censuses can safely and satisfactorily be made. There is, perhaps, no decade covered by previous censuses in which the conditions were so nearly alike at the beginning and at the end

of the decade. This may be shown by brief reference to the business situation at the time of each census. The year 1889 was highly prosperous, passing all previous years in the volume of business done. . . . The agricultural crops were the largest in the history of the country. These large crops stimulated business in all directions. . . . The development of manufacturing in the decade that followed was retarded by a period of pronounced business depression, first manifested in the second quarter of 1893, and extending into 1896. . . . The gradual restoration of business confidence began in 1896, and 1897 was a year of recovery. Large and remunerative crops from 1896 to 1899 accelerated this recovery, and an increased demand for all varieties of product infused unusual activity into manufacturing enterprises. The approach of the census year (1900) found the capacity of every line of manufacture tested to the utmost.

I have quoted thus at length from the report in order to get the thought firmly fixed in the mind of the reader that we are discussing figures indicating the high-water mark of capitalistic prosperity. Naturally, during the prosperous times men buy homes, and it is not assuming too much to say that every family who possibly could availed themselves of the extraordinary opportunity to secure this very desirable possession. But what do the figures tell us? Says the government statistician, page 193 (cxliii), Vol. II.:

*A careful study of the census figures will show that the older, richer and more advanced the community, the larger the per cent of hired or rented or encumbered homes.*

From this summary it appears that of the 16,187,715 homes on the mainland of the United States in 1900, 7,259,362 are returned as owned by the families living in them, 8,365,739 as hired, leaving 562,614 for which the facts of proprietorship were not stated. Disregarding the unknown element and considering the percentages based upon known proprietorship, it appears that 46.5 per cent of all the homes in 1900 are owned and 53.5 per cent are hired. The owned free constitute 31.8 per cent. . . . These percentages, as compared with similar percentages for 1890, show a slightly increased proportion of both hired and encumbered homes and a corresponding decreased proportion of homes owned free. . . . A comparison of the percentages for farm homes shows conditions similar to those already stated for all homes.



In Alaska, where man is just emerging from "primitive savagery," and where the beneficent reign of the higher civilization has not yet been introduced, less than twenty per cent of the people live in hired homes. And, strange, the census does not report a single mortgaged home. Benighted Alaska—may she be redeemed from her ignorance and stupidity.

Next comes New Mexico, Oklahoma, Idaho, Nevada and Utah. Here the blessed mortgage—that badge of prosperity—makes its debut and spreads its slimy coils around the firesides of the free American people.

Gradually the tenant and the mortgagor make their way down through the line of states. The free homes disappear under the banner of the auctioneer's red flag and the tenant takes his place in the procession. Wisconsin, Vermont and North Dakota are neck and neck for first place in the greatest number of mortgaged homes.

New Jersey leads the procession with the smallest number of homes owned free and the greatest number of rented homes, with the exception of the trust-ridden island of Hawaii. Rhode Island, a state that produces more wealth per capita than any state in the Union, follows next, with New York, the great Empire State, following a close third. Massachusetts shows less than one-fourth of her families living in homes free from encumbrance.

And what effect has this industrial revolution, which has made homeless the wage-worker, had upon the individual? Here again we may quote from Mr. Hunter's book, "Poverty," with the assurance that he has not overdrawn the picture. It exists as he describes it, as you may see for yourself—if you are so fortunate as not to be a part of it:

Without the security which comes only with the ownership of property, without a home from which they may not be evicted, without any assurance of regular employment, without tools with which they may employ themselves, they are pathetically dependent upon their physical efficiency—their health and strength, and upon the activity

of machinery, owned by others, and worked or left idle, as the owners consider it wise or profitable.

In this community of workers several thousand human beings were struggling fiercely against want. Day after day, year after year, they toiled with marvelous persistency and perseverance. Obnoxious as the simile is, they worked from dawn until nightfall, or from sunset until dawn, like galley slaves, under the sting of want and under the whip of hunger. On cold, rainy mornings, at the dusk of dawn, I have been awakened two hours before my rising time by the monotonous clatter of hobnailed boots on the plank sidewalks, as the procession to the factory passed under my window. Heavy, brooding men, tired, anxious women, thinly dressed, unkempt little girls, and frail, joyless little lads, passed along half awake, not uttering a word as they hurried to the great factory. From all directions thousands were entering the various gates—children of every nation of Europe. Hundreds of others—obviously a hungrier, poorer lot than these entering the gates; some were most ragged and almost shoeless, but all with eager faces—waited in front of the closed gate, until finally a great red-bearded man came out and selected twenty-three of the strongest, best looking of the men. For these the gates were opened, and the others, with downcast eyes, marched off to seek employment elsewhere, or to sit at home, or in a saloon, or in a lodging house, until the following morning, when they came wistfully again to the same factory gate. In this community, the saddest in which I have ever lived, fully fifty thousand men, women and children were all the time either in poverty or on the verge of poverty. It would not be possible to describe how they worked and starved and ached to rise out of it. They broke their health down; the men acquired in this particular trade a painful and disabling rheumatism, and consumption was very common. The girls and boys followed in the paths of their parents. The wages were so low that the men alone often could not support their families, and mothers with babies toiled in order to add to the income. They gave up all thought of joyful living, probably in the hope that by tremendous exertion they could overcome their poverty; but they gained while at work only enough to keep their bodies alive. There was a sort of treadmill existence, with no prospect of anything else in life but more treadmill. When they were not given work in the mill they starved; and when they grew desperate they came to my office and asked for charity.

And yet, whatever the ills of mankind, they seem to weigh heaviest upon the children. The enormous number of deaths in certain parts of our largest cities has been referred to as the "Massacre of the Innocents." In certain

rear tenements, in dark rooms and in the most unsanitary portions of the "double decker" tenements, and especially in certain unsanitary and pestilential blocks, the death rate of children under five years of age is a matter of public disgrace. The death rate of children under five years in those places where there were both front and rear tenements ran up as high as 204 per thousand. In other words, four or five times as many babies die in these houses as in the houses of the well-to-do districts. If this same rate were maintained among all the poor (which is not probable), of 1,000,000 babies under five years, 200,000 would die annually; while of the 1,000,000 babies in the well-to-do districts only 50,000 would die. The Tenement House Committee of 1894 called the rear tenements "veritable slaughter-houses."

These present day problems of the child—the cities, the coming of immigrants, the collapse of home life, the yardless tenement—are all due to one underlying cause. There has been an entire revolution of industry during the last century, and nearly all the social problems of child life have grown up as a result of this revolution. The best thought of the entire period has been given to industrial development—to economy, wealth, profits and wages. That the needs of the child have been overlooked, if not entirely forgotten, in the readjustment of society to the new conditions, cannot be questioned.

When children are robbed of play time they too often reassert their right to it in manhood, as vagabonds, criminals and prostitutes. There is a time for work and there is a time for play. A well known educator has said: "Play is the first and only occupation of our childhood, and remains the pleasantest our whole life long. To toil like a beast of burden is the sad lot of the lowest, the most unfortunate, and the most numerous class of mortals, but this is contrary to the intent and wish of nature." Whether or not it is contrary to the intent of nature, at this moment, after one hundred years of war has been waged for the abolition of child-slavery, over 1,700,000 children under fifteen years of age are toiling in fields, factories, mines and workshops. "You cannot put tired eyes, pallid cheeks and languid little limbs into statistics."

The evil of child labor is a new evil. It was brought into existence by the factory system, as the street child was brought into existence by the tenement. And, now, in this day of steam and electrical power, when the mere force of one's hands is the most insignificant part of production, and when numberless machines are able to turn out a hundred and a thousandfold more than it was possible for men to do when aided only by simple hand-tools, child labor has become an evil—superfluous and wicked—a shame

to our civilization and an inexpiable crime against humanity.

Child labor has been synonymous with "child-slavery" during the entire last century. Any one reading the literature of the previous centuries will see that child labor was never so thought of before. In the days of home industry it was a most natural and proper thing that the child should be a "little helper" to father and mother; "little brother" once meant that, I believe. In the home fields the child was learning to do the work of the world, and there was both wisdom and kindness in teaching his little hands to master the simple industrial processes. The work was neither dangerous nor confining, neither a monotonous, uneducative routine, specialized as it is now, to a hundredth part of a man, nor was it injurious to those tender years and tender bodies. It was the source of the child's real and vital education, and, as a little helper or apprentice, the child was given attention, direction, taught the use and value of materials and skill of hands, so that, in a few years, he was graduated a craftsman with a joy-giving and dignified calling. The workshop was his school, and it was a good school, with able and competent teachers. But what was a blessing in this age became a curse in the next.

A vagrant whom I once knew had for five years—from the day he was eleven until the day he was sixteen—made two movements of his hands each second, or 23,760,000 mechanical movements each year, and was, at the time I knew him, at the age of thirty-five, broken down, drunken and diseased; but he still remembered this period of slavery sufficiently well to tell me that he had "paid up" for all the sins he had ever committed "by those five years in hell." But there is yet one thing that must be added to the picture. Give the child a tenement for a home in the filthy and muddy streets of an ordinary factory town, with open spaces covered with tin cans, bottles, old shoes, garbage and other waste, the gutters running sewers, and the air foul with odors and black with factory smoke, and the picture is fairly complete. It is a dark picture, but hardly so dark as the reality, and if one were to describe "back of the yards" in Chicago, or certain mill towns or mining districts, the picture would be even darker than the one given.

It is a dismal picture, is it not? You have been boasting of the splendid condition of the "American working class." And you have been unconsciously aiding in its perpetuation by your vote and your influence. Contrast, if you will, the condition of the black slave before the war with that of the free wage-worker today. The following extract is taken from an article

printed in a recent issue of the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution*:

The negro in slavery had no thought for the morrow, but he spent his quiet, humble life in his little cabin, with his master to care for every want of self and family. He lived under the best hygienic restraint. His habits of life were regular, food and clothing substantial and sufficient, and the edict of his master kept him indoors at night and restrained him from promiscuous indulgence and the baneful influence of the liquor saloon. In sickness he was promptly and properly cared for by physician and nurse.

I do not know what may be the object of the southern journals in raking up this kind of stuff, unless it is to taunt the black man with what he has lost. Surely no master would advocate a return to chattel slavery after a half-century of prosperity under the wage system. The slave might desire a change to the good old days before the war, but the master—never.

As advantageous as may have been the system of chattel slavery in America to the slave, as compared with the present system, there is no hope for either the black or white wage-worker in looking to the past. It is the future that holds the key to the situation. That under the prevailing condition advantages have come to the working class there is no question—but *that those advantages have kept pace with the power and privileges of the capitalist class I deny most emphatically.* By comparison there is a wider gulf, measured by dollars and cents and economic advantages, between the wage worker and his employer today than existed between the slave and his master or the serf and his lord. In support of this statement, I refer you to the information collected by Mr. Wright, the labor commissioner for the United States, the Census Reports, Mr. Hunter's book and the evidence which you see on every hand.

Look at the problem from whatever point of view, we are forced to accept the rather remarkable declaration of John Adams quoted in a previous chapter.

Then why all this struggle? Is it hopeless? By no means, my dear reader, as I hope to show you presently.

### HOW THE WORKMAN LIVES

Mr. Wright, after his exhaustive inquiry, finds that the income of the average American family, including husband, wife and children, is \$827.19.

How is it spent?

Here again we are enlightened by the United States Labor Commissioner. He has gone into the homes of the American workingmen and inquired minutely into what it costs to maintain the worker and his family, much as a dealer in fine stock would investigate the cost of keeping and reproducing Shorthorn cattle or Berkshire hogs.

We are told that the expenses necessary to keep the household in fair working order are, on an average, \$768.54. This goes for the necessities of life.

Theoretically the workingman in America is supposed to live in a mansion and own a piano and an automobile, but in reality he does not. It is true he makes the piano and the automobile and he builds the mansion—but he does not own them nor does he use them.

He does not spend his money in this frivolous manner—though the Rev. W. B. Leach, of Chicago, tells a surprised world that the American people spend \$700,000,000 on jewelry, \$178,000,000 for candy, \$80,000,000 for millinery and several hundreds of other millions for various luxurious items, but only a very small portion of these luxuries goes into the homes of the working class. The worker needs muscle. His "necessities are necessities," observes Hunter. "Necessity's sharp pinch is like a steel vise. There is no give to it. Necessity is like flint or granite. It is irresistible. It cannot be shuffled or altered."

So the workingman goes into the market and buys muscle-producing food. Commissioner Wright has also itemized the expenditures of this Sovereign Workingman of America. Here is the list:

Fresh beef .....	\$50.05	Rent .....	\$ 99.53
Salt beef .....	5.26	Principal and interest on mortgage..	12.15
Fresh hog products..	14.02	Fuel .....	32.21
Salt hog products...	13.89	Lighting .....	8.15
Other meat .....	9.78	Clothing .....	107.90
Poultry .....	9.49	Taxes .....	5.76
Fish .....	8.01	Insurance .....	20.98
Eggs .....	16.79	Organization fees ..	8.99
Milk .....	21.32	Religious purposes ..	7.60
Butter .....	28.76	Charity .....	2.39
Cheese .....	2.62	Furniture and utensils .....	26.28
Lard .....	9.35	Amusements and vacations .....	12.30
Tea .....	5.30	Books and Newspapers .....	8.38
Coffee .....	10.74	Intoxicating liquors..	12.45
Sugar .....	15.76	Tobacco .....	10.91
Molasses .....	1.69	Sickness and death..	20.52
Flour and meal .....	16.76	Other purposes .....	45.14
Bread .....	12.44		
Rice .....	2.05		
Potatoes .....	12.93		
Other vegetables ..	13.85		
Fruit .....	16.52		
Vinegar and pickles.	4.12		
Other food .....	20.40	Total for all purposes .....	\$768.54

Look it over carefully and see if you discover any expenditures for jewelry, and such. I don't. This is the standard of living which the president of the United States declared emphatically must be maintained. In his letter of acceptance he told prospective voters, most of them members of the working class, that his party would continue to be good to them.

And yet, is it not a fact that the slave masters of ante-bellum times were as good to their slaves? Did they not provide them with food and clothing and raiment, and a place to sleep? How much better off is the American white slave to-day?

You say he has freedom? Yes, he is free to quit his job and ask for another. He may even become an employer, and, later on, a capitalist—but this does not change the relationship of the two great classes in

America. For every workingman who becomes a capitalist, two capitalists are shoved down into the ranks of the proletariat to become competitors in the already overcrowded labor market.

As Mr. Roosevelt has pointed with pride to the showing exhibited by his labor commissioner's report, we must assume that this is the best which the capitalist system has to offer to the American workingman.

He is to have the munificent sum of \$12.29 for vacations and amusements. "Recreation and recuperation," observes one writer, "are vital necessities to the man whose work is hard, intense and spurred on by the feverish competitive spirit of American life." No one will deny this, yet who will contend that the American working class enjoys that recreation necessary to maintain a healthy physique? Mr. Wright finds that less than 3 per cent of all the workers in the United States are so situated that they can take a much-needed vacation.

Unable to do this the worker wears away his life until at last he can stand the strain no longer and he becomes a ward upon the charitably inclined.

Professor Edward D. Jones, a capitalist economist, says the necessity for higher wages than the worker now receives "is based upon the observation that, in the purchase and sale of labor on the market, all the necessary and legitimate cost of producing labor are not provided for in the wages received. Such transactions are not completely economical, and do not meet the claims of social justice. Fair wages must include more than enough to support the laborer while working, and must cover compensation for seasons of idleness due to sickness, old age, youth, lack of work, or other causes beyond the control of the laborer. Skill must be so paid for as to cover the expenses of education and the risk of failure. The wages of those who work should include enough to support that proportion of every normal society of human beings which cannot or ought not to be earning wages. When one pays for a vase he pays not merely for the one given him, but for part of those which have been ruined in the making or broken in handling, so the cost of labor should include the expenses of those who die in youth, or who, in age,

live to be a charge upon others. As the vase in fashion must pay for a part of a superseded stock, so wages must take account of superseded skill. If these elements in the social cost of labor are not provided for directly by wage payments, they must be surreptitiously added as public or private charity. If withheld entirely, the deterioration of the society concerned is certain."

How cramped and pitiful is the life of the man who does the work in the United States one can understand by glancing at the itemized list of his expenditures, which is reproduced on page 17.

Twenty dollars is spent per year in cases of sickness and death. Reduced to the five members of the family, it means about \$4 per year for each. It probably cost the slave master less to care for his slaves, but the slave was not under the severe mental strain that is the lot of the free worker. Medical science attributes to mental exhaustion many of the diseases which today afflict the working class. Not the mental exhaustion which comes from productive labor—but the effort to keep the wolf from the door and the endeavor to keep one's footing in the fierce struggle for existence.

Imagine taking one's wife and children to the seaside on \$20 per year!

Imagine one taking his family to a mountain resort and permitting the nature-starved babe to breathe the germless air on that sum!

Again we find the workingman and his family yearly spend \$26 for furniture. How many pianos would that provide? This sum wouldn't furnish a dog house for a second-rate captain of industry—yet it is expected to furnish a workingman's home.

Of books and papers he has a supply—such as it is. Eight dollars and thirty-seven cents will not go far towards educating a family of growing children and at the same time supply the father with his daily newspaper and his weekly and monthly magazines and the mother with an occasional book and a household journal or two. This trifle would not buy Harry Lehr's cigars for a day—yet it is expected to furnish the

*means of educating a workingman's family for twelve months.*

Your moralists will point to the fact that the workingman spends \$23.16 for liquors and tobacco, and they will tear their hair while pointing to the evils which follow this accursed traffic—forgetting that it is the profits from the liquor and tobacco taxes which enable the government to carry on its foreign policy and send ships and munitions of war to the Orient! They overlook the fact that they are partners with the saloonkeeper, the distiller and the brewer in debauching mankind for a few miserable dollars of profit. They overlook the fact that in the White House of the United States more is spent in a day for wines and tobacco than the workingman's family spends in a year. They overlook the fact that the men and women who support the pulpits, from which are hurled these diatribes at the extravagance of the poor, consume many millions of dollars per year in champagne, and that a Morgan will in one day spend more for wines than the workingman does in five years.

One hundred and seven dollars is expected to clothe a family of five winter and summer—while one society woman in New York boasts of spending \$30,000 on her wardrobe! An Easter bonnet of a dame of fashion would wipe out the whole sum. And you wonder that the poor sometimes murmur?

You point to the sum expended for "other purposes." You tell me that it is here that the working class gets the things which are necessary for their welfare and happiness. Search the list carefully and you will find no item covering the sums expended for railroad fare, street car fare, and the innumerable little incidentals which capitalism has placed so cleverly in the way of the simple-minded workingman and his family. The sum expended for incidentals, which you point to as covering all those things which go to make life pleasurable, are wiped out by the daily street car fare extracted from the workingmen in the

city, and by the horse and cart used by the miners and other workmen in going to and from their places of labor. *The worker follows the job—and he pays his own expenses.*

But, again, you point to the fact that the income of the average American family of five, consisting of husband, mother and three children, is \$827.19, while the expenses during the same period are but \$768.54—leaving a net gain to the workingman and his family of \$58.65. This represents the savings for fifty-two weeks. It shows a surplus of—think of it—a little over \$1 per week! Is this not a munificent sum? Here is a family of five—consisting of at least two wage earners—by dint of economy and denying themselves many of the little things which you consider actual necessities of life—laying by for future emergencies one dollar per week! Gracious, generous capitalism! He surely must be an ungrateful man who would ask for more!

But here, again, we see the clammy hand of commercialism. Is the workingman and his family permitted to keep this little horde, laid by with such painstaking care and denial? What do you gather from the long list of defaulted savings banks, insurance companies, building and loan associations, and the countless other "safe" institutions where the workingman is invited to place his money in trust? But the danger does not stop here. Grant that the bank or other safe deposit institution remains intact. The workingman is growing old; for twenty years he has saved and the little home is nearly paid for. Another year and the place will be out of debt.

The shop closes down!

Out of work!

The days pass, lengthening into weeks and months. The interest comes due on the mortgage—then the principal. Finally the sheriff knocks on the door, and the gray-haired old man and old woman are invited to step down and out. And, mayhap, if they do not move fast enough to suit the minion of the

law, the old people are forcibly told to move on. The capitalist class do not consider these matters—they are but trifles to them, surrounded as they are by the wealth from the toil of these people. You consider these things the workings of a divine providence, with which politics and politicians have nothing to do. And yet when you go to Argentine, Kan., the people will tell you that it was the smelter trust that a few years ago closed the big smelters and caused widespread disaster to the toilers. It was Robert T. Lincoln who closed the doors of Pullman-town last year and set 7,000 men and their families adrift. It was the Pennsylvania railroad and other great eastern corporations that during 1904 discharged more than 75,000 men, making homeless that many families—wiping out in a few short months the savings of years.

No slave master ever evicted the aged slave—nor did he fail to provide him with a job.

\* \* \* \* \*

The statistics of Mr. Wright furnish us ample proof of the correctness of the observations made by writers who have personally investigated the home life of the working class. Says Robert Hunter:

In the same cities, and, indeed, everywhere, there are great districts of people who are up before dawn, who wash, dress and eat breakfast, kiss wives and children, and hurry to work or to seek for work. The world rests upon their shoulders; it moves by their muscles; everything would stop if, for any reason, they should decide not to go into the fields and factories and mines. But the world is so organized that they gain enough to live upon only when they work; should they cease, they are in destitution and hunger. The more fortunate of the laborers are but a few weeks from actual distress when the machines are stopped. Upon the unskilled masses want is constantly pressing. As soon as employment ceases suffering stares them in the face. They are the actual producers of wealth, who have no home nor any bit of soil which they can call their own. They are the millions who possess no tools and can work only by permission of another. In the main they live miserably, they know not why. They work sore, yet gaining nothing. They know the meaning of hunger and the dread of want.

They love their wives and children. They try to retain their self-respect. They have some ambition. They give to neighbors in need, yet they are themselves the actual children of poverty.

### THE WORKER'S FAMILY LIFE.

Few persons in the United States have not read of the tenement districts in New York and Chicago. Jacob Riis, friend and co-laborer of President Roosevelt, has done much to familiarize the public with the manner in which millions of the lowest-paid toilers live, rear their young, and die in fetid and disease-infected slum districts. Riis has been making a gallant, though ineffective, fight against the slum. In an address which he delivered recently, I heard him make this remark: "Thirty years ago, when I commenced this fight, there were 40,000 windowless rooms in New York. To-day there are 360,000—and they exist in defiance of the law."

Like a chronic ulcer, society has grown used to the New York and Chicago sore spots. We flatter ourselves that it is confined to these cities. But it isn't, and as industrialism grows the hard conditions of the working class become more unbearable.

Cleveland, Ohio, aspires to be the "City Beautiful." It is the home of John D. Rockefeller. Within its limits millions of dollars have been absorbed by the captains of industry—it is a typical industrial community of the more decent sort. Its chamber of commerce recently appointed a committee to investigate the conditions of the working class in Cleveland. It is needless to say that the Republicans will not use the result as a campaign document. From the report the following extracts are made:

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY.

A few generations ago a man depended largely upon the work of his own hands for supplying his wants. He was largely independent of the labor of others, and there was, likewise, small demand for his services. As a result, it was not necessary that he live near the base of supplies,

and in direct touch with thousands of other men. There was practically no "labor market." With the introduction of machinery came an industrial revolution. Mechanical was largely substituted for muscular power, and the factory, with its division of labor, was introduced. Now men, instead of being independent in their means of livelihood, are largely interdependent. The head of the family must be near a common exchange, where his services will find a market value. The clothing which he wears, and the food which he eats, instead of being provided by himself and a few of his neighbors, are furnished by the combined labor of thousands all over the world. In exchange, his labor must be available equally to those thousands, through the medium of the factory, the mill or the shipping house. The factory operative, the shop girl, the street vender, the boot-black, all must be near the scene of the day's work; the day laborer must live near the center of his field of action, for in all these cases the time and money which might be spent in transportation are important factors. As has been shown, in the earlier stages of the present industrial system this resulted in the workman's small cottage near the center of industrial activity. But as demand for labor grew greater the only way in which increased rent charges could be met was by filling up houses, moving into smaller apartments and taking lodgers—the final result being the crowding of every available corner in the double-decker.

### THE BROOD OF MISERY.

It was gathered that immorality, perverted sexuality, drunkenness, pauperism, and many forms of debauchery, were caused in some instances, in others abetted, by the indecent overcrowding which existed; high death rates; a pitiful increase in infant mortality; terrible suffering among little children; scrofula and congenital diseases; ophthalmia, due to dark, ill-ventilated, overcrowded rooms; sheer exhaustion and inability to work; encouragement of infectious diseases; reducing physical stamina and thus producing consumption and diseases arising from general debility, were some of the evils of overcrowding.

### BREEDING SPOTS FOR DISEASE.

They are inhabited by the laboring classes, comprising people of all nationalities, living in their respective neighborhoods or streets, in crowded quarters, engaged in exhausting labor, and both working and sleeping in unsanitary surroundings. The air inside these houses during the cold months is bad, the result of having been breathed over and over again, until most of the available oxygen is taken from it, and the excretive products of the lungs

have accumulated in it. In many of these rooms, especially those of the mill workers, from two to six people sleep at night, and when off to work this room is occupied as a sleeping apartment by an equal number of night laborers, who sleep during the day. The windows are kept battened up in winter, ventilation being a thing apparently not thought of.

#### EAT, SLEEP, LIVE, IN ONE ROOM.

Mark off upon your floor six paces in one direction and seven in the other and you will have the space in which over 50 per cent of these families are carrying on their existence. It must be remembered, too, that these advantages are deceiving, for very often the largest families are housed in the smallest quarters, and vice versa. For instance, we find seven people living in two rooms with an area of only 160 feet, while all are sleeping in a single room.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nearly one-fourth of the apartments examined contained living rooms which were slept in as well, while one-fifth of all apartments had every room used for both living and sleeping purposes. These were largely two-room apartments.

More serious still, of course, is the case where all sleep in a single room. For instance, we find nine people—father, mother, four children, and three lodgers—all sleeping in a single room. Two of the children are small, while two are about 14 years old. The moral influence of these promiscuous relations must be most demoralizing. Imagine the conditions where all the functions of living, including cooking, eating, dressing, sleeping, bathing, giving birth to children, are carried on in a single small room.

#### BATHING EXTRAORDINARY.

The lack of bathing provisions in these districts is so universal as to make a table showing the extent of their existence unnecessary. In Block 1 there is not a single bath tub; in Block 2 there is one; in Block 3 is one; in Block 4 six were found; in Block 5 two, and in Blocks 6 and 7 one. In other words, about 99 per cent of the people inhabiting these districts are absolutely without respectable provisions for bathing.

#### THE BETTER WAY.

If our forefathers had been told that one day humanity would have at its disposal all the engines of which it is to-day possessed to maintain and defend its material ex-

istence, they would have concluded, first, that there would be an augmentation of independence, and, in consequence, happiness; and, in the second place, a sensible decrease in the competition for the necessities of life. It would even have been permitted them to think that the simplification of existence, resulting from these perfected means of action, would bring the realization of higher morality. Nothing of all this has come to pass. Neither happiness, social peace, nor power for good increased.—From Wagner's "Simple Life." Of this book Roosevelt said: "I am preaching his book to my countrymen."

We have carefully examined Commissioner Wright's report showing the per cent of unemployed in the United States; side by side with his statistical tables we have placed the observations of trained writers verifying his facts; we have discovered that the problem confronting the race is the one of unemployment—it looms up with the frightful menace of a derelict wreck in a fog.

We have seen how the American workingman and his family live. Side by side we have placed Mr. Wright's figures and the conclusions of social economists and committees appointed by capitalist, municipal and national officers; we have seen that one-half of the working population is unemployed part of the year; that from this condition grows the misery and degradation of the workingman and his wife and children; we have read Mr. Wright's explanation of the causes of unemployment, and we find them neatly tabulated; we find this unemployment is caused by closed establishments, slack work, inability to get work, sickness, etc. Mr. Wright has not gone back of these "causes." There must be a reason why these establishments are closed, why there is slack work, and why men and women willing to work are unable to find a master.

Does it not seem strange, as the quotation at the head of this chapter points out, that with the vast improvements society has made in its productive machinery there should be such a terrible strife for an opportunity to earn bread? Let us look into this and



see if we cannot discover in the thing itself the difficulty.

Says the 1900 Census Report, Volume VII, page 123:

A factor that has had a real tendency to lower the actual average earnings of the wage-earner in many industries is the displacement of the skilled operative by machinery, which permits the substitution of a comparatively unskilled machine hand. The tendency is noticeable in many lines of industry. Its effects are two-fold: to reduce the number of employes producing the same, or an increased quality of product, and hence to lower the total wages of the group; and to reduce the average rate of wages because of the lower degree of skill required.

The effect of the introduction and improvement of machinery upon the condition of the skilled artisan is an economic question of the greatest importance. Although difficult to show statistically, the effect can, in some degree, at least, be measured by the census figures. . . . In the tanning of leather, by reason of improved machinery, there has been a constantly decreasing demand for skilled workmen. Women and children are now performing work formerly done by men. In 1890 a "shaver," who had to serve an apprenticeship of several years before he became a skilled workman, received as high as \$6 per day at hand work. In 1900 he had been quite generally supplanted by the "handy man," who did the same work by machinery, accomplishing four times as much, and received perhaps a third of the pay. From the table it appears that to produce an increase of 18.5 per cent in value of products there was required an increase . . . of only 6.3 per cent in wages. These statistics indicate that the increase in production has been accomplished very largely through utilization of new and improved machinery without a corresponding increase in the number of wage-earners and wages paid. . . . In the boot and shoe industry an increase of 18.3 per cent in the value of products resulted . . . with only 6.9 per cent increase in number of wage-earners and an apparent decrease of 2.5 per cent in wages paid.

Again, Volume VII, page 134, of the report says:

It is stated in the special report on the boot and shoe industry that the machinery capacity employed in that industry was sufficient to produce in seven months of the year all the boots and shoes for the normal annual consumption.

Now you begin to see what effect the introduction

of improved methods has upon the wage earners, and why the nation is confronted with an unemployed problem.

The politicians and statesmen have been unable to solve it. They stand aghast at its proportions—increasing swiftly with each revolution of the wheel of industry.

Shall we destroy the machines? No—that would be folly. It has taken thousands of years of ceaseless toil and the sacrifice of innumerable human lives to reach the point we have on the ladder of progress—and we can take no backward step. We have seen the hand tool and the individual workman grow to the great machine and the associated groups of employed thousands; we have seen this perfected machine grouped into larger and larger combinations—increasing productivity to a point so far beyond the dreams of our fathers of 100 years ago that, were they alive to-day, it would appear to them as a revised edition of the "Arabian Nights."

As men become familiar with the facts which enable them to understand the situation—when they bump up against economic conditions which put them out of business or shove them down into the ranks of the unemployed, they begin to make an effort to solve the problem.

You can see at once that it is not the machine—if you did not you would desire a return to the primitive times of your fathers. But you have no serious expectation or hope that the "good old days" will return. You would not exchange the passenger train for the stage coach, nor the weaving machine of to-day for the hand loom.

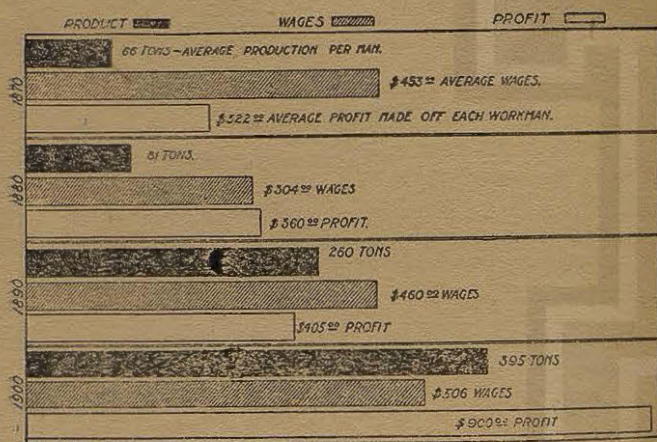
The world would starve to death in thirty days were it possible to destroy the machinery now used and return to the primitive tools of a century ago.

Then wherein lies the trouble? This: The machine to-day is owned by the captain of industry and a small group of his fellows. The increase in productivity goes to the capitalist, just as a half century or

so ago the child born on the plantation of slave parents became the property of the master—to be used in producing more wealth.

You have seen from the figures and the comments quoted from the census reports that as productivity increased the number of wage earners decreased, as did likewise wages.

Suppose, then, we take the ownership of the machines from a few individuals, who absorb the tremendous social values created, and place the title in the men who use them—in society in general—and give to each worker his proportion of what is created. There would then be no surplus values climbing up into millions to be used to club the working class into misery and want and degradation.



In order to illustrate the difference in income which would be the lot of the worker under Socialism and his wages to-day, I will call your attention to the iron industry.

For your better understanding, I have made two drawings which you will study carefully.

In the diagram on this page you will find represented by the black column the progress made in the

manufacture of pig iron. The small black column represents the average number of tons produced in the mills of the United States for the year 1870 for each man employed, including superintendents, clerks, advancing scale, which illustrates the growth of mechanical improvement and the laborer's skill in handling the new machines. For the period of thirty years the table shows an increase in the finished product per man employed of about 600 per cent. To put it in another way—

*One man in 1900 turns out as many tons of pig iron as did six men in 1870.*

The light columns show the net profit reaped by the owners of the mills for each man employed. In 1870 each workman created a surplus value—net profit—of \$322. In thirty years it increased nearly 300 per cent.

In 1870 his wages for making 66 tons of iron were \$453 per year. The next decade, although the product of his hands increased and the profits of his masters increased, his wages fell to the pitiful sum of \$6 per week. In 1890 he regained the ground lost, but he first must add many millions to the coffers of his masters. The climax came in 1900—the exploitation of that section of the working class which operated the pig iron plants had well nigh reached perfection. Note the length of the 1900 white column, representing profits, and then compare it with the column representing wages. A study of this diagram will give you a clear understanding of the operation of the wages system under the present arrangement of private ownership.

Now, then, I will ask you to look at the other side of the question.

When the workers own the machinery—they will not “divide up” with the capitalist—profits will be eliminated.

There will be no unemployed problem, because with the disappearance of this surplus-value—(the difference between the wages paid and the price of the

laborer's product on the market)—there can be no overproduction. Each worker will consume what he produces.

To-day an improvement in machinery means loss of work to millions—under Socialism it would mean an increase in the income received by each worker.

It is in your power, as a voter, to complete this new arrangement. You have the votes—and for the present at least you have the opportunity of using them. To-morrow it may be too late.

I urge you, my working class friend, to study carefully the facts and figures here set forth. Draw your own conclusion—I am willing to leave it to you if you will but investigate.

#### HAND AND MACHINE LABOR.

The following table is taken from U. S. Labor Bulletin, No. 54. It is compiled from the thirteenth Annual Labor Report, which presents in detail the results of an investigation showing the difference in time required to produce a certain number of units of manufacture by the hand process and by the machine process. The report is out of print. This table is valuable and should be preserved. With it you can discover at a glance the difference in the two methods, and you will begin to understand why the owners of the machines wax rich while the worker struggles to live. For instance, under the old hand method, it required 118 hours to make one landslide plow. To-day, with modern machinery, it requires less than four hours. The worker to-day produces 30 plows in the same length of time it formerly required to make one plow. If he worked in the good old days for \$1 per day, it cost his boss about \$11 in wages. To-day he gets \$2 per day and in eleven days gets \$22 in wages. For this outlay on the part of the capitalist he gets 30 plows. In other words, the capitalist doubles his wage fund and increases his wealth 30 times—or, assuming that plows have decreased one-half in price, he still has wealth 15 times greater than did his predecessor. The laborer gets for his \$2 to-day just what his father got for \$1—"his board and keep." Go down the list and you will grasp the significance of the figures and will know the secret of capitalist accumulation:

	Hours—	
	Hand Mthd.	Mchn. Mthd.
Pitchforks—50 pitchforks, 12-inch tines.....	200.00	12.83
Plow—1 landslide plow, oak beams and handles	118.00	3.75
Bags—5,000 cotton flour sacks.....	137.50	28.33
Blank books—12 crown ledgers, 8½x14¼ inches, 400 pages, full sheep.....	107.22	13.74
Bookbinding—500 12mo. books, 320 pages, full cloth.....	228.00	59.96
Shoes—10 pairs men's fine grade, calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, soft box toes.....	222.50	29.66
Boxes—1,000 strawboard, paper-covered, shoe boxes, 11½x6x3 ½ inches.....	228.00	34.50

	Hours—	
	Hand Mthd.	Mchn. Mthd.
Crackers—1,000 pounds graham crackers, packed.....	160.00	35.56
Carpet—200 yards ingrain carpet, cotton warp, wool filling, 1,088 ends, 26 picks per inch....	151.05	64.86
Carriage—1 elliptic spring, leather top buggy, piano body, dropped axles, banded hubs, cloth trimmings.....	200.42	39.14
Watch cases—10 gold hunting watch cases, 18 size, engine turned, "Barleycorn shield" pattern.....	174.97	35.55
Watch movements—1 key-wind brass hunting watch movements, 18 size, full plate.....	195.65	5.51
Combs—1 gross horn dressing combs, 7x1¼ inches, coarse and fine, teeth 1¼ inches.....	66.60	12.48
Barrels—100 flour barrels, patent hoops.....	50.50	22.32
Rope—300 pounds ¾-inch hemp baling rope....	134.25	17.00
Corsets—1 dozen medium sateen corsets, 17 eyelets in back.....	210.00	18.95
Hatchets—12 dozen No. 2 shingling hatchets, 22 pounds per dozen.....	191.00	54.93
Firearms—1 double-barreled, breech-loading, hammerless shotgun.....	202.50	58.38
Pamphlets—Printing and binding 4,000 pamphlets, 32 pages, 3½x5¼ inches.....	234.00	5.00
Magazines—Folding, stitching and covering 2,000 copies 96-page magazine, 6½x9½ inches.....	151.20	47.73
Newspapers—Printing and folding 36,000 pages Lithography—Printing 1,000 sheets art work, 19x28 inches, 6 colors.....	216.00	1.03
Typesetting—100,000 ems, newspaper work....	281.00	5.68
Electrotyping—100 electrotype plates, 8½x7 ½ inches.....	209.60	46.45
Engraving—1 wood cut 7¼x9 inches, same pattern under each method.....	260.00	89.50
Envelopes—50,000 No. 6¾ plain white envelopes	119.50	36.30
Butter—500 pounds, in tubs.....	217.33	15.78
Shirts—1 dozen white muslin shirts, plaited linen bosoms, linen-covered collars and cuffs attached.....	125.00	12.50
Lounges—12 oak frame, round end, plush-covered lounges, 69x23 inches, antique finish...	119.92	15.68
Harness—1 set double coach harness, traces 10 stitches per inch.....	246.50	46.00
Granite—Dressing 150 square feet.....	234.50	40.72
	243.00	19.00
<i>Agriculture.</i>		
Barley—100 bushels.....	211.94	9.04
Carrots—10 tons long orange.....	160.17	79.35
Corn—50 bushels, shelled, stalks, husks and blades cut into fodder.....	228.86	34.38
Corn—50 bushels, husked, stalks left in field..	48.44	18.91
Cotton—Seed cotton, 1,000 pounds.....	223.78	78.70
Hay—Harvesting and baling 8 tons timothy....	284.00	92.53
Oats—160 bushels.....	265.00	28.39
Peas—50 bushels.....	192.50	114.03
Potatoes—500 bushels.....	247.54	86.36
Rice—10,000 pounds rough.....	235.16	64.55
Rye—100 bushels.....	251.93	100.67
Strawberries—500 quarts.....	216.54	84.42
Sweet Potatoes—50 bushels.....	151.11	58.15
Tomatoes—100 bushels.....	216.22	89.92

	Hours	
	Hand Mthd.	Mchn. Mthd.
Wheat—50 bushels .....	160.63	7.43
<i>Mining.</i>		
Coal—50 tons bituminous .....	171.05	94.30
<i>Quarrying.</i>		
Drilling granite—60 2¼-inch holes, 1½ feet deep, in granite rock .....	178.35	29.64
Drilling rock—6 2-inch holes, 12 feet deep, in hard, blue rock .....	130.00	8.20
Granite—Quarrying 50 cubic feet .....	252.00	65.59
Limestone—Quarrying 100 tons .....	115.28	80.67
Marble—Quarrying 72 cubic feet .....	133.57	26.08
Red rock—Quarrying 40 tons .....	205.33	80.00
<i>Transportation, Etc.</i>		
Loading grain—Transferring 6,000 bushels wheat from storage bins or elevators to vessel .....	222.00	53.60
Loading ore—Loading 100 tons iron ore on cars .....	200.00	2.86
Unloading coal—Transferring 200 tons from canal boats to bins 400 feet distant .....	240.00	20.00
Unloading cotton—Transferring 200 bales from vessel to dock .....	240.00	75.50

## DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES.

ESTATES.	Number.	Aggregate wealth.	Average wealth.
The wealthy classes \$50,000 and over .....	125,000	\$33,000,000,000	\$264,000
The well-to-do classes \$50,000 to \$5,000 .....	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
The middle classes \$5,000 to \$500 .....	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
The poorer classes under \$500 .....	5,500,000	800,000,000	150

Total .....

—From Charles B. Spahr's "Distribution of Wealth in the U. S.," p. 56.

Class.	Families.	Per Cent.	Average Wealth.	Aggregate Wealth.	Per Cent.
Rich .....	125,000	1.0	\$263,040	\$32,880,000,000	54.8
Middle .....	1,362,500	10.9	14,180	19,320,000,000	32.2
Poor .....	4,762,500	38.1	1,639	7,800,000,000	13.0
Very poor .....	6,250,000	50.0			
Total .....	12,500,000	100.0	\$4,800	\$60,000,000,000	100.0

—From John Graham Brooks' "The Social Unrest."  
 "I do not personally believe that trustworthy statistical sources exist that enable one to make tables of this character that are more than mere guesses at the facts. Yet, if it were known what the possessions of the one hundred and twenty-six thousand richest families in the United States are the result would be all that any agitator need ask." How many liberties have been taken with Mr. Spahr's figures in order to construct this latter table I do not know; it can be said, however, that while neither his figures nor those of Mr. Holmes have escaped criticism the critics have not, thus far, been able to make out a case against them which necessitates any material alteration either of the handling of the data or of the conclusions finally drawn.—Robert Hunter.

## PER CENT OF UNEMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION.

These tables show that the apparent increase in 1900 in the proportion of those out of employment during some part of the census year included all but fifteen of the 140 groups specified for males and all but 7 of the 63 groups specified for females.

OCCUPATION.	Per Cent of Males Unemployed in		Per Cent of Females Unemployed in	
	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.
Glassworkers .....	59.9	53.1	45.5	39.1
Plasterers .....	56.1	42.9	.....	.....
Masons (brick and stone) .....	55.5	42.9	.....	.....
Teachers and professors .....	55.0	30.8	61.2	33.1
Brick and tile makers, etc. ....	48.4	43.6	.....	.....
Fishermen and oystermen .....	46.3	40.4	.....	.....
Paper hangers .....	44.5	28.0	.....	.....
Laborers (not specific) .....	44.3	33.4	44.1	22.6
Miners and quarrymen .....	44.3	47.9	.....	.....
Painters, glaziers and varnishers .....	42.4	31.1	.....	.....
Carpenters and joiners .....	41.4	31.8	.....	.....
Hat and cap makers .....	41.0	33.1	3.49	33.3
Marble and stone cutters .....	39.5	30.3	.....	.....
Roofers and slaters .....	36.5	26.8	.....	.....
Agricultural laborers .....	36.1	17.2	44.3	18.6
Wood choppers .....	35.2	31.3	.....	.....
Saw and planing mill employes .....	35.1	31.7	.....	.....
Stove, furnace and grate makers .....	34.7	30.4	.....	.....
Coopers .....	34.3	26.4	.....	.....
Boatmen and sailors .....	33.3	28.8	.....	.....
Potters .....	32.8	30.7	34.4	40.0
Other food preparers .....	32.7	23.3	.....	.....
Seamstresses .....	32.5	18.0	24.2	13.1
Boot and shoe makers and repairers .....	31.7	25.2	42.5	36.4
Rubber factory operatives .....	31.0	38.0	39.6	40.9
Lumbermen and raftsmen .....	30.9	29.5	.....	.....
Silk mill operatives .....	29.3	27.4	25.8	24.3
Iron and steel workers .....	28.1	25.4	.....	.....
Actors, professional showmen, etc. ....	27.8	17.5	39.1	20.6
Tobacco and cigar factory operatives .....	27.2	21.5	31.1	27.2
Tailors and tailoresses .....	27.0	14.5	26.4	16.5
Turpentine farmers and laborers) .....	26.4	16.0	.....	.....
Other agricultural pursuits .....	26.2	26.4	.....	.....
Charcoal, coke and lime burners .....	25.9	14.5	.....	.....
Tin plate and tinware makers .....	25.3	18.7	28.8	27.4
Gold and silver workers .....	25.3	17.0	.....	.....
Wireworkers .....	25.1	20.7	.....	.....
Broom and brush makers .....	25.0	25.6	24.4	23.9
Carpet factory operatives .....	24.8	20.3	.....	.....
Leather curriers and tanners .....	24.6	16.9	.....	.....
Other woodworkers .....	24.3	16.6	.....	.....
Other metal workers .....	23.8	19.6	22.1	15.0
Other textile workers .....	23.7	14.6	22.1	17.8
Shirt, collar and cuff makers .....	22.8	13.2	.....	.....
Oil well and oil well works employes .....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Per Cent of Unemployed by Occupation.—Continued.

OCCUPATION.	Per Cent of Males Unemployed in		Per Cent of Females Unemployed in	
	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.
Packers and shippers	22.5	18.0	26.0	21.2
Other miscellaneous industries	22.1	20.2	.....	.....
Plumbers and gas and steam-fitters	22.0	13.4	.....	.....
Tool and cutlery makers	22.0	20.4	.....	.....
Trunk and leather case makers, etc.	21.1	16.8	.....	.....
Cabinetmakers	20.9	13.8	.....	.....
Upholsterers	20.9	15.0	21.3	14.9
Dressmakers	20.8	13.0	19.8	11.2
Butter and cheese makers	24.4	27.7	.....	.....
Hosiery and knitting mill operatives	20.3	31.5	20.0	29.9
Messenger and errand and office boys	19.7	12.2	21.0	13.5
Brassworkers	19.6	13.2	.....	.....
Woolen mill operatives	19.5	22.0	21.1	25.2
Bleachery and dye works operatives	19.3	15.9	.....	.....
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.	19.3	15.9	.....	.....
Boxmakers, (paper)	18.8	14.9	20.4	17.1
Other textile mill operatives	18.7	20.7	18.6	18.7
Other chemical workers	18.5	19.5	.....	.....
Steam boiler makers	18.4	16.3	.....	.....
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	17.7	14.9	.....	.....
Mechanics (not otherwise specified)	17.6	14.4	.....	.....
Wheelwrights	17.4	12.8	.....	.....
Musicians and teachers of music	17.3	11.1	22.4	11.4
Glovesmakers	17.1	38.8	20.0	32.8
Servants and waiters	17.0	9.8	14.8	7.0
Paper and pulp mill operatives	16.9	14.5	21.1	15.7
Distillers and rectifiers	16.4	15.5	.....	.....
Steam railroad employes	15.8	13.0	.....	.....
Telegraph and telephone linemen	15.8	10.5	.....	.....
Nurses and midwives	15.3	11.7	27.1	18.4
Stock raisers, herders and drovers	15.3	11.6	.....	.....
Printers, lithographers and pressmen	15.0	9.6	16.5	11.0
Hostlers	14.7	10.6	.....	.....
Bookbinders	14.6	9.9	16.7	13.0
Hucksters and peddlers	14.6	10.5	14.3	6.4
Housekeepers and stewards	14.5	10.8	9.1	3.6
Other persons in trade and transportation	13.9	10.6	.....	.....
Blacksmiths	13.7	12.1	.....	.....
Machinists	13.4	10.8	.....	.....
Harness and saddle makers	13.3	10.0	.....	.....
Street railway employes	13.3	9.9	.....	.....
Cotton mill operatives	13.1	13.2	14.9	14.0
Engravers	13.0	9.7	.....	.....
Porters and helpers (in stores,	.....	.....	.....	.....

Per Cent of Unemployed by Occupation.—Continued.

OCCUPATION.	Per Cent of Males Unemployed in		Per Cent of Females Unemployed in	
	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.
etc.	12.6	7.4	.....	.....
Bartenders	12.5	8.9	.....	.....
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc.	12.3	13.3	8.7	7.4
Brewers and malsters	12.1	8.6	.....	.....
Bottlers and soda water makers, etc.	11.9	9.0	.....	.....
Electricians	11.8	9.9	.....	.....
Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors	11.8	9.7	.....	.....
Model and pattern makers	11.8	9.7	.....	.....
Millers	11.6	11.2	.....	.....
Butchers	11.5	7.6	.....	.....
Bakers	11.3	8.1	9.9	5.2
Clock and watch makers and repairers	11.3	9.9	11.9	11.4
Confectioners	11.2	7.6	16.6	8.5
Artists and teachers of art	10.7	7.0	17.6	7.4
Stenographers and typewriters	10.4	6.5	13.2	9.1
Janitors and sextons	10.1	7.8	7.8	5.0
Photographers	9.7	7.5	14.9	9.7
Telegraph and telephone operators	9.6	6.7	10.7	6.7
Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc.	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other domestic and personal service	8.9	6.8	.....	.....
Salesmen and saleswomen	8.4	5.6	11.0	6.4
Milliners	8.1	6.1	26.3	13.1
Dairymen and dairywomen	7.9	6.8	.....	.....
Launderers and laundresses	7.9	5.2	19.7	10.1
Barbers and hairdressers	7.7	5.6	12.2	6.7
Bookkeepers and accountants	7.7	5.0	8.8	6.4
Farmers, planters and overseers	7.7	6.6	6.2	3.6
Literary and scientific persons	7.5	5.4	11.6	7.2
Agents	7.4	4.8	16.9	9.8
Clerks and copyists	7.3	5.0	9.6	5.8
Commercial travelers	7.2	5.4	.....	.....
Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc.	6.8	4.5	.....	.....
Manufacturers and officials, etc.	6.8	6.1	8.1	2.4
Other professional service	5.8	5.5	.....	.....
Officials (government)	5.5	4.6	4.4	3.3
Foremen and overseers	4.7	5.4	.....	.....
Restaurant keepers	4.7	3.6	5.6	2.7
Boarding and lodging house-keepers	4.4	3.2	2.7	0.8
Journalists	4.0	3.0	6.5	4.2
Clergymen	3.6	2.1	7.5	4.7
Merchants and dealers (wholesale)	3.4	3.6	.....	.....
Bankers and brokers	3.3	1.5	.....	.....
Dentists	3.3	2.4	.....	.....
Undertakers	3.2	2.8	.....	.....

## Per Cent of Unemployed by Occupation.—Continued.

OCCUPATION.	Per Cent of Males Unemployed in		Per Cent of Females Unemployed in	
	1909.	1890.	1900.	1890.
Livery stable keepers.....	3.1	2.7	....	....
Merchants and dealers (except wholesale) .....	3.0	2.3	2.7	1.8
Hotel keepers .....	2.9	2.4	2.8	1.6
Lawyers .....	2.6	1.8	....	....
Saloon keepers .....	2.6	2.3	1.7	0.9
Soldiers, sailors and marines (U. S.).....	2.5	2.4	....	....
Officials of banks and companies.	2.4	3.7	....	....
Physicians and surgeons .....	1.9	1.4	4.2	6.7

Census, 1900, Vol. "Occupations," p. ccxxxii.

## THE UNEMPLOYED

Number of persons in each main class of occupations unemployed during any portion of the census year compared with the total number so occupied, 1890 and 1900:

Census Years and Classes of Occupations.	Persons 10 Yrs. of Age and over engaged in gainful occupations.		
	Total.	Unemployed.	P. Ct.
1900.			
All occupations .....	29,073,233	6,468,964	22.3
Agricultural pursuits .....	10,381,765	2,144,689	20.7
Professional service .....	1,258,538	330,566	26.3
Domestic and personal service...	5,580,657	1,568,121	28.1
Trade and transportation.....	4,766,964	500,185	10.5
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits .....	7,085,309	1,925,403	27.2
1890.			
All occupations .....	23,318,183	3,523,730	15.1
Agricultural pursuits .....	9,148,448	1,020,205	11.2
Professional service .....	944,333	142,574	15.1
Domestic and personal service...	4,220,312	799,272	18.9
Trade and transportation .....	3,326,122	262,871	7.9
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits .....	5,678,468	1,298,808	22.9

A comparison shows that the apparent increase in the proportion of the unemployed comprehends all the main classes of occupations, and both sexes. Pursuing the analysis to occupations in detail it will be observed that the result remains the same.

Census, 1900, Vol. "Occupations," p. cxxviii.

Each of these two census years was a period of prosperity; therefore, the economic conditions to some extent were similar, and it is reasonable to suppose that accurate returns at the census of 1890 and 1900 would indicate little variation in the proportion of the unemployed in many callings at least. There are reasons for accepting the figures of 1900 as more correctly reflecting the actual proportions of unemployment than did those of 1890.—Census Report, Vol. "Occupations," page ccxxvi.



WARREN'S FEDERAL COURT SPEECH.

FRED D. WARREN'S SPEECH BEFORE THE  
FEDERAL COURT AT FORT SCOTT,  
KANSAS.

Yes, your honor, there are some reasons why sentence of the court should not be pronounced.

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

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

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



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

It was during the heat of this struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the wealthy Mine Owners' Association of the west that I conceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, protected from the service of requisition by the governor of Indiana, whose position was endorsed by Governor Roosevelt, of New York, and every prominent Republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

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

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

This Taylor reward was circulated through the mails in a manner in daily use by banks, private detective agencies, Anti-Horse Thief Associations, sheriffs and marshals. I have here three postal cards mailed by national and state banks offering rewards for the arrest of men whom these banks allege to have committed crime. The card which I offer for the inspection of the court, it will be noted, bears upon the back or outside of the card in large letters, figures and characters the following language: "B. B. Bond, produce dealer, wanted for issuing forged Bills of Lading. \$250 rewards will be paid by the First National Bank, Nashville, Tenn., for his arrest and delivery to Nashville authorities."

It will be observed that this language, to quote this court's decision on our demurrer to the indictment, "is calculated to impress the readers of the language with the thought that Bond was guilty of the commission of some crime for which he would be prosecuted by the Tennessee authorities if captured and returned to them." It can further be said, following the court's line of reasoning, that this language was obviously intended by the First National Bank to reflect injuriously upon the character of B. B. Bond, and from its terms, the manner and style in which it was displayed on the postal card is calculated to have that effect.

The other cards contain similar language and display. This is characteristic of thousands of cards which daily pass through the mails of the United States, and yet in not a single instance has any effort been made by the government to rid the mails of this objectionable matter and protect those of its citizens who are fugitives from justice.

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

There must be some reason why I alone, of the thousands of men who, according to the rule of this court and the opinion of the district attorney and his

assistant, have committed substantially the same act, should be singled out and marked for prosecution.

The reason is not hard to find. Society to-day is divided into two classes. On the one side we find the work people—men, women and children, who have no means of obtaining a livelihood but by their hard labor. On the other hand we find a relatively small group of men who own the land and the tools which these people must have access to if they are to live. It is the primary if not the sole purpose of the man who owns this productive property to obtain as large profits as possible, while on the other hand the work people strive constantly to increase their wages. This creates class conflict.

This conflict began with civilization and has come down under varying forms to this day and will continue with increasing intensity so long as a small group of rich men are permitted to lay upon the masses, to quote Pope Leo, "A yoke little better than slavery." Discussing the ever present problem of labor and its compensation, John Adams, in 1776, observed:

It is of no consequence by what name you call your people—whether by that of free men or slaves. In some countries the laboring poor men were called free men; in others slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm give them annually as much as will buy the necessities of life, or gives them those necessaries at first hand?

Coming down to the civil war period we find that the Charlestown Baptist Association in presenting a memorial to the Georgia legislature in 1835, discussing this ever-with-us problem of labor, gave expression to the following conclusion:

It amounts in effect to this, whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold and themselves become property, as in this State, or whether they shall become hirelings and their labor only become property, as in some other States.

It will be seen from these two quotations, clearly reflecting the opinion of the revolutionary and civil war periods, that the master class recognized no difference between the chattel slave and the wage hireling. In 1865 Karl Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism, summed up the labor problem in the following striking sentence:

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or work shop six hours daily for himself and six hours daily for his employer, it comes to the same thing.

This surplus value over and above that which is required by the slave, the serf and the wage worker to maintain his physical existence is the portion which the master, the feudal lord, and the capitalist have taken by force of arms in the first case, by ownership of land in the second and by ownership of tools and cunningly devised laws and court decisions in the last instance.

The slave master built up a civil and political system which protected his right of property in the bodies of his slaves and the wealth they produced. One does not have to go very far back in the history of this country to find confirmation of this statement. Prior to 1860 the laws enacted by Congress and by most of the several states, backed by the decisions of federal and state courts, had for their object the protection of the slave master in his right of ownership of men, women and children. The man who dared raise his voice in protest against the exploitation of the black man was branded as a traitor to his country; if he attempted to speak he was thrown in jail; and if he attempted to print a newspaper voicing his sentiments his press was destroyed and he was mobbed or murdered.

What was true in the two revolutionary periods which marked the disappearance of a political system based on kingcraft and a political system based on chattel slavery is true to-day.

The men and the newspapers that have espoused the cause of men, women and children who work in the fields, factories and mines of this nation are marked for persecution as were the revolutionary and abolition editors before them. For ten years as editor of the Appeal to Reason I have been in constant conflict with the ruling class, and the men who hope to pick up the crumbs which drop from the tables of the great captains of industry, on whose will employment depends not alone in the industries but in the government and municipal service.

The postoffice department was first employed to hamper and harass the Appeal to Reason in its work of education and enlightenment. The most absurd rules and regulations were specially formulated to apply, as Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden wired to the Girard postmaster, "to the Appeal to Reason." In every instance where our right to the mails was questioned the Appeal won a signal victory, because we strictly obeyed the spirit and the letter of the law.

Then the aid of the courts was invoked to accomplish what the postoffice department had failed to do. The courts to-day, as prior to 1860, are with the owning and ruling class. Daily this fact is becoming more apparent. One has only to refer to the long list of decisions in which the interests of labor and capital are opposed to verify this statement. The black-list has been legalized and the boycott outlawed. The injunction has been used with telling effect in labor controversies to terrorize and crush the men who work, while it has proven ineffective and of no avail when directed against great capitalist interests, as President Roosevelt pointed out when he was engaged in his battle with the great packing industries.

The people of Missouri in their capacity as sovereign voters recently elected a governor and legislature on a platform demanding relief from railroad extortion. A two-cent fare bill was enacted into law. This law was upheld by the state Supreme Court.

The railroads went to the federal courts, who, with the stroke of a pen, nullified the will of three millions of people. So closely allied has become the federal judiciary of this country to the great corporations that even now there is pending in Congress a resolution demanding an investigation of the acts and conduct of the federal judges who have prostituted their high office to the profit of these corporations, three-fourths of which, according to a statement made by Governor Hadley, are either illegally organized or unlawfully conducted.

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging, almost single handed, a fight against the oppressive and intolerable industrial and political conditions which confront this country. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth and it is because of this that I face this court to-day a convicted felon in the eyes of thousands of men and women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the department of justice at the instance of the President of the United States, had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kansas. I do not know the Journal's source of information, but am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prosecution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the attorney general's office at Washington.

When the Pierson envelope, on which this action is based, was sent to the postoffice inspector of this district from Los Angeles, that gentleman turned it over to the district attorney. The district attorney returned the envelope to the postoffice inspector with the opinion that there was no ground for action. The inspector in making report to the department at Washington marked the case "closed." He later explained to me that this meant that so far as the district of

Kansas was concerned no further action would be taken. But soon thereafter word was received from Washington, so the assistant district attorney announced in the presence of this court, that there had been a violation of the law and that the case must be re-opened and vigorously prosecuted.

The district attorney's office at Topeka, however, revised its decision, after hearing from Washington, that there was no ground for action against me. One of my attorneys journeyed to Washington and laid before the department thousands of reward cards, similar to the Taylor reward, which had been mailed from nearly every city in the Union. When my attorney inquired why the Appeal was singled out for prosecution on this flimsy charge while all the senders of these other cards who were equally culpable were not molested, the representative of the government opened a drawer in his desk and produced an armload of marked copies of the Appeal.

Blue pencil marks designating certain articles in the Appeal indicated that this paper is pretty closely read by high government officials. The government official shrugged his shoulders in reply to Darrow's question and remarked, "We are after the Appeal."

This case has dragged its weary way through this court for over two years, continued from time to time at the instance of the government. I submit from these facts that I am not prosecuted for having violated any federal law but purely because of my political opinions and my work in behalf of the working class of this Union.

This prosecution is not unexpected to us. As plainly stated by the government official to whom our attorney talked in Washington it is evident that secret service agents of the government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for 10, these many years.

Is it not pretty conclusive evidence that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ten years

of effort the government is able to find only this lone and paltry alleged violation?

Personally I feel proud of this record. I feel no sense of guilt nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are known.

The government's witnesses testified here on the stand that I submitted to them copy of the matter I expected to mail and asked whether in the postmaster's judgment it constituted a violation of the federal law. That official after looking the matter up said it did not, and I want to say here that during the ten years of my connection with the Appeal to Reason I have had frequent occasion to consult with the postmaster at Girard on matters relating to the postal laws and in no instance was his judgment ever at fault. He assured me that in his judgment the matter I proposed mailing was identical in character with the thousands of postal cards mailed at his office by the sheriff, the marshal and the officers of the Anti-Horse Thief Association.

In submitting to this court these postal cards mailed by bankers it is not my intention that the government should proceed against these men on the evidence furnished by me. I know these gentlemen are immune from prosecution because they represent the dominant class in society to-day. The rewards which they offer are for men who have committed crimes against property and in the prevailing social system the property of the rich is of vastly more consequence than the life and liberty of the poor.

On the other hand the editor who has espoused the cause of the wage slave to-day, has, in the eyes of the ruling class, committed a crime against existing institutions for daring to offer a reward for the apprehension of an influential member of the dominant political party.

I have also dared to criticize a decision of the highest judicial tribunal of the United States. Judge West, the assistant district attorney who assisted in my prosecution, in his argument a year ago last No-

member, after presenting his reasons why the demurrer in this action should be overruled, closed his argument in a burst of passion with the statement that, "As a matter of fact this literature was sent out for the purpose of bringing into contempt and discredit the Supreme Court of the United States." Is criticism a crime? And is it for this I am being prosecuted?

Smarting under the vicious attempt of the English king to prevent the circulation of revolutionary newspapers during the period preceding the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the first amendment to the new Constitution was made to provide for a free press and free speech, always and everywhere recognized as the sustaining pillars of free institutions.

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

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

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

The late Senator Hanna boasted that the courts are maintained to buttress property rights. Ex-President Roosevelt denounced a federal judge for his interpretation of the law in the government's prosecution of the beef trust. President Taft, in his Hot Springs, Va., speech, expressed a decided opinion upon the same question in referring to the inability of

the poor to cope in the courts with men of wealth. With expressions like these from men of prominence, do you wonder that there is a growing distrust on the part of the poor people of this nation that the courts are against them?

In the western district of New York of thirty cases decided in favor of injured employes, twenty-eight were reversed in favor of the master class by the higher courts. United States District Attorney Sims of Chicago was waging a vigorous fight against the white slave drivers and when victory was almost in his grasp, his hand was paralyzed by a decision of the Supreme Court, which virtually put an end to the prosecution of that unspeakable infamy. There are property interests involved in the wholesale debauchery of young girls and these property interests must be safeguarded at whatever cost. As for the girls they are the daughters of the working class and in point of value are not to be compared to property.

Our modern system of jurisprudence is a survival of medieval times when judges presided by right of ownership of lands and castles and it will require another political revolution similar to that of 1776 and that of 1860 to abolish this bulwark of special privilege and capitalist exploitation.

I was convicted by a jury composed of partisan Republicans. It was shown by competent evidence introduced in this court to-day that two of the jurors had expressed hostile and prejudicial sentiments against me. Affidavits herewith filed show that one of the jurors, Mr. Nelson, became deathly sick in the jury room and he affirms that it was because of this sickness and his fear of death unless medical attention could be secured that he was forced into voting for a conviction. Again it is shown by competent evidence introduced at this hearing that the principal witness for the government, ex-Governor Taylor, made statements which were untrue. He stated that at the time the reward which I offered was circulated through the mails he was not a fugitive

from justice nor was there any charge pending against him of a criminal nature in Kentucky. Affidavits, state records and letters signed by Taylor himself, all on file in this court, show that Taylor had been indicted and that for seven years prior to the offer of our reward he had been a fugitive from justice with a price on his head. It is the common practice in all courts that where the defendant can show that a juror in qualifying perjures himself a new trial is granted. Perjured testimony on the part of the prosecuting witness is also ground for a new trial in ordinary cases. Of course I understand that this is not an ordinary case. The whole history of these proceedings shows conclusively that it is not an attempt to secure the ends of justice, but an effort to punish me because of my political views.

In conclusion, permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out, then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class?

In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords, in chattle slavery they protected the slave owners and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

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

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history, Charles Sumner, tracing the march of the centuries, pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race

had been sanctioned by the so-called courts of justice.

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

## Industrial Problems

By N. A. RICHARDSON

**T**HIS new book will, we believe, prove the best and most effective popular text-book of socialism ever written. The old story of how the earnings of the laborer are taken from him by the capitalist is retold in a vivid way that will hold the attention of even a careless reader.

The author shows that each productive laborer in the United States creates daily about \$10.00 worth of goods, figured at their retail selling prices. The laborer gets about \$2.00 as his wages. What becomes of the \$8.00 worth? This the author shows in the course of the book, and the laborer who follows his argument will pretty certainly want to struggle in the most effective way for the right to keep that \$8.00 worth for himself.

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## Socialist Books

There is just one place now to get all the best Socialist books that are published in the English language at prices wage-workers can afford to pay. Our co-operative publishing house owns the plates and copyrights of most of the books, and has lately made arrangements by which it can also fill orders for books of other publishers. The **Appeal to Reason**, an excellent Socialist newspaper published at Girard, Kansas (fifty cents a year), also published Socialist books until recently, but has made a contract turning over its entire book business to us, for five years beginning February 1, 1909.

A complete list of our books will be mailed on request. We also publish **The International Socialist Review**, the largest, most attractive and most interesting Socialist magazine in the world, ten cents a copy, \$1.00 a year. Ask your news-dealer for it, or send ten cents for three sample copies.

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153 Kinzie Street, Chicago



*The*  
**TEXAS PETROLEUM  
COMPANY**

(A TRUST ESTATE)

New York :: Dallas

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### **Purpose of Organization**

#### **SALVAGE**

To acquire, own, control and consolidate the assets of non-functioning oil companies. To operate and develop oil, gas and mineral leases acquired and to produce, refine and market oil and gas either directly or indirectly, but so united as to have economy of operation and strength in the financing and marketing of products.

#### **CAPITALIZATION**

Authorized Capital 25,000,000 Shares, No Par. Full Paid and Non-Assessable.

The capitalization of 25,000,000 shares is set aside to be issued in exchange for the stocks, properties and assets of other companies and individuals and not to be sold for cash.

#### **THE POLICY OF THE COMPANY REGARDING ACQUISITION OF ASSETS**

For the purpose of acquiring Leases, Refineries and the Assets of other companies and individuals, etc., the Texas Petroleum Company proposes to exchange (not to sell) part or all of 25,000,000 shares of its Treasury Stock for the Stocks, Bonds, Mortgages and Leases and Assets of other oil companies or individuals. Upon the issuance of part or all of the 25,000,000 shares set aside for this purpose, the company's officials believe they will have secured thousands of acres of proven and semi-proven oil and mineral leases, refineries, etc., also a large daily production. The management of this company believe it is possible to obtain very valuable oil properties in this man-

ner and by development, make them of inestimable worth. These properties properly assembled and so united as to economize the cost of operation and strengthen financing and marketing facilities become the great properties. This should amply reimburse the Treasury for the issuance of this Treasury Stock.

#### **THE PLAN OF ACQUIRING OPERATING FUNDS FOR DEVELOPING ACQUIRED PROPERTIES**

From time to time it is the declared policy of the Company to authorize the issuance of Ten-Year Eight Per Cent Sinking Fund Production Gold Notes (each note to carry a stock bonus). However, stockholders are under no obligation whatsoever to subscribe or purchase any of the Gold Note issues of this company. The notes are to be sold at such periods and in such allotments as the earnings and production of the Company guarantee.

The funds derived from the sale of the Note Issues should provide the needed capital for the development of its acquired acreage.

In this manner the company is endeavoring to protect itself against any financial stringency and to carry on and complete drilling operations.

#### **HOLDINGS, LEASES, REFINERIES, PIPE LINES, DRILLING EQUIPMENT, STOCKS, BONDS, MORTGAGES, ETC.**

The Company's holdings are increased by the acquisition of properties and large blocks of stocks of other companies and individuals. The assets of these diversified companies represent thousands of acres of producing, proven and semi-proven oil properties, pipe lines, refineries and drilling equipment of every nature.

#### **PRODUCTION**

The Company's production upon completion of the annexing of properties, we confidently believe, will be sufficient early in 1923 to warrant a substantial Gold Note issue. The proceeds from the sale of all Production Gold Notes will be used to further increase its production. The Company's By-Laws allow Gold Notes to be issued against only 50% of its production. They further provide that 25% of its production shall be reserved to create a sinking fund to redeem the Gold Notes. The balance 25% must be set aside for dividend disbursement to its shareholders.

#### **DIVIDEND POLICY**

The following dividend policy has been adopted by the Texas Petroleum Company, i. e. that 25% of the Company's earnings from production, together with a like amount of its earnings from the refining and marketing of its different products, must be set aside for dividend disbursements to the share owners of its Common Treasury Stock. This dividend policy appears to us to be just, sound and practical.

#### **TEXAS PETROLEUM STOCK AND ITS FUTURE MARKET**

It is proposed to list Texas Petroleum Company stock upon the New York market in order that free trading may be provided. The listing of the Company's Common Treasury stock however, will not be accomplished until the company has discontinued exchanging its Treasury Stock for the stocks, properties, etc. of other companies.

#### **STOCKHOLDERS PRIVILEGES**

Relative to the Gold Eight Per Cent Production Notes of the Company which it is proposed to issue from time to time in such allotments as the production of the company warrants. Prior to offering these allotments to the public each stockholder will be extended the privilege of subscribing for the different Gold Note issues pro rata to the amount of "Common Treasury Stock" owned. However, stockholders are not under and will not be under any obligation whatsoever to subscribe for or purchase any of the Gold Note issues of the company.

#### **HOW EXCHANGE OF STOCK OF OTHER COMPANIES FOR TEXAS PETROLEUM COMPANY IS EFFECTED**

All stocks accepted in exchange for stocks of the Texas Petroleum Company are effected through The Registration, Transfer and Sales Department of the Company. The only cost involved being a nominal charge of \$1.00 for each certificate received for Exchange, which covers the cost of transferring and expense.

#### **MANAGEMENT**

The entire management and plan of development of the company is in the hands of Mr. R. G. Gaines.

Mr. Gaines has had over twenty years of practical experience in the oil fields of Texas.

As far back as the old Beaumont and Spindletop days. Mr. Gaines was instrumental in the successful discovering of oil in that territory. For years he has devoted a great part of his time and energy to North Texas. He is very familiar with conditions prevailing in the different fields. Mr. Gaines reputation for honesty and ability to conduct the affairs of the company is unquestionable. You are respectfully referred to Dun or Bradstreet or any Bank or Trust Company in Dallas regarding his standing. Rapid progress for the company is predicted under his management and control.

### **THE FUTURE PLAN OF THE TEXAS PETROLEUM COMPANY**

With reference to acquiring assets and the development of same have unhesitatingly been endorsed as sound and practical by some of the leading financial and oil men of the country. The plan of salvaging the derelict units of defunct and unfunctioning oil companies undoubtedly will affect a reduction in superfluous help and obtain co-ordination of effort and brains to direct what has been mismanaged and misdirected. This should place the holder of non-productive oil stocks which are transferred into Texas Petroleum Company on the Road to Recovery without reinvesting and thus save them from the loss they have sustained by reason of former, unfortunate investments. Therefore we feel safe in asserting that we believe a large substantial oil concern will be created and salvaged from properties that at present represent a severe loss to original investors.

Further we absolutely believe that the idea of separating the profitable from the unprofitable, and uniting it under one management will prove a great success. The future of this enterprise, makes it seem certain to us that it is not only possible but quite probable that those who are taken into the company will recover their present losses.

## **Texas Petroleum Company**

OFFICE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF  
REGISTRATION, TRANSFER AND SALES

1013 Kirby Building

Dallas, Texas

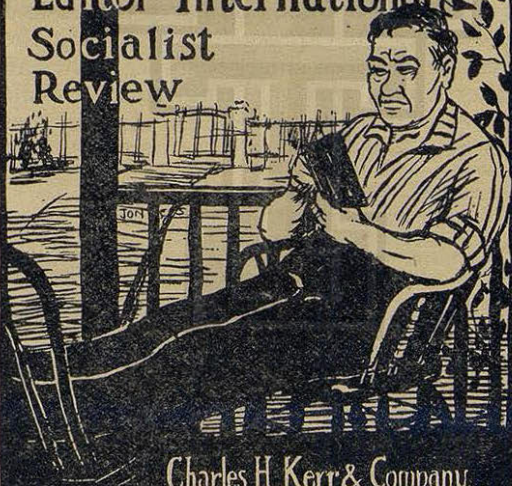
Issued September 1922.

*Helena Rosen Brandenberg  
Texas 1910.*

# WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM

*By* CHARLES H. KERR

Editor International  
Socialist  
Review



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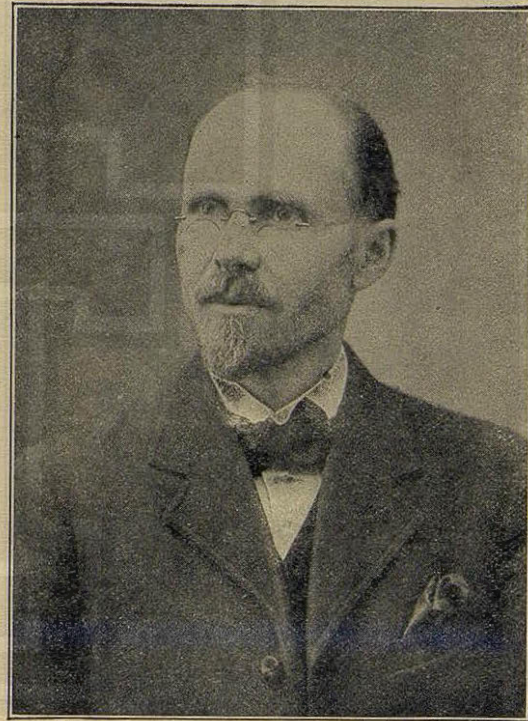
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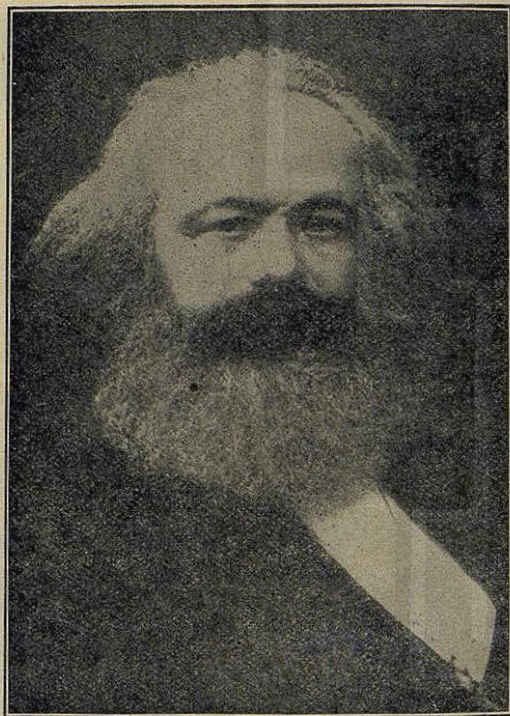
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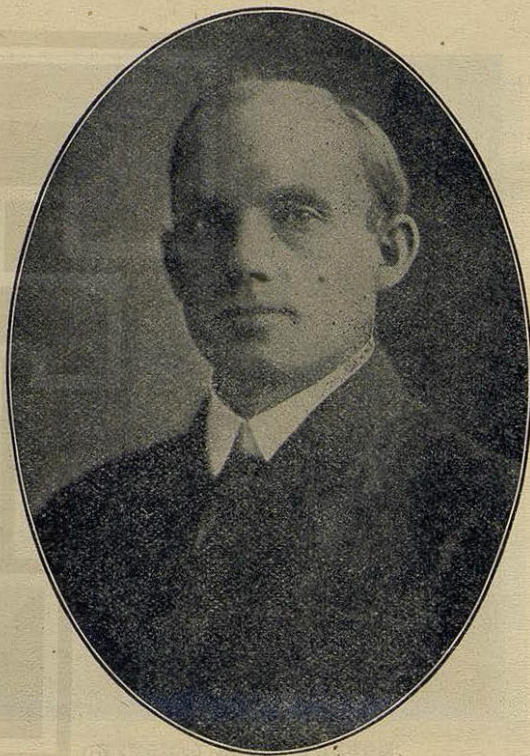
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**KARL MARX**

For descriptions of his books see pages 50, 51, 52.



**ERNEST UNTERMANN**

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For descriptions of his books see page 59.



**ROBERT RIVES LaMONTE**

Associate Editor International Socialist Review.  
 Author of "Socialism, Positive and Negative."  
 See page 47.



**JOHN SPARGO**

Associate Editor International Socialist Review.  
 For descriptions of his books see page 57.



MARY E. MARCY

Associate Editor International Socialist Review

## What to Read on Socialism

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The word Socialism is a growing word. Seventy years ago it stood vaguely for any sort of yearnings for a better social order, and it was true enough that there were as many kinds of Socialism as there were socialists. Today such a statement is foolish. As Prof. Thorstein Veblen lately wrote in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*: "The Socialism that inspires hopes and fears today is of the school of Marx. No one is seriously apprehensive of any other so-called socialistic movement, and no one is seriously concerned to criticise or refute the doctrines set forth by any other school of 'Socialists.'"

In this booklet we shall first tell as briefly and clearly as we can what socialism means, what the socialists want, and why you, if a working man or woman, should in your own interest fight on our side in the struggle already begun, in the shops and at the polls.

Next we shall tell of the books you will need to read, that you may get a clear idea of the causes of our present social system, with its tramps and millionaires, its misery for the many and luxury of the few, and that you may open the eyes of your fellow-workers.



Last we shall tell of the organization that two thousand working men and working women have formed to carry on the work of printing and scattering socialist books and magazines, and shall ask you to do your share like the rest of us, to push this work along faster than ever.

#### I.—HOW WE EXPLAIN PEOPLE'S ACTIONS.

Underlying the whole literature of International Socialism is the principle described in different phrases as Economic Determinism, Historical Materialism, or the Materialistic Conception of History. The names may sound hard, but the theory itself is simple enough, so simple that the reader may wonder why it had to be discovered, or why any one should ever have doubted it. Yet the theory in any developed form was first stated in the Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, issued in the year 1848.

What it means is this: If people are to live, they must eat, and if they are to live in a climate like that of the northern parts of the United States, they must have clothes, shelter and fuel. Not only is this true now, but it has been true for thousands of years. So, no matter how different people may be otherwise, they are all alike in this, that they all want the things that we call the necessities of life. But they have not always been able to get them in the same way, and the way in which they do

get them makes all the difference in the world about their way of thinking on almost every subject.

For example, here in Illinois sixty or seventy-five years ago, the way our grandfathers got their living was to go out on government land, take up a homestead, which became theirs after doing a little work on it, and go to raising corn. There was no expensive machinery; there were no railroads; their labor was not productive compared with labor today, but what they did produce was theirs to keep. So it was usually the case that any one who was willing to work could live in comfort and gradually get together a little property, and it was natural to think that if one man here and there remained poor he must be to blame for not working so hard as the others, or for wasting what he had earned.

Now the grandchildren of these same farmers have in many cases worked along in the same fashion as their grandfathers; but things have gradually become easier for them. Railroads have been built, machinery has been manufactured which does most of the work that used to be done by hand; millions of laborers who own no land have come into the State and are exchanging their labor in many forms for the food these farmers raise. So now it is no longer necessary for these fortunate ones to do the same hard work their grandfathers did. They can rent their land and live from the labor of the

tenants, or they can sell it and with the money buy in some form or another some of the tools that the landless laborers have to use, and so live from their labor. But all the while it is perfectly natural for them to cling to the ideas of their grandfathers, which were formerly true, but have ceased to be true, namely, that if a man could not earn enough to live in comfort it was because he was lazy and shiftless, and that those are comfortable who are useful to the community.

Meanwhile a new set of ideas has grown up among the great mass of the people who were not so fortunate in having grandfathers who got here first. They realize that they are working hard and producing vast wealth they do not get; they realize that something is wrong, even though they cannot tell just what it is; they are discontented and ready to rebel as soon as they can see what is the matter. Socialism can tell them what is the matter, and when they realize what Socialism means, they will join us in the fight.

All through history, the way people got their food has shaped their ideas. At first it was so hard for them to get their food that they could think of little else. Sometimes food was even so scarce that they had to eat each other, or the mostly highly developed tribes would have died out. Then cannibalism was "right" because it was necessary.

But gradually men learned by applying labor

to land to get more food from the land than was required to feed the man who did the digging. Then it became "wrong" to eat prisoners taken in war; the "right" thing was then to make them work for the benefit of their captors. Thenceforth human progress became rapid, for from that time there was a class of men who did not have to think exclusively about how to produce enough food to keep them alive the next day or year; they could begin to apply their brains to the more complete conquest of the earth. The sentimentalist says slavery was always and eternally wrong; the Socialist says that slavery was necessary in its time, but that its time has gone.

Now for the first time in all the history of the universe man's command over nature has reached the point where if the labor of all were intelligently applied for an average of two or three hours a day, every one would have enough and to spare.

This is not a fine-spun theory; it is a straightforward statement and explanation of known facts. Ideas do not make facts, but facts make ideas, and the ideas born of these facts that we have just been examining are some of the ideas that go to make up Socialism.

The most concise and oft-quoted statement of historical materialism is found on page 8 of our edition of the Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels. A fuller statement starts on page 45 of "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by

Frederick Engels. The most adequate discussion of the principle that has thus far appeared is "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," by Antonio Labriola. A valuable work explaining how morals, laws and political institutions grow out of and are determined by economic conditions is "The Economic Foundations of Society," by Achille Loria. This same principle is applied to the history and the present state of our country by A. M. Simons in "Class Struggles in America." and by Austin Lewis in "The Rise of the American Proletarian."

#### SURPLUS VALUE.

It was in 1867 that Karl Marx published the first volume of "Das Kapital." He was a German exile in England—the country which at that time had the most highly developed capitalism in the world. Naturally the English students had also worked out the most highly developed system of "political economy" that had yet been known. Marx was thoroughly familiar with their literature; he accepted all that was sound in their teachings, and carried them to their logical and revolutionary conclusions.

The problem of the economists was to discover the way in which wealth could be accumulated by a nation, or, as they really meant, by the capitalists of a nation. They had discovered that wealth consisted in "commodities," that is, useful things that could be bought and sold, and that

had been produced by human labor. They had also discovered that when these things were exchanged, bought or sold, the value of each article, that is, the quantity of other articles that it would bring in exchange, depended on the amount of labor that had been put into it.

Marx accepted this position in common with the other writers of the time, and illustrated it in this way: One coat, 10 pounds of tea, 40 pounds of coffee, 10 bushels of wheat, 2 ounces of gold, half a ton of iron are each equal in value to 20 yards of linen and to each other. These commodities are all the result of different kinds of labor, but the thing that makes it possible to compare them is that each is the product of the same quantity of average human labor, and thus has the same value.

In highly developed capitalism, one commodity, gold, is set apart to serve as the measure of value of all other commodities, and the amount of gold for which each commodity is bought or sold is called its price.

The laborer, like the capitalist, goes into the market to buy and sell. He must buy the food, clothing and shelter that he needs to maintain his life and the life of his children. If possible, he will buy other commodities that he desires. But he has only one thing to sell, and that is his labor power.

The price he can get for this labor power will, on the average, depend on its value. Scarcity of

laborers in a given industry at a given place may temporarily raise the price of his labor-power, and a relative surplus of laborers may temporarily lower it, but the point about which it fluctuates is determined by its value. And the value is what it takes to support him according to the standard of living customary among the laborers at the time and place where he is, including the cost of bringing up children to supply the labor market when he is worn out.

The capitalist who is a manufacturer buys this labor power, just as he buys his raw material, his coal, etc. And he has a very good reason for buying it, for it has a remarkable property. When he uses it, in connection with the machinery of production, it will add more value to the material it is applied to than what it cost the capitalist; in other words, the product is equal to the material used, plus the fuel, lubricating oil and incidentals used up in the process, plus the wear and tear on the machinery and buildings, plus the wages paid to the laborers—all these and something more, and to that something more Marx gives the name SURPLUS VALUE.

He illustrates in this way: A laborer works in a cotton mill for twelve hours a day and spins twenty pounds of cotton into yarn. The yarn sells for thirty shillings. The cotton cost twenty shillings. The laborer receives three shillings as wages. The value of the machinery used is diminished by wear and tear to the extent of four

shillings. There is thus a difference of six shillings between the value of the product and the value of the materials of all kinds that are used up in the twelve hours. Now the laborer receives for his wages three shillings. This leaves a SURPLUS VALUE of three shillings which goes to the capitalist.

We will assume that three shillings, under the conditions of labor in England in 1867 and in South Carolina today, is enough to enable the laborer to live, so he is willing to work for that amount. But in six hours he can put enough value into the cotton to repay the capitalist for his wages, then he works six hours more and creates SURPLUS VALUE for the capitalist.

This is the way the capitalist makes his profit. But do not jump at the conclusion that every one who employs laborers is growing rich. Out of this "surplus value" the employer must pay interest on money if he is a borrower. He must pay rent if he is a tenant. He must pay taxes (and by the way, don't make the mistake of supposing that the wage-worker can be benefited by "lower taxes"). What the employer has left, after these and other expenses are paid, is his profit.

Now as Marx has shown, in countries where capitalism is highly developed and conditions are stable, competition establishes an average rate of profit, so that, accidents apart, the capitalists divide the surplus value produced by the laborers,

not according to the number of laborers each capitalist employs, but according to the number of dollars each capitalist has invested.

For a full explanation of this and the *proof* of it, the reader must turn to the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, and this whole work should be read by any one desiring to write or to speak in public on the question of surplus value. But here I wish to point out some very practical conclusions at which we arrive by applying the theory.

The way in which competition establishes the average rate of profit is this: Take two industries, one like shirt-making, where inexpensive tools or machines are used, and where a capital of one thousand dollars will employ several laborers. Let the other industry be one like the making of structural steel, where the most expensive machinery is required, so that several thousand dollars must be invested for each laborer employed. If now both shirts and steel products were sold at their value, investors could get far better returns by making shirts than by making steel products. As a matter of fact, the shirt-makers compete with each other to get business by cutting the wholesale prices of shirts far below their value, until each little capitalist, buying the labor-power of his workwomen as cheaply as he can, gets on the average, besides pay for his own individual labor-power, about the usual rate of profit on what little capital he has invested.

On the other hand the big investor who has bought a million dollars' worth of steel trust stock, will get only about the same rate of profit, even though the steel products are sold above their value. He is better off than the shirt-maker, not because his rate of profit is larger, but because his capital, and with it his mass of profits, is larger.

As capitalism develops, as machinery is improved, more and more capital is needed to become an employer. The average rate of profit is growing less, but this does not mean that the wage-workers are getting more of what they produce; quite the contrary. The rate of profit is growing less because the percentage has to be figured on an ever greater mass of capital.

It used to be so that a wage-worker might hope to establish himself as an employer. This is now growing harder and harder. Moreover, as capitalism develops, the employer with small capital finds his profits growing smaller and smaller, so that he is scarcely better off than the laborers he employs, while thousands on thousands of little capitalists every year drop back into the ranks of the wage-workers.

In pointing out the nature of surplus value, we Socialists do not assert that the wage system was always wrong, nor that the capitalists who uphold it today are "bad." The wage system in its time was a distinct advance upon the forms of production which had preceded it. Under this

system production has become far more efficient than ever before. A day's labor in many lines of industry will produce ten, a hundred, even a thousand times as much wealth as under more primitive methods. But two things should be noted:

First, the capitalist, who was in the early stages of machine production the brain that directed the whole process, has, through the growth of corporations and trusts, become reduced to a do-nothing stockholder or bondholder, and the direction of the productive process has passed over entirely to wage laborers.

Second, every improvement in machine production has increased the share of the product that goes to the capitalist, while the laborer gets only a trifle more in the comforts of life for his labor than a generation ago. This he begins to see, and he becomes rebellious, and the consequence is THE CLASS STRUGGLE, of which we shall speak presently.

For a complete understanding of surplus value no book will take the place of Marx's *Capital*, already referred to. But as an introduction to the subject we recommend two short works by Marx, "Wage Labor and Capital" and "Value, Price and Profit." Untermann's "Marxian Economics" and Boudin's "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx" are also good introductions to the study of the larger work.

### III.—THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We have seen that people's political institutions and their moral ideas are the direct result of the way the people get their living—taken in connection with the way their fathers and grandfathers got their living. We have also seen how the laborers today get their living by creating surplus value for the capitalists.

Put these two thoughts together and what do they suggest? Here we have on the one side a class of capitalists living in luxury on the labors of others. Yet no one capitalist is forcibly robbing any one laborer. Quite possibly each capitalist, or at least the father or grandfather of each capitalist, has been a laborer himself. So these capitalists and their hangers-on persuade themselves and also persuade the less intelligent laborers that wealth is the natural reward of virtue and efficiency.

On the other hand, the more intelligent laborers realize that they are getting far less than they produce. They realize that the modern machinery now used makes their labor immensely more productive than labor used to be, yet they see that they are receiving as wages a smaller portion of their product than ever laborers received before.

So the class struggle is on. Socialists do not make it; they simply explain it, and point out the lines on which it must develop. Thus far the

chief weapon of the laborers has been the labor union, and the fighting has been through strikes and boycotts. In the day of the small capitalist, real gains were made by the unions. But in this country the development of the unions has lagged behind the development of industry. The laborers today if organized at all are mostly organized by crafts, so that a corporation employing laborers of several crafts can make a separate contract with each, and when those of one craft are striking for better conditions, can use their fellow workers in the other crafts to crush them. To contend with the great corporations on anything like equal terms, the unions will be forced to organize industrially, so as to include in the membership of one union every laborer in the employ of one corporation.

Again, the unions have thus far been made up mainly of the better paid laborers, and through these unions they have generally endeavored to hold on to what little advantages they have had, rather than to overthrow the capitalists; they have been conservative rather than revolutionary. But the changing mode of production, irresistible force that it is, has cheapened the skill of the union laborers.

Every improvement in machinery enables each laborer to turn out a larger product than before in the same number of hours, and thus the employer is enabled to do without a part of his laborers. These displaced laborers make up the

“army of the unemployed.” If the workmen employed by a trust go on strike, a new force of workmen can soon be organized out of that army.

It is natural under such circumstances for the unions to resort to force, but here the capitalists are ready for them with superior force. The powers of government in America and in every other “civilized” country are at the disposal of the capitalist when a contest is on with the laborer.

Thus by the logic of events the class struggle has been extended to the ballot box. Here from year to year the voters have a chance to say who shall direct the clubs of the police and the rifles of the soldiers. Thus both in the shops and at the polls the struggle is on.

Let us take a look at the forces ranged on each side. The capitalists would have you believe that the battle is between hand workers on one side and brain workers on the other. But such an assumption is wholly untrue, and it is in direct conflict with the Marxian ideas that we are studying.

We have seen that classes of men are mainly moved by the economic conditions under which they get their bread. Now apart from begging and the various illegal methods of stealing there are just two ways to get bread and the other necessities of life under our present society. One way is to work with hand and brain. The other way is to own things and by this owner-

ship to get hold of the wealth made by some one else. It is, of course, possible for one person to do both. It used to be more common than it is. It will soon be less common than it is. The lines are being drawn more and more clearly between those who live by working and those who live by owning.

Once the employer was a laborer who worked in a little shop along with the other laborers to whom he paid wages.

Later, he was a superintendent who did not work with his own hands, but day by day directed the labor of the others to make it more efficient.

Still later, he hired a workman to do the superintending, while he went into the market to buy the raw material and sell the product.

Lastly he has sold his factory to a trust and has received in payment a block of dividend-paying stock or a bunch of interest-drawing bonds. Now he never needs go near the factory; he may live where he likes and spend his income as he pleases. All the buying and selling, all the account-keeping and planning, all the brain work as well as all the hand work is done by hired wage laborers. And the income he draws and spends without working is made possible only by the fact that those who are doing the work are getting for it less than they really earn.

So when the battle lines are drawn for the final contest between the capitalist and the laborer, there will be on the side of the capitalist

only those who live by owning and those who can be fooled, or bribed, into voting against the interests of the class to which they really belong.

On the other side will be those who live by their labor. The distinction between bodily and mental labor is really an outgrown distinction like that between body and "soul." There is no bodily labor without mental labor. If a ditch-digger were to put no intelligence into his work he could not hold his job. And there is no mental labor without bodily labor. No matter how sharp or unscrupulous a corporation attorney may be, he cannot earn his big fee without the bodily labor of dictating his legal papers and then examining them.

Again, it is absurd to attempt to draw a line between useful work and useless work under capitalism and to count those who do useless work on the side of capital. Useful work is that which satisfies the desires of somebody that has the price, and under our present system, when each member of the working class must find a purchaser for his labor power if he is to stay on the earth, it is foolish to count a man as being on the capitalist side because he has to earn his week's pay by setting jewels in a poodle dog's collar or adding up columns of figures in a bank.

And not all workers are employed on a weekly wage. When the railroad corporations received from their government millions of acres of fertile lands, they did not hire wage-workers to go on



those lands and raise crops for them. That was because they found that by selling the land to farmers who thought they were going to become wealthy by their labor they could get a great deal more out of each farm in interest and freight charges than by hiring laborers to work it. And these Western farmers are working longer hours for smaller pay than the average city laborer. What is more, they are as ready to rebel.

The small shopkeeper is also in the same boat. If he is stupid, he may think of himself as a capitalist, but if he is at all bright he is coming to see that his "profit" is mostly wages, and usually very low wages, for the labor he expends in taking care of his shop and selling goods. So his material interests really lead him to favor the social revolution that will bring him better pay for shorter hours of labor.

Thus we see that in the class struggle that is daily growing more intense, only those who live by owning, less than ten per cent of the people, have anything to gain by upholding the present social system, while those who live by working, more than ninety per cent, have, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, nothing to lose but their chains, and all the world to gain.

For a fuller explanation of the class struggle, nothing is quite so good for a beginner as "Socialism Made Easy," by James Connolly. Later you should read the Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels, which was first published in

1848 and has been the key-note of the International Socialist movement ever since.

#### IV.—THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

The class struggle between workers and owners can have only one possible ending. The end may be very near or very far, but sooner or later the great mass of the people who do the work will see that their own separate interests are bound up with the interests of their class. They will see that it is folly for them to support in luxury a class of doing owners. They will unite to overthrow the capitalistic system under which we are living, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

By this we mean a society in which the good things of life shall not be produced for the profit of a part of the people, but for the use of all the people, and where no one who is able to work shall have the privilege of living on the labor of others. We mean a society in which there shall not be a class of rulers with a class of workers under them, but in which all shall work and all shall rule—in which human equality shall be not a phrase, but a fact.

When I say equality, I do not mean that all the money or all the wealth of the country will be "divided up." That is something never advocated by a Socialist. It is one of the ridiculous lies told by our opponents to scare the laborer who has \$98 in the savings bank or who

has a \$1,200 cottage with a \$900 mortgage on it.

No, we don't need the money nor the houses nor the automobiles that the capitalists have today. We want the use of the earth and of the machinery, and our labor will every year produce all the good things we need.

Again, it is no part of the Socialist program to make wages exactly equal for all kinds of labor. When the Socialist party comes into power it will find industry being carried on and wages being paid. It will find some workers being paid good wages and others very low wages. It will find many unable to get work. It will find many children at work who ought to be in school. It will find that a large proportion of the earnings of those who work have been used to pay incomes to idlers.

Now, I do not know, nor does any one know, just what will be the first act of a Socialist administration, but assuming that it comes into power with the general industrial conditions as I have described them, I think it pretty safe to make a few predictions as to what it would do.

It would stop paying rent, interest and dividends to capitalists.

It would take the children out of the factories and send them to school, and would at least double the force of teachers within a short time.

It would give at once the least-skilled laborers enough of the comforts of life in return for their labor to let them live like human beings.

It would at once reduce the hours of labor to not more than eight, to be followed by further reductions as soon as a plentiful supply of the necessities and comforts of life have been accumulated.

It would, no matter whether "money" were continued or abolished, sell the products of labor back to the laborers at actual cost, allowing for a percentage to pay for public services, furnished free, which would take the place of our present taxes.

When the Co-operative Commonwealth is in operation the rewards of the various kinds of labor will tend to adjust themselves automatically. If it is hard to find street cleaners and easy to find bookkeepers when collectivism begins, it will be a simple matter to increase the rewards and reduce the hours of the street cleaners until a balance is reached.

It is very certain that a Socialist administration would not control all industry from one central point. The Socialist party always and everywhere leaves the control in the hands of the smallest groups that can manage things efficiently. Again, it would not take away the artist's brushes, nor the farmer's little farm. We hold that tools so complex that they have to be used in common should be owned in common, but if a man choose to work with his own tools, there would be nothing in the world to prevent him doing so, except the probable fact that as ma-

chinery improves it will be possible to earn more by working co-operatively than by working alone.

Finally, Socialists do not want to set up a government to control people's actions. They believe that when every one has an equal chance to earn a living there will be little temptation to steal. We may have to keep a few policemen a few years, but their work will be mostly in taking care of those whose lives have already been wrecked by capitalism. When alcoholic drinks are no longer sold for profit, when cheating is no longer the road to social prominence, when every woman can be sure of a living, without selling herself—then we may safely leave all questions of morals to the individual, while society attends to the production of the things the people need.

Socialists do not want to do away with the freedom of the individual. On the contrary, they realize that today it is only a few here and there who have any freedom worth speaking of. What they mean to do is to make individual freedom a real thing for all.

There is no Socialist Utopia. In other words, there is no picture of the future collectivist society on which all Socialists agree. All who know anything of International Socialism realize that ideas and institutions are not eternal and do not fall from heaven; neither do they take shape because a few individuals wish them to take shape in a particular way. New ideas and institutions are the outgrowth of industrial and

economic changes, and since we cannot tell what industrial and economic changes the next few years may bring, we cannot tell how the laborers, when once victorious over the capitalists, will modify their ideas or adjust their institutions.

Consequently, all our predictions are cautious. Bellamy was a writer of fine imagination, but he was not a Socialist; indeed, when he wrote his earlier work he knew nothing of Socialism. There are at present two books by European writers of unquestioned standing in the Socialist movement which answer in some detail the questions constantly asked as to how things might be adjusted under the Co-operative Commonwealth. These are "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution," by Emile Vandervelde, of Belgium, and "The Social Revolution," by Karl Kautsky, of Germany.

"When Things Were Doing," by C. A. Steere, is a fanciful picture of things as they may turn out, written by a clear-headed American socialist, but not meant to be taken too seriously.

#### V.—THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Let us review very briefly the conclusions that we have reached. First, we saw that men's ideas and institutions are the necessary outcome of the conditions under which they get their bread. Second, we saw that the working class in America today get their bread by creating "surplus value" for the owning class, who in turn get their bread

and a good deal beside by taking what the workers earn. Third, we saw that this state of things has developed a "class struggle" between those who live by working and those who live by owning. Fourth, we saw that this class struggle must finally end in the downfall of the capitalist system, and the upbuilding of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

We come now to the means by which the Co-operative Commonwealth is to be brought about. Is it to be by reform or by revolution?

First, let us define these terms, for they are often misunderstood. Reforms are not always peaceful; they are sometimes bloody. Many heads were broken in the Chartist riots in England before the corn laws were repealed and the first steps taken toward a system of factory legislation. And revolutions are sometimes peaceful, as when James II. fled to France in 1688, and left the English capitalists in full control of the government, which they have held ever since.

The difference between reform and revolution is this: A reform is a change in the laws or the way of enforcing the laws, brought about by the same class that has all the time been in control. A revolution is a change in the laws or their enforcement, brought about by a new ruling class, which overthrows the class that has thus far ruled, and takes its place in the control of the government.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA stands

not for reform, but for revolution, because it holds that the rule of the capitalist class, under which the workers of America now suffer, must be brought to an end, and that the workers must become the rulers.

This is the position not only of the Socialist party of America, but of the International Socialists of the World, represented by a large and growing party in every civilized country.

As to the means by which the capitalist class is to be overthrown, the real question worth considering is what means will prove most effective.

If it could best be done by working for "one thing at a time," and bidding for the votes of people who have no idea what the class struggle means, we should no doubt favor that method. But history has made it very clear that such a method is a dead failure.

If, on the other hand, the working class could best gain power by taking up arms, just as the capitalist class did when it dislodged the landholding nobility from power, why not? But, as a matter of fact, machinery has been applied to fighting as well as to the production of goods, and the capitalists today control the machine guns that could in a few hours slaughter the revolutionary workers in any of our cities.

Here in America there is a simple way to get hold of these guns, as well as the rest of the machinery of the government. It is by voting for the party of the working class—that is, the

Socialist party. Elect Socialist legislators, and the laws will be made in the interest of the laborers. Elect Socialist judges, and the injunctions will be issued to help the workers instead of the employers. Elect Socialist Mayors, Governors and Presidents, and the policemen and soldiers will be at the disposal of the new ruling class, the working class, while the capitalist will cease to exist as a capitalist, and will go to work so that he can go on eating.

In saying this, I do not mean to say that the election of one Socialist officer or of a hundred Socialist officers will in itself bring any great measure of freedom and happiness to the working class. As long as the capitalists control any part of the machinery of government, they will use that part to nullify any measure that may be passed in the interest of the working class.

But the Socialist party does not on that account propose to stop fighting for the control of the government, nor does it propose to lay down any weapon that may be of use in the class struggle. It is in hearty sympathy with the unions, and will use all its strength to help them, just as a capitalist government uses all its strength to crush them. It stands for the prohibition of child labor, for shorter hours and higher wages, old age pensions and insurance against sickness and accidents, for the public ownership of railways and street cars under working-class control, for the initiative and referendum and the right

to remove officers by popular vote, for the equal suffrage of men and women, and for every other measure that may be for the immediate interest of the workers.

Yet the men and women who are working through the Socialist party understand that if all the "reforms" that are being agitated were to be conceded by the capitalists there would be no real gain of any great importance for the working class. Their constant aim, therefore, is to organize the workers into a party which shall finally dislodge the capitalists from power once for all, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

To be an active member of the Socialist party something more is needed than to vote the ticket on election day. It is also necessary to join the party organization, pay the small monthly dues, and attend the regular meetings.

Why is this? The Republicans and Democrats do not do that way.

No. Because the old parties are controlled by "bosses" who take their orders from the capitalists who pay the bills. If the laborers want to be their own bosses, they must pay their own bills, and that is why the monthly dues are required.

The frequent meetings are necessary in order that the affairs of the party may be controlled by the whole membership, and not by any little group of "leaders."

Besides, if the laborers are to know how to run the government when they carry the election, they need the experience to be had from running their party affairs now. If you want to do your part, join the nearest Socialist Party Local. If you do not know where to find it, write to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 180 Washington street, Chicago; he will tell you.

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#### A WORKING-CLASS PUBLISHING HOUSE

To publish the books described in these pages, and to build up the International Socialist Review to the point it has already reached, required a cash investment of not less than forty thousand dollars. Our opponents have asked what capitalist put up the money and what was his motive in so doing.

The answer is that no capitalist advanced the money. It came from thousands of working people, most of whom advanced just ten dollars each, and their motive was, partly to secure the privi-

lege of buying their own socialist books at cost, and partly to make possible the general circulation of more and more socialist books all over the world.

The publishing house was started by me in 1886, and has run continuously under the same name for more than twenty-three years. Its early publications were in the line of liberal religion. In 1891 it began to issue books of social reform, and soon after it was incorporated on the co-operative plan. In 1899 it became definitely associated with the socialist movement.

All the money I ever had went into the publishing house years ago. It was originally capitalized at \$10,000, and I owned \$9,000 worth of the stock. The authorized capital is now \$50,000, of which \$29,320 had been paid in up to April 1, 1909. Of this I owned on that date 700 shares, par value \$7,000. During our hardest struggle to establish the publishing house I sold 200 shares of my own and gave the money to the company as an inducement to others to contribute a like amount.

The 700 shares which I now own pay no dividends; they will pay none unless the management and policy of the publishing house are changed, for our present plans are to use all the income to pay off loans and circulate more literature. So I claim to be a proletarian; my only income is my wages.

Two former employees, not socialists, hold 50 and 34 shares, respectively; these shares we wish

to repurchase as soon as the money for this purpose can be spared. Almost all the other shares are held by those in active sympathy with our work, and with few exceptions are in holdings of one share each; these holdings constitute far more than a majority. How widely our stockholders are distributed will appear from the following table, which shows the number in each state or country. Between one and two hundred have either died, leaving no heirs whom we could reach, or have changed their residence, leaving no address. In this table such names are credited to the states where the stockholders formerly resided.

**Alabama.** Local Birmingham, 7 individual stockholders.

**Alaska.** Deadwood Socialist Library, Nome Miners' Union, 5 individual stockholders.

**Arizona.** Locals Chloride, Globe, Humboldt, Phoenix, Wickenburg, 27 individual stockholders.

**Arkansas.** Locals Davenport, Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Springfield, 12 individual stockholders.

**California.** Locals Alameda, Santa Clara County, San Pedro, Fort Bragg, Fresno, Hemet, Oak Vale, Los Angeles, Modesto, Alameda County, Paso Robles, Riverside, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Sawtelle, Tulare, Upland, Vallejo, Visalia, 190 individual stockholders.

**Colorado.** Locals Colorado Springs, Cripple Creek, Delta, Denver, Grand Junction, Lake City, Louisville, Mattison, Montrose, Telluride, Western Federation of Miners, 32 individual stockholders.

**Connecticut.** Locals Bridgeport, Danbury, Hartford, Manchester, Putnam, Mystic, New Haven, Rockville, Shelton, Waterbury, 14 individual stockholders.

**Delaware.** One individual stockholder.

**District of Columbia.** Local Washington, 17 individual stockholders.

**Florida.** Locals Key West, Magdalene, West

Palm Beach, White City, 20 individual stockholders.

**Georgia.** Eight individual stockholders.

**Idaho.** Locals Athol, Boise, Melrose, Nampa, Twin Falls, 20 individual stockholders.

**Illinois.** Locals, Aurora, Clinton County, Canton, Dundee, Cook County Central Committee, Sixth, Eighth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Thirty-first and Thirty-third Wards of Chicago, Chicago Heights, Macon County, Elgin, Evanston, Freeport, Glen Carbon, Granite City, Harvey, Havana, Herrin, Irving Park, Joliet, Kewanee, Maryville, Moline, Peoria, Quincy, Rockford, Rock Island, Staunton, Waukegan, 190 individual stockholders.

**Indiana.** Socialist Party of Indiana, Locals Columbus, Fort Wayne, Marion County, Mishawaka, Richmond, South Bend, Washington, 30 individual stockholders.

**Iowa.** Locals Avery, Davenport, Des Moines, Dubuque, Bussy, Logan, Clinton, Muscatine, Oelwine, Waterloo, 34 individual stockholders.

**Kansas.** Locals Abilene, Arkansas City, Salina, Topeka, 50 individual stockholders.

**Kentucky.** Local Louisville, 15 individual stockholders.

**Louisiana.** Local Lake Charles, 9 individual stockholders.

**Maine.** Locals Auburn, Bath, Portland, 7 individual stockholders.

**Maryland.** Local Baltimore, 10 individual stockholders.

**Massachusetts.** Locals Boston, Brockton, Clinton, Dorchester, Haverhill, Hyde Park, Lynn, Springfield, Bristol County, Middlesex County, Worcester, 50 individual stockholders.

**Michigan.** Locals Flint, Grand Rapids, Harbor Springs, Ishpeming, Kalamazoo, Windy Corners, Lansing, Marshall, 45 individual stockholders.

**Minnesota.** Locals Crockston, Duluth, Grand Rapids, Lindstrom, St. Paul, Two Harbors, Weme, 44 individual stockholders.

**Mississippi.** Local Ralston, 3 individual stockholders.

**Missouri.** Locals Bevier, Chillieothe, Joplin, Kirkwood, Monett, Neosho, Springfield, 48 individual stockholders.

**Montana.** Locals Billings, Butte, Dean, Fridley, Great Falls, Helena, Kalispell, Missoula, 38 individual stockholders.

**Nebraska.** Twenty-two individual stockholders.

**Nevada.** Local Goldfield, 8 individual stockholders.

**New Hampshire.** Locals Dover, Keene, Manchester, Nashua, Concord, 3 individual stockholders.

**New Jersey.** Locals Camden, Dover, Red Bank, Hudson County, Newark, Orange, Paterson, Trenton, 31 individual stockholders.

**New Mexico.** Albuquerque Socialist Club, 6 individual stockholders.

**New York.** Locals Albany, Auburn, Binghamton, Kings County, Sixteenth Assembly District, Eighteenth Assembly District, Buffalo, Cold Spring, Geneva, Gloversville, Ithaca, Jamestown, New Rochelle, Olean, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Utica, Yonkers, 137 individual stockholders.

**North Carolina.** Locals Spencer, Winston-Salem, 5 individual stockholders.

**North Dakota.** Seventeen individual stockholders.

**Ohio.** Locals Ashtabula, Bucyrus, Byesville, Cambridge, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, State Committee of Ohio, Columbus, Conneaut, Cuyahoga, Dayton, East Liverpool, Elyria, Fostoria, Hamilton, Lorain, Massillon, Newark, Piqua, Pleasant City, Portsmouth, Toledo, Branch 11 of Toledo, Youngstown, Zanesville, 58 individual stockholders.

**Oklahoma.** Locals Ardmore, Elk City, Geary, Granite, Mangum, Oklahoma City, Okmulgee, Shawnee, Stillwater, Blaine County, Yukon, 31 individual stockholders.

**Oregon.** Locals Arlington, Baker City, Bourne, Heppner, Hillsdale, Lakeview, Portland, The Dalles, Vale, 34 individual stockholders.

**Pennsylvania.** Locals Lehigh County, McKean County, Erie, Franklin, Sumneytown, Westmoreland County, Hazleton, Lancaster, Lansford, Lehigh, McElhattan, Meadville, Morton, New Castle, Philadelphia (Central Committee), Philadelphia (22nd Ward), Wilkinsburg, Pottstown, Rosebud, Sayre, Scranton, Steelton, Greater Pittsburgh, Mercer County, Warren, Wilkesbarre, York, 89 individual stockholders.

**Rhode Island.** Local Woonsocket, 5 individual stockholders.

**South Carolina.** Two individual stockholders.

**South Dakota.** Locals Central City, Sioux Falls,

Spirit Mound, 11 individual stockholders.  
**Tennessee.** Locals Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville, 10 individual stockholders.  
**Texas.** Locals Amarillo, El Paso, Longview, Tyler, 48 individual stockholders.  
**Utah.** Fifteen individual stockholders.  
**Vermont.** Locals Barre, Burlington, Black River, 4 individual stockholders.  
**Virginia.** Locals Newport News, Richmond, 6 individual stockholders.  
**Washington.** Locals Aberdeen, Ballard, Centralia, Everett, Ferndale, Garfield, Hoquiam, Finley, Latah, Liberty, Lynden, Marblemount, Montesano, Natchez, Olalla, Puyallup, St. John, Seattle, Pike Street Branch of Seattle, Socialist Party of Washington, South Bend, Tacoma, Vancouver, Kosmos, Yelm, 69 individual stockholders.  
**West Virginia.** Locals Elkins, Mannington, Wheeling, 8 individual stockholders.  
**Wisconsin.** Locals Kenosha, Milwaukee (11th Ward), Racine, Rhinelander, Superior, Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, 31 individual stockholders.  
**Wyoming.** Locals Cheyenne, Laramie, Sheridan, 5 individual stockholders.  
**Alberta.** Locals Bellevue, Claresholm, Edmonton, 8 individual stockholders.  
**British Columbia.** Locals Fernie, Grand Forks, Phoenix, Slocan, Victoria, Socialist Party of Canada, 21 individual stockholders.  
**Manitoba.** Four individual stockholders.  
**Newfoundland.** One stockholder.  
**Nova Scotia.** Five individual stockholders.  
**Ontario.** Locals Galt, Guelph, Toronto, 20 individual stockholders.  
**Quebec.** One individual stockholder.  
**Saskatchewan.** Four individual stockholders.  
**Yukon.** Local Dawson.  
**Panama.** Three individual stockholders.  
**Cuba.** Three individual stockholders.  
**Hawaii.** Local Honolulu, 4 individual stockholders.  
**Philippine Islands.** One stockholder.  
**Mexico.** Four individual stockholders.  
**Central America.** One stockholder.  
**Australia.** Social Democratic Vanguard, Barrier Socialist Propaganda Group, Barrier Truth, International Socialist Club of Sydney, 5 individual stockholders.  
**England.** Local Federations of Leeds, Padham, South Leeds, East Liverpool, Social Democratic

Federation of Great Britain, Civil Service Socialist Society, 13 individual stockholders.

**Finland.** One stockholder.

**Germany.** One stockholder.

**Ireland.** One stockholder.

**Italy.** Two stockholders.

**Japan.** Three stockholders.

**New Zealand.** Two stockholders.

**Scotland.** Glasgow Clarion Scouts, Socialist Labor Press, 2 individual stockholders.

**Total** Locals and other Socialist organizations holding stock, 360; individual stockholders, 1,691; grand total, 2,051. This does not include those who have lately subscribed for stock and have not yet paid for it in full.

The publishing house is organized under the general corporation law of Illinois, this being the only safe plan in this state. Under the law the control of the company is by a board of directors elected at the annual meeting of the stockholders, which is held January 15. The present board consists of seven members of the Socialist Party of Chicago, R. H. Chaplin, J. H. Greer, Marcus Hitch, Walter Huggins, Charles H. Kerr, L. H. Marcy and Charles Roux. They were elected by a unanimous vote at the last stockholders' meeting, and they are all agreed in pushing the work of the publishing house upon the lines already laid down.

Note in the table the large number of Socialist Party Locals and Branches holding stock. All the most active Locals sell literature at meetings in their open headquarters, etc., and earn a large share of the money needed for rent by buying it from us at cost and selling at retail. This not only lessens the financial burden on members; the sale of our literature is one of the most effective

means of propaganda, strengthening the party wherever the sales are made. Give a man a cheap-looking leaflet, and he will probably throw it away unread; if you can induce him to buy a book or magazine, he will read it.

Look in this table and see whether your Local holds a share. If it does, some former secretary may have the certificate and no one else may know that the Local has the right to buy books at cost. In that case, bring the matter up at the next meeting and send an order in. If your Local is not in the list, point out to the other members what they are missing, and get them to take action. But whether your Local holds a share of stock or not, buy one yourself if you can. In no other way can you strengthen the socialist movement so much with ten dollars.

Some anxiety has been expressed as to the future of the publishing house by comrades who are satisfied with my management, but fear that in the event of my death the shares of stock now in my name might be bought by some one who might thus get control of the company, and use it to injure rather than advance the socialist movement.

Now I am fortunate enough to be still on the sunny side of fifty, and expect to work with you for some time yet, but accidents may happen, and to guard against the danger, I have made a will leaving all my stock in trust to three of our directors, to be sold, as soon as the full price of

ten dollars a share can be realized on it, for the benefit of my heirs, but only one share to be sold to any one subscriber. The stock, until sold, is to be voted by the trustees, and this should insure the continuance of our work along its present lines.

#### MORE CAPITAL NEEDED

I said at the start that an investment of about \$40,000 has already been made. But the stock thus far sold amounts to not quite \$30,000. We have had to borrow about \$10,000. Part of this has been lent by stockholders without any interest at all; over half of it at four per cent., less than \$2,000 at a higher rate of interest. If we were running the business in a way to make as large profits as possible, the interest we now have to pay would be insignificant. But we sell books to stockholders at cost, and most of our sales are to them. Every dollar we pay out for interest increases the cost of the books we sell, and we want to make loans entirely unnecessary. Moreover, we could invest \$10,000 more where it would bring quick and sure returns, by increasing our advertising and by printing books in larger quantities, which would reduce the cost of each book.

For these purposes we want to sell at once 2,000 shares of stock at \$10.00 each.

The comrades who subscribed for stock in this publishing house ten years ago, or even five years ago, did so with a full recognition of the fact that

the direct benefit they could get for themselves in the near future was very slight, and that they might lose all they put in without accomplishing anything. They took the chance because they wanted to have socialist books, of the Marxian, revolutionary kind, published at prices within the reach of workingmen. Our success has been such that each stockholder has been enabled to build up a good Socialist library for far less than it would otherwise have cost him. And he still has the share, with the privilege of buying an increasing number of our books at a discount.

Moreover, we have just determined on allowing a new privilege to all our stockholders, new and old alike. They will hereafter be enabled to order from us books of other publishers at a discount. Not the same discount as on our own books, but a discount that is an important saving. The start we have already made along this line is explained on pages 75 to 77 of this booklet. New sales of stock will enable us to increase the variety of these other books, and to buy them cheaper so that we can sell them to stockholders cheaper.

But the big personal advantage you can secure right now by taking a share of stock is this:

**Stockholders buy all OUR books at a discount of fifty per cent. if they pay expressage, forty per cent. if we pay it.**

On our Pocket Library of Socialism the saving is even more; our stockholders buy these at \$7.00 a thousand or 80 cents a hundred if they pay ex-

pressage; \$1.00 a hundred if expressage is prepaid by us.

### HOW TO BUY STOCK

You can pay for a share in monthly installments of a dollar each for ten months, and buy books at a discount while making your payments. A stock certificate, with the right to vote at the annual meeting, is not issued until the share is paid for in full. If you pay ten dollars at one time you will receive a certificate at once, fully paid and non-assessable, and until the end of 1909 we will give a year's subscription to the International Socialist Review free with each share paid for in full at one time. See also special offer on the last page of this booklet.

### LARGER INVESTMENTS

Only one share is offered to any one subscriber, because we want to keep the future control of the publishing house in the hands of the party membership. But until all the authorized capital is subscribed, we can use larger amounts from individuals who are willing to help without an extra vote in the management of the business. We receive such investments on three plans.

**1. Loans without Interest.** These are returnable on demand, though where the sums are large we expect the lenders to give us reasonable notice of withdrawal except in the case of a sudden emergency. Those who have made such loans



can at any time order books and Review subscriptions to be charged against the loan. This plan is particularly convenient for those desiring to order from us books not included in our published lists. We positively can not undertake to write letters quoting prices on such books. But if stockholders who have made a deposit with us order outside books to be charged on the deposit, we shall usually be able to allow a discount.

**2. Four per cent. Loans.** We allow four per cent. on money lent us with the understanding that we shall have thirty days' notice when it is to be withdrawn. This is more than is allowed by savings banks in the larger cities, and there is a satisfaction in knowing that your money is being used to do work that you want done.

**3. An Income for Life.** We believe there are some socialists over sixty years of age who need to get the largest possible income from what little money they have during their lifetime, but would be glad to have it used to help the socialist movement after their death. For each thousand dollars deposited with us under these conditions, we will pay six dollars monthly, the equivalent of 7.2 per cent. per annum. We can use only a few thousand dollars on these terms.

Our main reliance is not upon large sums from a few but upon small sums from many. This is a **Working Class Publishing House**. It is a success already. With your help it is going to be a greater success.

## BOOKS OF OTHER PUBLISHERS

For the present we will supply these books to **our stockholders** at the **net** prices quoted; the postage must be added unless the books go by express at purchaser's expense. Our offer of books in return for securing new subscriptions to the **Review** does **not** apply to these books, but only to our own. All are in cloth binding unless otherwise stated.

Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.

Bellamy's *Equality*, retail \$1.25, net \$1.00, postage 12c.

The same in paper, 50c postpaid, no discount.

Darwin's *Descent of Man*, retail 60c, net 40c, postage 10c.

Darwin's *Origin of Species*, retail 60c, net 40c, postage 10c.

Ely's *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.

Hallam's *Middle Ages*, retail 60c, net 40c, postage 10c.

Hillquit's *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, retail \$1.50, net \$1.20, postage 15c.

Hillquit's *History of Socialism in the United States*, retail \$1.50, net \$1.00, postage 15c.

Hunter's *Poverty*, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.

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Library of Useful Stories. Illustrated, each volume sold separately, retail 40c, net 30c, postage 5c.

Story of the Living Machine, Conn.

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Story of Electricity, Munro.

Story of a Piece of Coal, Martin.

Story of the Earth, Seeley.

Story of the Stars, Chambers.

Story of Extinct Civilizations of the East, Anderson.

Story of Extinct Civilizations of the West, Anderson.

London's Call of the Wild, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.

London's Children of the Frost, retail \$1.50, net \$1.20, postage 12c.  
 London's Daughter of the Snows, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
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 London's Scorn of Women, retail \$1.25, net \$1.00, postage 10c.  
 London's People of the Abyss, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
 London's The Sea Wolf, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
 London's Son of the Wolf, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
 London's Tales of the Fish Patrol, retail 75c, net 60c, postage 10c.  
 London's War of the Classes, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
 London's White Fang, retail \$1.50, net \$1.20, postage 12c.  
 Morris's Poems, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
 Romane's The Darwinian Theory, retail \$2.00, net \$1.60, postage 15c.  
 Russell's Lawless Wealth, retail \$1.50, net 75c, postage 15c.  
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 Salisbury's Career of a Journalist, retail \$1.50, net 75c, postage 15c.  
 Spargo's Bitter Cry of the Children, retail 75c, net 50c, postage 12c.  
 Spargo's Socialism, retail \$1.25, net \$1.00, postage 11c.  
 Spencer's Data of Ethics, retail 60c, net 40c, postage 10c.  
 Spencer's First Principles, retail 60c, net 40c, postage 10c.  
 Turgenieff's Liza, retail 60c, net 40c, postage, 10c.  
 Turgenieff's Annals of a Sportsman, same prices.  
 Turgenieff's Dimitri Roudine, same prices.  
 Turgenieff's Fathers and Sons, same prices.

Turgenieff's On the Eve, same prices.  
 Turgenieff's Smoke, same prices.  
 Turgenieff's Spring Floods, same prices.  
 Turgenieff's Virgin Soil, same prices.  
 Walt Whitman's Poems, same prices.

The books in this brief list are all carried in stock by us at the time this booklet is published, May, 1909. Cash orders for these or for our own publications will be filled promptly, usually on the day received.

We will as an accommodation fill orders for books not in our list, provided a sufficient amount is sent with the order to cover the publishers' price. If the order is from a stockholder, and we can buy the book at a discount which more than covers the cost of handling, we will give the stockholder a rebate to apply on his next order.

We trust, however, that those interested in the success of our work will not ask us to write letters giving information about books we do not advertise. We shall issue new order lists of books at frequent intervals; always be sure you have the latest one.

---

Don't forget to send for the new Socialist game, "The Class Struggle." Instructive and full of fun. The whole family can play it. Price 25 cents, with usual discount to stockholders, and special prices to agents by the dozen.



### BEGINNERS' LIBRARY.

We have had many requests for a select list of books that can be recommended to beginners who know nothing of our literature, and who are bewildered by its extent and variety. So here is one suggestion.

Sixty Propaganda Booklets .....	\$1.00
Socialism Made Easy, Connolly .....	.10
The Wolves, Wason (Illustrated) .....	.10
The Socialists, Spargo .....	.10
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Class Struggles in America, Simons .....	.10
The State and Socialism, Deville .....	.10
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Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, Van- dervelde .....	.50
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For fourteen dollars in one payment, or five dollars cash and one dollar a month ten months, we will send by express prepaid a full set of these books, and will issue a share of stock, which will entitle the holder to buy all our books at cost. We will if desired substitute any of our own books for part of those named above, but not books of other publishers.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The comparative value of a book is indicated, as a rule, by the length of the description.

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The list is a surprisingly large one, yet not a single book has been included which is not of some value or significance in the study of the social problem. An attempt has been made, moreover, so to arrange the various subjects as to make the catalogue a comprehensive guide to the literature in its field.

## A SUGGESTED COURSE OF READING

*Socialism* is being discussed everywhere; in the magazines, in the newspapers, in the pulpit, and from the public platform. The late Mark A. Hanna, a shrewd far-sighted politician, said some years ago that the next great political battle would be fought between the Republicans and the Socialists.

This applies to **you**. To fight *Socialism*, you should understand it; to advocate *Socialism*, you **must** understand it. The following course of reading was planned to aid those who desire to meet the argument, either for or against *Socialism*, with reason instead of abuse.

For introductory reading we suggest the following books and pamphlets of a general character:—

For a definition of Socialist terms **The Socialist Catechism**, by C. E. CLINE, which contains many excellent quotations from the classics of Socialist literature. **Socialism Inevitable**, by GAYLORD WILSHIRE, a valuable collection of articles applying Socialist principles to current problems and the ablest exposi-

tion of the significance of the Trust. Of first rank because of its popular style. **Socialism and Modern Science**, by ENRICO FERRI, an able work, by one of the world's greatest criminologists, showing the relation of Socialism to the theories of Darwin and Spencer. Excellent for those of scientific trend of mind, yet so simply written that a beginner will read it with enjoyment. **The Socialists: Who They Are and What They Stand For**, by JOHN SPARGO. This is really the best brief exposition of Socialism in our language. **Socialism: A Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles**, a larger work by SPARGO, deserves careful reading. It sketches the evolution of Socialist theories, and is a comprehensive statement of modern scientific Socialism. The books listed under "Concise Works on Socialism" may also be profitably read.

*(Special: Set A.—The five works listed above, with a retail value of \$3.80, we will send postpaid for \$2.75.)*

At this point we can gain more from our reading if we divide the subject and take up the divisions in the following order: History of Socialism, Philosophy of Socialism, and Economics of Socialism.

On History we suggest these books:

**Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome**, by E. BELFORD BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS. Sketches the evolution of society, and shows the rise of Socialism from Utopia to Science. **The History of Socialism**, by THOMAS

KIRKUP, a standard work written by a non-Socialist. **The History of Socialism in the United States**, by MORRIS HILQUIT, a thorough work which no student of Socialism can afford to miss. The utopian period, the formative period and the rise of the Socialist Party are fully treated.

*(Set B.—These three books, value \$5.00, will be sent for only \$3.75.)*

For Philosophy we recommend:—

**Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**, by FREDERICK ENGELS. Absolutely essential to the student who desires to master the philosophy of Socialism. **Manifesto of the Communist Party**, by KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS. An early work on Scientific Socialism which has been translated into almost every modern language, and is recognized as one of the clearest statements of Socialism. **Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History**, by ANTONIO LABRIOLA. Deals with the pivotal point in Socialist philosophy. The first part, "In Memory of the Communist Manifesto," reviews the economic and the resulting political conditions which gave birth to the Manifesto. The rest of the book is devoted to "Historical Materialism." This work will give the student a clear conception of the causes of social evolution. **The Economic Interpretation of History**, by PROF. E. R. A. SELIGMAN, contains an excellent bibliography. On the whole, a very fair work by a non-Socialist. **The Quintessence of Socialism**, by DR. A. SCHAEFFLE, an opponent of Socialism. We recommend this

simply as an exposition of Socialist philosophy. **The World's Revolutions**, by ERNEST UNTERMANN. An excellent little manual. **Economic Foundations of Society**, by ACHILLE LORIA. Deserves very careful reading because of its scope and simplicity.

(Set C.—The above seven books, value \$5.45, for only \$4.25 prepaid.)

For the study of economics one should read the following:—

**The People's Marx**, by GABRIEL DEVILLE, the most successful attempt to popularize the contents of the first volume of Marx's "Capital." The best book we know for the man who hasn't time to read the original. **Marxian Economics**, by ERNEST UNTERMANN. Presents the results of Marx's analysis in the three volumes of "Capital," but does not epitomize his work. The only book in English dealing with Marx's economic theories as a whole. It is simply written, comprehensive and readable. **A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy**, by KARL MARX. Marx's preface contains the classic formulation of the Materialistic Interpretation of History. A book that every student desirous of understanding Marx's economic theories and the "Materialistic Interpretation of History" should read.

(Set D.—Three books which every Socialist should possess, value \$4.00, only \$1.75 prepaid.)

Lastly, for an analysis of the Trust and its

attendant problems, we suggest these three books:—

**The Impending Crisis**, by BASIL BOUROFF. A work crammed with facts and figures and invaluable for reference. **The American Farmer**, by A. M. SIMONS, showing the results of the Trust upon agriculture. **Socialism Inevitable**, by GAYLORD WILSHIRE. Treats the question in its different aspects in a popular style. Gaylord Wilshire has written more upon the Trust and its significance than any other American Socialist.

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and ten monthly payments of \$1.00 each. The greatest opportunity.)

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### DECORATE YOUR HOME.

Do not fail to order a set of "Prominent Revolutionists."

See Page 127.

## BOOKS FOR BEGINNERS

### **Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.**

BAX, ERNEST BELFORT, Cloth, \$1.25,  
and MORRIS, WILLIAM.

"A continuous sketch of the development of history in relation to Socialism, efficiently done." A masterpiece of prose writing as well as a convincing statement of Socialism.

### **Socialism Made Plain.** Paper, 15 cents.

BENSON, ALLAN L.

A very effective propaganda pamphlet. Written in a clear and simple style, and crammed with facts and figures.

### **Merrie England (Letters to John Smith, Workingman).** Paper, 10 cents.

BLATCHFORD, ROBERT.

As the title indicates, it is a popular statement of Socialism,—the Merrie England (and America, too) that is to be. More than two million copies have been sold in England and America. *No other book on a social question has ever had such a wide circulation.* The style is very simple and clear. Good to start people thinking about Socialism.

### **Britain for the British (America for the Americans),** with American Appendix.

By A. M. SIMONS. Cloth, 50 cents.

BLATCHFORD, ROBERT.

A simple statement of the Socialist demand. Valuable for beginners.

### **Handbook of Socialism.** Cloth, \$1.00.

BLISS, W. D. P.

Short and pithy; excellent for reference. Contains sketches of the history of Socialism in Germany, France, England, etc.

### **The Axe at the Root.** Paper, 5 cents.

BROWN, REV. W. T.

A powerful indictment of our civilization.

### **Letters to a Socialist Preacher.** Cloth, \$1.00.

CASTLE, REV. PAUL H.

A discussion of Socialism and Christianity between two preachers. The principal objections to Socialism are discussed at length and demolished. An excellent addition to our literature for propaganda among church-going people.

### **Socialist Catechism.** Paper, 5 cents.

CLINE, C. E.

Questions and answers. Quotes some of the best passages in Socialist literature. Excellent to refer to for definitions. Every student should possess a copy.

### **Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism.** Paper, 10 cents.

DEVILLE, GABRIEL.

A short summary of socialist principles; of great value in educational and propaganda work.

**The State and Socialism.**  
DEVILLE, GABRIEL. Paper, 10 cents.

An outline of party work, showing how the State will ultimately become the instrument of social transformation.

**The People's Marx.** Cloth (\$1.50 edition),  
DEVILLE, GABRIEL. only 75 cents.

Many students who desire to obtain a general working concept of the theories of Karl Marx are appalled by the length and comprehensiveness of "Capital." This work is composed of portions of "Capital," so carefully put together that there is no sense of disconnection. In fact, it is the clearest statement of the principles and theories of the first volume of "Capital" extant.

**Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.**  
ENGELS, FREDERICK. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 10 cents.

Analyzes the ideas of the Utopists, Saint Simon, Fourier, *et al.* Traces the evolution of Socialism from chaotic sentimentalism to a scientific position. Shows that with the triumph of Socialism classes and, therefore, class wars will cease to be. No student can afford to miss it.

**Socialism in Brief.** Paper, 5 cents  
GARVER, W. L.

Very good pamphlet for beginners. Contains SIMON'S Children of the Farm, and DOOLEY on Bankers.

**The Co-operative Commonwealth.**  
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One of the pioneer works on Socialism published in America. It is neither a tabloid, nor a long-drawn-out statement. It is precise, scientific, and one of the most reliable and pleasing books because of its accuracy and simplicity.

**Socialists at Work.**  
HUNTER, ROBERT.

Cloth (illustrated, with 20 full-page portraits of prominent Socialists); \$1.50.

An account, in Hunter's clear, forceful style, of what Socialists are actually accomplishing throughout the world. The material was gathered by Comrade Hunter on an extensive trip, through England and Europe. This book, like Thompson's "Constructive Programme," should be read by every wide-awake Socialist.

**The Capitalist Class.** Paper, 5 cents.  
KAUTSKY, KARL.

The origin, functions and power of the capitalist are shown in detail.

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JONES, HENRY T.

Two new, pointed, pithy books, that are especially good for the beginner.

**The Proletariat.** Paper, 5 cents.  
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The origin, duties and powers of the speedily awakening working class graphically depicted.

**The Class Struggle.** Paper, 5 cents.  
KAUTSKY, KARL.

An excellent propaganda pamphlet. Clearly shows the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class and its cause. Contains several other good things.

**Industrial Democracy.** Paper, 5 cents.  
KELLEY, J. W.

Shows the injustices and wastes of capitalism. A strong appeal for Socialism.

**What Socialists Think.** Paper, 5 cents.  
KERR, C. H.

Excellent for propaganda because of its simplicity.

**Socialism and Human Nature.**  
KING, MURRAY E. Paper, 10 cents.

An answer to the objection that we should have to change human nature before Socialism can triumph.

**An Appeal to the Young.** Paper, 5 cents.  
KROPOTKIN, PETER.

An eloquent appeal to young women and men to join social-revolutionary forces.

**A Farmer's Talk to the Farmers.**  
LAMB, C. J. Paper, 5 cents.

Excellent propaganda matter.

**Science and the Workingman.**  
LASSALLE, FERDINAND. Paper, 25 cents.

Lassalle's famous speech—a scholarly presentation of the case for freedom of research and investigation.

**Easy Lessons in Socialism.** Paper, 5 cents.  
LEFFINGWELL, W. H.

Five concise and simple lessons. No dictionary words. One of the best things to start the study of Socialism with.

**Ought We Have Socialism?** Paper, 5 cents.  
LEGLER, GEO. P.

Just the thing to answer questions. Very simple. A ready reference.

**Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.** Paper, 10 cents.

LIEBKNECHT, W.

**No Compromise, No Political Trading.**  
LIEBKNECHT, W. Paper, 10 cents.

Uncompromising statement of Socialism, and party tactics.

**Introduction to Socialism.** Paper, 5 cents;  
RICHARDSON, N. A. 100, \$2.50.

A well-written essay, true to its title. One of the best popular pamphlets ever written for the beginner.

**Philosophy of Socialism.** Paper, 5 cents.  
SIMONS, A. M.

The best statement of Socialism in the English language. Excellent for beginners.

**Socialism and the Farmers.** Paper, 5 cents.  
SIMONS, A. M.

Crammed with sound philosophy. One of the best pamphlets in Socialist literature.

**A Plea for Socialism.** Paper, 10 cents.  
SIMONS, A. M.

**Where We Stand.** Paper, 5 cents.  
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A very direct and simple presentation of Socialism. Invaluable for propaganda.

**Forces that make for Socialism in America.** Paper, 10 cents.  
SPARGO, JOHN.

Deals with the trust problem, the poverty problem and the intensification of the class war between capitalists and laborers. One of the best propaganda pamphlets.

**Socialism. A Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles.**

SPARGO, JOHN. 12mo, cloth, \$1.25 net.

The aim of the book is to give in popular language a clear statement of the principles of modern "scientific" Socialism, and a sketch of their historical development. The evolution of socialistic theories from the Utopian idealism of visionaries, like Robert Owen, to the later theories of Karl Marx and his followers is

clearly shown. Perhaps the best general statement of Socialism in our language.

**The Socialists: Who They Are and What They Stand For.** Cloth, 50 cents.

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A rare combination of scientific accuracy and popular treatment. One of the best concise statements of Socialism in print. For a general idea of Socialism there is nothing superior to this simple little book. Very valuable as a propaganda work.

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**Socialism, A New World Movement.**

UNTERMANN, ERNEST. Paper, 5 cents.

**The Socialist Movement.**  
VAIL, REV. C. H. Paper (portrait), 10 cents.

This is an excellent book for the beginner in Socialism, as it gives thoroughly, in a simple manner, a treatise on the class struggle, the law of surplus value, economic determination, and shows that under Socialism only will the golden rule be workable.

**Principles of Scientific Socialism.**  
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Cloth, red, 50 cents; Paper, 35 cents.

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**Modern Socialism.** Cloth, 50 cents;  
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A simple statement of the position held by Modern Socialism. Poverty, labor-saving machinery, taxation, the liquor problem and illiteracy are treated at length. Industrial depressions and crises, the condition of labor, past and present, and the economic wastes of Capitalism are traced to their roots.

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A refutation of the old objections and arguments against Socialism. Crisp and popular in style; a mine of valuable information. It deserves a place in every collection of serious books.

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WENTWORTH, FRANKLIN H.

**What's So and What Isn't.** Cloth, 50 cents  
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WORK, JOHN M.

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YOUNG, W. L.

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**DECLARE YOURSELF.**

*Have a couple of Socialist Sofa-Pillows about the house.*

See Page 127.

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