

THE RECORDING ANGEL

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CHAPTER IV.

"There are swift hours in life, strong, rushing hours, That do the work of tempests in their night."

—Hemans.

As soon as the door closed behind Arndt, Nettie, on finding herself on the same spot where she had stood during that terrible half-hour while she watched the men as they worked to restore her father, suddenly stopped, and with starting eyes, wavered to and fro as she had done before.

This time there was only the body of her father—lying as if asleep on the lounge—to meet her gaze; and the awful reality that he would never again speak in loving tones, swept over her.

With a cry which rang through closed doors and solid walls she said, "Oh, daddy, daddy, dear!" and would have rushed to his side; but took only one step before unconsciousness seized her.

Dr. Kennedy—who was waiting in the shadow, expecting this very result—caught her as she fell, and then said briskly, "Now, wife, call Arndt!" and then Mrs. Kennedy stepped quickly to the door and opened it—and Arndt, who had heard that cry not only with his ears but in every fibre of his being—was ahead of and down before the house—was already on the top step and passed instantly to the assistance of the doctor.

Between them the unconscious girl was quickly placed upon her bed, and Arndt, by the direction of the physician, hastened to the nearest neighbor's house for help.

On his return he resumed his solitary walk; up and down before the house. Up and down the man paced step by step with a soldier's tread, and his thoughts were all of the walls which he and Angus and Nettie had taken in the summer nights which were past. As he became quieter he took in the fact that even here, at a distance of half a mile from the works, the air was filled with the roar and crash of machinery—and that which he was so accustomed that he hardly noticed it in the works by day—was plainly heard in the stillness of the night.

And he said, bitterly, "One cannot even draw the breath of life without having it poisoned by the Octopus. I believe that the smoke nuisance as well as a whole lot of other evils which they claim are inseparable from modern business methods might be prevented. Business, indeed! It is the anachronism of the world to-day. Where is the man who shall be able to loosen those folds which are crushing the life out of every one of us, rich as well as poor, without the shedding of blood? Oh!" he cried aloud, "I am afraid, I'm afraid that the work cannot be done peacefully. It is the story of slavery all over again—only, this time it is the white man who is slave to a demon called Modern Business Methods. Any man, to-day, can see that the slaves could have been purchased outright and set free at a tithe of the cost of the civil war and subsequent entangled expenses, and the best methods might have been saved and the breathing of hearts averted—to say nothing of a whole generation of children whose existence has been permanently over-shadowed by the anxiety and dread which was the daily meat and drink of their mothers during those terrible days before the children saw the light. God pity those children!"

"But it was not to be averted. Nettie is right. Then, as now, the whole trouble was the selfishness of man. After almost two thousand years of professing to follow the teachings of one whose whole life was a lesson in unselfishness, we don't seem to have even started yet. Some of us, indeed, are crawling out from the ground, perpetually, through the ages, not only for right but for restitution—and for retribution. Repayment for downtrodden manhood, stunted lives and crushed loves cannot be made, any more than for hunger and thirst and insufficient clothing and avoidable sickness and premature death. But shall we, as a people be able to escape retribution for having caused these things—this time?"

In his earnestness he had been speaking aloud; and at this moment Dr. Kennedy touched him on the arm, saying, "I cannot tell you. No man can answer that question. But, come in. I expected to find you out here."

And so, together, they entered the house and went into the sitting room where the body of Angus MacDonald was already prepared for the coffin. "No; not in here," said the doctor, "this room is too cold (for the fire was out and the window raised)."

The physician passed immediately into the back room; but Arndt paused by the still form, and without lifting the sheet which covered the face said, "Good-bye, old friend, good-bye!" You are only one more victim of the selfishness of man. Good-bye, good-bye!" Then he followed the doctor, who closed the door behind him.

"Well, it is just as I feared," said Kennedy—for Arndt waited for him to speak—"just as I feared when I first saw her; the shock and the strain of standing in the hall watching us and overhearing what we said, all that time, has been too much; and the collapse, which I anticipated has left us with a probable case of brain trouble, at the least, and no one knows what, to take in her personal loss until she saw his body all alone in the room. That was as I expected; but my one chance was that I would break down and cry. Oh, if she had only cried! but it turned out the other way; and now she will have to fight it out, with the best aid I can give her. Fortunately for us, her habit of taking a great deal of out-of-door exercise has given her an excellent constitution. My wife is, with her now, and also one of the neighbors, and they will call me if there is any danger. At present they are giving her a treatment at which I cannot say, and I must wait for the nurse I have sent to the hospital; and while we are waiting I want to talk to you seriously. In the first place, I had you, you know, when I said recently you spoken when she was in such a condition that you will not need to pay any attention to it. Moreover, she may never recall one word of it—even if she survives this attack."

"Didn't she know what she was saying?" asked Arndt.

"Oh, yes," said the doctor, "and I suppose meant it, at the time; but she may never recall it."

"Then," said Arndt, "I will remember it, and will also remind her of it—and if she wants to hold me to my promise, I'm going to keep it."

"Now, Arndt," protested Kennedy, "you are going to accomplish nothing except the unhappiness of two people I like, if you don't quit this foolishness and persuade that girl into marrying you as son as I can get her well again—if ever I do."

But Arndt interrupted: "It's because every man says that same thing that nothing has been done. Don't think I expect to do more than start the ball rolling. I am not the man to make a leader out of; I'm too sorry for the rich. The leader of the workmen in the final struggle is not going to be sorry for the rich—or, at least, his sorrow for them will be completely buried out of sight under his millionfold greater sorrow for the poor and his wrath at the injustice practiced through the ages on the working class. You look astonished! Why, of course, I see these things plainly, and, of course I am sorry for the rich. What do they get out of it all? Slavery to social forms instead of to work; a round of pleasure which has ceased, except for the movies and the theatre, to be enjoyable, and just as hard work to keep from dying from ennui as I have to perform to earn my daily bread."

"And what are they paying for all this?—and why should they pay at all? Why, because the mass of men are like children and believe that because these people wear smiling faces they are happy and contented; and they know that after all arguments are ended, they, the producers, have not received a just share of the rewards of toil. And the rich are paying, daily, in the growing hatred of poor men, women and children for the rich as a class; and when the day of final payment comes—may I not be there to see it?"

Kennedy went to the door and listened for a moment and then resumed his seat, without making any reply.

Arndt evidently expected none, for he immediately continued: "They, mostly, have a certainty about the arrival of the good will or whim of an employer for the chance to earn it—which is about the only thing I envy them. I have always enjoyed my work. I delight in helping to create things, and for me the idleness of the rich has no attraction. I can only wonder at their willingness to let life pass in such a way. In general I only pity them, but more especially when I think of that day and remember the old saying, 'When the Gods would destroy their first-made man!'"

"That's true," said the doctor emphatically; "but no man, single-handed and poor, can accomplish the work you have set out to do. Don't think, for a moment, that I do not know, as well as you, of the need of its being done. When I see, at the houses of the rich, luxury and pleasure and idleness and, even in the best of them, a class feeling which causes them to despise a poor man—so much of the time, simply because he is poor, and therefore, according to their standards, a failure—the words of old MacKellar ring in my ears: 'A renegade to God and man is he Who scorns a poor man in his poverty Or on his brother puts his supercilious ban.'"

They worship success, and success alone; and when I pass to the home of the workman, whose labor has produced this wealth, I often wonder whether Almighty God is still running this world."

"Yes," he continued, as though Arndt had asked him a question aloud; for his astonishment was plainly written on his face; "yes, every word of that is true. I know that you are surprised, and you will be surprised again to-morrow, when you see me as deferential as ever to the rich. I know who I am talking to; and if, in the future, you need me, call on me. It may be that a sudden call to the assistance of a fellowman will awaken in me the manhood which has been held in check ever since the first day I had a rich patient who paid well. I have a wife and children who, if they are ever to have a chance in this world—"

Arndt interrupted him: "A chance to occupy just such positions as these same rich people whom you are denouncing, and to lead just such lives—isn't that what you are working for, doctor?"

"The man flushed to his forehead but said nothing, and Arndt continued: "I'm sorry for such men as you, by the Eternal, I am!—and the world is full of them. 'O, I am glad you acknowledge that you are keeping your manhood down, but it is worse than that—you are losing it altogether—or nearly so. There is a shadow of it in a corner of you somewhere that shows it is not far off—not so far off but that you might get it back again; and it is this shadow, which, when it stirs,—as it is bound to do at sight of such things as we have seen and experienced this night—that makes you confess to a fellow man; and then you feel better—because you have confessed."

"By the Eternal!" he cried hotly. "I wish you hadn't confessed; for, like every other man who does so, you'll find some plausible excuse for doing the same thing over again. Oh! your excuse is a nice one, and a virtuous one; and that is why Nettie is right. A man and woman who have work to do must not give these hostages to Fate."

"Every laugh, a little face will prevent the righteous anger from breaking forth; for when one thinks that a single word may mean hunger and cold to the child as well as extra in the eyes of the mother, action becomes impossible. That's one great reason why the corporations would rather employ married men; though, of course, it is not among the reasons they mention publicly."

"(To be continued.)"

ETIQUETTE IN SPAIN. Courtship in Spain is regulated by the strictest etiquette. A young man is never left alone with his fiancée. Near Malaga a beautiful young girl of twenty has just committed suicide by drinking a cup of coffee in which phosphorus had been dissolved. It appears that the girl had been driven to the deed by the adverse comments of neighbors, who became aware that she had given her sweetheart a kiss.

JUNGLE PLAY PLEASURES. Columbus, O., Dec. 1.—The Great Southern Theater was well filled to greet the first appearance in this city of "The Jungle," as dramatized from Comrade Signelair's masterpiece. The play was well received, the capitalist newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding.

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RECEIVED 20

FARM STORES FOR CITY WORKINGMEN

Plans for a Chicago Depot Where Rural Labor's Product Can Be Secured Directly by City Wage Earners.

Plans for a union depot on the Haymarket, where farmers may sell their products direct to consumers and small business houses, eliminating the middle man, are well under way.

"This plan is going to be a reality in a short time and will be one of the most remarkable innovations in the industrial history of this country," said Otto Doederline, editor of Haus and Land, the official organ of the American Society of Equity, which is behind the movement.

"The American Society of Equity," Mr. Doederline said, "will do all it can to assist this project, which was decided upon at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Minneapolis. The society sees that its interests are identical with the interests of organized labor."

Both "Skinned." The farmer and the workman are both being skinned by capital. Labor is skinned through the so-called increase in the cost of living, which is nothing but the big profits that the trust and the middlemen exact from it. The farmers, on the other hand, are skinned by getting practically no pay for their products.

Henceforward the farmers and the workmen will go hand in hand in their struggle against corporations, large and small, and at this depot where the union farmer products will be sold direct to union wage earners will be the first step in this direction.

We feel confident that all the small dealers will find it to their advantage to deal directly with the farmers through their representatives in this depot and will patronize it, for, so far as our experience goes, we find that the small dealer is not among those who reap the benefit from this steady rise in the cost of living."

Miss Mary McDowell will go to St. Paul, Minn., during the holidays to organize the waitresses in hotels and the women employed in Hoban's shirt factory.

The Socialists of Wisconsin have drafted a number of bills which they will present at the next session of the legislature. These include a co-employment bill and a personal injury bill.

Gig-makers' International Union No. 14 will hold its twenty-ninth annual masquerade ball February 9, 1907, at Brook's Casino, Wabash avenue and Peck court. A full military orchestra will furnish the music. One hundred dollars in cash and numerous other valuable prizes will be distributed to those wearing the funniest costumes.

Judge James J. Diek, of Beaver Dam, Wis., handed down a decision that to use persuasion in an endeavor to prevent others taking the place of strikers is in no way conspiracy.

Investigations carried on by the Young Men's Union of New York as to the conditions under which subterranean employees work have shown that many of these laborers pass their working hours without sufficient air and that their employers have absolutely no regard as to their comfort.

AN ECHO OF THE CHRISTMAS SHOPPING. A little girl not more than twelve years old came out of the Dearborn street entrance of the Fair to-day crying bitterly. She had just been discharged from the store. Her work was to hand out bundles after they had been wrapped in the millinery department of the basement. In the rush of business she gave out the wrong package. She was not only immediately discharged, but she was told that she would have to pay for the package as well.

ORDER NUTRITO FROM Aug. P. Keating, 502 Belmont cor. Paulina, A. Swanson, 2539 W. R. R. Ave., Evanston.

Retailers carrying Nutrito in Chicago or suburbs may have their names and addresses appear in this list free. Candidates who know of stores not here listed may send in names or call dealers attention.)

CLERKS TAKE RIGHT TRAIL.

Postoffice Workers at St. Louis Mustered Into Labor Army.

[Scrapps-McRae Press Association.] St. Louis, Dec. 4.—To secure an increase in their pay and to better their condition, thirty-five St. Louis postoffice clerks have organized a union and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Because of the increased cost of living, they claim that they are not paid living wages.

It is claimed that several hundred other clerks in the postoffice are hanging back because they are afraid of incurring the displeasure of the postal authorities.

It is estimated by the school authorities that Chicago school children have been robbed of over \$70,000 yearly through coal contracts that have been let by lax and inefficient "business" men's school boards. Every year contracts amounting to about 120,000 tons of coal are let for supplying coal to the schools. These contracts call for coal at \$2.40 a ton. This would mean furnace coal of a good quality. Contractors have been permitted to supply cheap coal.

Constant complaints are being made that the school buildings are throwing out such a smoke as to be a public nuisance. The residents of Austin are protesting against the rain of soot that pours from their public schools. The school engineer, A. R. Gale, replies that he can do no better, as the coal furnished to him is of such a quality that it is bound to fill the air with smoke. Similar answers are made by the engineers in the Englewood and West Side schools.

Cheap Coal at High Prices. The coal furnished to the schools on this \$2.40 contract bears all the characteristics of coal that sells at \$1.80 per ton. This means that a profit of at least \$72,000 yearly is made by the coal contractors and that could have been saved for the school funds.

The placing of coal contracts is in the hands of the Buildings and Grounds Committee of the Board of Education. The committee appointed by the present school board is now preparing to make a thorough investigation of all coal that is delivered to the Chicago schools.

Experts will begin work to-day to determine just how much the school of Chicago have lost through the "business" men's school boards.

TRADE UNION MEETINGS. Carriage and Cab Drivers' Union, Local No. 17, I. B. of T., will hold a special meeting Thursday, Dec. 6, at 145 East Randolph street, to nominate officers for the ensuing year. All members should be present. W. J. Gibbons.

Ladies Tailors' Union of Chicago will hold a meeting Thursday evening, at 10 South Clark street.

Oil Wagon Drivers, Local No. 750, U. T. of A., will hold a meeting tonight at 145 East Randolph street. International officers will be present to install officers for the ensuing year. All members are requested to be present. James Duff, secretary.

Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union will meet tonight at 151 Washington street.

Laundry Drivers' Union, Local No. 712, U. T. of A., meeting tonight at 12 South Clark street. All attend. William Robertson.

Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 24—Quarterly meeting tonight at 145 Randolph street for election of officers. I. Schell, secretary.

Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union, Local No. 4—Meeting Wednesday night at 55 North Clark street. International officers to be elected. Come and vote at this meeting. Wm. McPherson.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union very important business meeting tonight at 151 Washington street. William A. Meyer.

Electrical Workers' Union, Local No. 276, will hold a meeting for the nomination of officers tonight at Halsted and Van Buren streets. Very important. All should attend. John F. Nichols.

Chicago Ice Wagon Drivers and Helpers' Union, Local No. 702, U. T. of A., will hold a meeting for the nomination of officers for the ensuing year at 2 o'clock, Sunday, December 3, at Bricklayers' Hall. All members should be present. C. G. Sagerstrom.

Foot and Shoe Workers' Union, Local No. 132 (Caters), meeting tonight at Bush Temple, No. Clark street and Chicago avenue.

Foot and Shoe Workers' Union, Local No. 92, will meet Thursday evening at Bush Temple.

Foot and Shoe Workers' Joint Council will hold a meeting Friday evening at Bush Temple.

Local No. 10, Chicago Federation of Musicians, will hold a meeting tonight at 134 East Van Buren street, for the election of officers.

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ARE BUSINESS MEN EFFICIENT?

Leaders on the School Board Contracted for Good Coal and Accepted Cheap Fuel.

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Roosevelt's Message

(Continued from first page.)

mit a single district judge, against what may be the judgment of the immense majority of his colleagues on the bench, to declare a law solemnly enacted by the congress to be "unconstitutional" and then to deny to the government the right to have the supreme court definitely decide the question.

It is well to recollect that the real efficiency of the law often depends not upon the passage of acts as to which there is great public excitement, but upon the passage of acts of this nature as to which there is not much public excitement, because there is little public understanding of their importance, while the interested parties are keenly alive to the desirability of defeating them. The importance of enacting into law the particular bill in question is further increased by the fact that the government has now definitely begun a policy of resorting to the criminal law in those trust and interstate commerce cases where such a course offers a reasonable chance of success. At first, as was proper, every effort was made to enforce these laws by civil proceedings, but it has become increasingly evident that the action of the government in finally deciding in certain cases to undertake criminal proceedings was justifiable, and, though there may have been some conspicuous failures in these cases, we have had many successes, which have undoubtedly had a deterrent effect upon evildoers, whether the penalty inflicted was in the shape of fine or imprisonment, and penalties of both kinds have already been inflicted by the courts. Of course where the judge can see his way to inflict the penalty of imprisonment the deterrent effect of the punishment on other offenders is increased, but sufficiently heavy fines accomplish much.

Wisdom in Injunctions.

Proper Use of This Power Rather Than Its Abolition Demanded.

In my last message I suggested the enactment of a law in connection with the issuance of injunctions, attention having been sharply drawn to the matter by the demand that the right of applying injunctions in labor cases should be wholly abolished. It is at least doubtful whether a law abolishing altogether the use of injunctions in such cases would stand the test of the courts, in which case, of course, the legislation would be ineffective. Moreover, I believe it would be wrong altogether to prohibit the use of injunctions. It is criminal to permit sympathy for criminals to weaken our hands in upholding the law, and it men seek to destroy life or property by mob violence there should be no impairment of the power of the courts to deal with them in the most summary and effective way possible. But so far as possible the abuse of the power should be provided against by some such law as I advocated last year.

In this matter of injunction there is lodged in the hands of the judiciary a necessary power which is nevertheless subject to the possibility of grave abuse. It is a power that should be exercised with extreme care, and should be subject to the jealous scrutiny of all men, and condemnation should be meted out as much to the judge who fails to use it boldly when necessary as to the judge who uses it wantonly or oppressively. Of course a judge strong enough to be fit for his office will enjoin any resort to violence or intimidation, especially by conspiracy, no matter what his opinion may be of the rights of the original quarrel. There must be no hesitation in dealing with disorder. But there must likewise be no such abuse of the injunctive power as is implied in forbidding laboring men to strike for their own betterment in peaceful and lawful ways, nor must the injunction be used merely to aid some big corporation in carrying out schemes for its own aggrandizement. It must be remembered that a preliminary injunction in a labor case, if granted without adequate proof, even when authority can be found to support the conclusions of law on which it is founded, may often settle the dispute between the parties, and therefore if improperly granted may do irreparable wrong. Yet there are many judges who assume a matter of course granting of a preliminary injunction to be the ordinary and proper judicial disposition of such cases, and there have undoubtedly been flagrant wrongs committed by judges in connection with labor disputes even within the last few years, although I think much less often than in former years. Such judges by their unwise action immensely strengthen the hands of those who are striving entirely to do away with the power of injunction, and therefore such careless use of the injunctive process tends to threaten its very existence, for if the American people ever become convinced that this process is habitually abused, whether in matters affecting labor or in matters affecting corporations, it will be well nigh impossible to prevent its abolition.

As to Public Opinion.

It may be the highest duty of a judge at any given moment to disregard not merely the wishes of individuals of great political or financial power, but the overwhelming tide of public sentiment, and the judge who does thus disregard public sentiment when it is wrong, who brushes aside the plea of any special interest when the pleading is not founded on righteousness, performs the highest service to the country. Such a judge is deserving of all honor, and all honor cannot be paid to this wise and fearless judge if we permit the growth of an absurd convention which would forbid any criticism of the judge of another type, who shows himself timid in the presence of arrogant disorder, or who on insufficient grounds grants an injunction that does grave injustice, or who in his capacity as a constructor, and therefore in part a maker, of the law, in flagrant fashion thwarts the cause of

Recent government. The judge has a power over which no review can be exercised. He himself sits in review upon the acts of both the executive and legislative branches of the government. Save in the most extraordinary cases, he is amenable only at the bar of public opinion, and it is unwise to maintain that public opinion in reference to a man with such power shall neither be expressed nor led.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Infinite Harm Done by "Preachers of Mere Discontent."

In dealing with both labor and capital, with the questions affecting both corporations and trades unions, there is one matter more important to remember than aught else, and that is the infinite harm done by preachers of mere discontent. These are the men who seek to excite a violent class hatred against all men of wealth. They seek to turn wise and proper movements for the better control of corporations and for doing away with the abuses connected with wealth into a campaign of hysterical excitement and falsehood in which the aim is to inflame to madness the brutal passions of mankind. The sinister demagogues and foolish visionaries who are always eager to undertake such a campaign of destruction sometimes seek to associate themselves with those working for a genuine reform in governmental and social methods and sometimes masquerade as such reformers. In reality they are the worst enemies of the cause they profess to advocate, just as the purveyors of sensational slander in newspaper or magazine are the worst enemies of all men who are engaged in an honest effort to better what is bad in our social and governmental conditions.

To preach hatred of the rich man as such, to carry on a campaign of slander and invective against him, to seek to mislead and inflame to madness honest men whose lives are hard and who have not the kind of mental training which will permit them to appreciate the danger in the doctrines preached—all this is to commit a crime against the body politic and to be false to every worthy principle and tradition of American national life. Moreover, while such preaching and such agitation may give a livelihood and a certain notoriety to some of those who take part in it and may result in the temporary political success of others, in the long run every such movement will either fail or else will provoke a violent reaction, which will itself result not merely in undoing the mischief wrought by the demagogue and the agitator, but also in undoing the good that the honest reformer, the true upholder of popular rights, has painfully and laboriously achieved. Corruption is never so rife as in communities where the demagogue and the agitator bear full sway, because in such communities all moral bands become loosened, and hysteria and sensationalism replace the spirit of sound judgment and fair dealing as between man and man. In such a revolt against the squalid anarchy thus produced men are sure in the end to turn toward any leader who can restore order, and then their relief at being free from the intolerable burdens of class hatred, violence and demagoguery is such that they cannot for some time be aroused to indignation against misdeeds by men of wealth, so that they permit a new growth of the very abuses which were in part responsible for the original outbreak. The one hope for success for our people lies in a resolute and fearless but sane and cool headed advance along the path marked out last year by this very congress. There must be a stern refusal to be misled into following either that base creature who appeals and panders to the lowest instincts and passions in order to arouse one set of Americans against their fellows or that other creature, equally base, but no baser, who in a spirit of greed or to accumulate or add to an already huge fortune seeks to exploit his fellow Americans with callous disregard to their welfare of soul and body. The man who debauches others in order to obtain a high office stands on an evil equality of corruption with the man who debauches others for financial profit, and when hatred is sown the crop which springs up can only be evil.

Employers' Liability.

Among the excellent laws which the congress passed at the last session was an employers' liability law. It was a marked step in advance to get the recognition of employers' liability on the statute books, but the law did not go far enough. In spite of all precautions exercised by employers, there are unavoidable accidents and even deaths involved in nearly every line of business connected with the mechanic arts. This inevitable sacrifice of life may be reduced to a minimum, but it cannot be completely eliminated. It is a great social injustice to compel the employee, or, rather, the family of the killed or disabled victim, to bear the entire burden of such an inevitable sacrifice. In other words, society shirks its duty by laying the whole cost on the victim, whereas the injury comes from what may be called the legitimate risks of the trade. Compensation for accidents or deaths due in any line of industry to the actual conditions under which that industry is carried on, should be paid by that portion of the community for the benefit of which the industry is carried on—that is, by those who profit by the industry. If the entire trade risk is placed upon the employer he will promptly and properly add it to the legitimate cost of production and assess it proportionately upon the consumers of his commodity. It is therefore clear to my mind that the law should place this entire "risk of a trade" upon the employer. Neither the federal law nor, as far as I am informed, the state laws dealing with the question of employers' liability are sufficiently thoroughgoing. The federal law should of course include employees in navy yards, arsenals and the like.

Demagogue and Corruptionist.

The plain people who think—the mechanics, farmers, merchants, workers with head or hand, the men to whom American traditions are dear, who love their country and try to act decently by their neighbors—owe it to themselves to remember that the most damaging blow that can be given popular government is to elect an unworthy and sinister agitator or a platform of violence and hypocrisy. Whenever such an issue is raised in this country nothing can be gained by flinching from it, for in such case democracy is itself on trial, popular self government under republican forms is itself on trial. The triumph of the mob is just as evil a thing as the triumph of the plutocracy, and to have escaped one danger avails nothing whatever if we succumb to the other. In the end the honest man, whether rich or poor, who earns his own living and tries to deal justly by his fellows, has as much to fear from the insincere and unworthy demagogue, promising much and performing nothing or else performing nothing but evil, who would set on the mob to plunder the rich, as from the crafty corruptionist who for his own ends would permit the common people to be exploited by the very wealthy. If we ever let this government fall into the hands of men of either of these two classes we shall show ourselves false to America's past. Moreover, the demagogue and the corruptionist often work hand in hand. There are at this moment wealthy reactionaries of such obtuse morality that they regard the public servant who prosecutes them when they violate the law or who seeks to make them bear their proper share of the public burdens as being even more objectionable than the violent agitator who hounds on the mob to plunder the rich. There is nothing to choose between such a reactionary and such an agitator. Fundamentally they are alike in their selfish disregard of the rights of others, and it is natural that they

should join in opposition to any movement of which the aim is fearlessly to do exact and even justice to all.

Railroad Employes' Hours and Eight Hour Law.

I call your attention to the need of passing the bill limiting the number of hours of employment of railroad employes. The measure is a very moderate one, and I can conceive of no serious objection to it. Indeed, so far as it is in our power, it should be our aim steadily to reduce the number of hours of labor, with as a goal the general introduction of an eight hour day. There are industries in which it is not possible that the hours of labor should be reduced, just as there are communities not far enough advanced for such a movement to be for their good or, if in the tropics, so situated that there is no analogy between their needs and ours in this matter. On the isthmus of Panama, for instance, the conditions are in every way so different from what they are here that an eight hour day would be absurd, just as it is absurd, so far as the isthmus is concerned, where white labor cannot be employed, to bother as to whether the necessary work is done by alien black men or by alien yellow men. But the workworkers of the United States are of so high a grade that alike from the merely industrial standpoint and from the civic standpoint it should be our object to do what we can in the direction of securing the general observance of an eight hour day. Until recently the eight hour law on our federal statute books has been very scantily observed. Now, however, largely through the instrumentality of the bureau of labor, it is being rigidly enforced, and I shall speedily be able to say whether or not there is need of further legislation in reference thereto, for our purpose is to see it obeyed in spirit no less than in letter. Half holidays during summer should be established for government employes. It is as desirable for workworkers who toil with their hands as for salaried officials whose labor is mental that there should be a reasonable amount of holiday.

Labor of Women and Children.

The congress at its last session wisely provided for a trust act for the District of Columbia, a marked step in advance on the path of properly caring for the children. Let me again urge that the congress provide for a thorough investigation of the conditions of child labor and of the labor of women in the United States. More and more our people are growing to recognize the fact that the questions which are not merely of industrial but of social importance outweigh all others, and these two questions most emphatically come in the category of those which affect in the most far reaching way the home life of the nation. The horrors incident to the employment of young children in factories or at work anywhere are a blot on our civilization. It is true that each state must ultimately settle the question in its own way, but a thorough official investigation of the matter, with the results published broadcast, would greatly help toward arousing the public conscience and securing unity of state action in the matter. There is, however, one law on the subject which should be enacted immediately, because there is no need for an investigation in reference thereto, and the failure to enact it is creditable to the national government. A drastic and thoroughgoing child labor law should be enacted for the District of Columbia and the territories.

Employers' Liability.

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1900, there were strikes affecting 117,500 establishments and 3,105,694 employes were thrown out of employment. During the same period there were 1,005 lockouts, involving nearly 10,000 establishments, throwing over a million people out of employment. These strikes and lockouts involved an estimated loss to employees of \$307,000,000 and to employers of \$143,000,000, a total of \$450,000,000. The public suffered directly and indirectly probably as great additional loss. But the money loss, great as it was, did not measure the anguish and suffering endured by the wives and children of employees whose pay stopped when their work stopped, or the disastrous effect of the strike or lockout upon the business of employers, or the increase in the cost of products and the inconvenience and loss to the public.

Many of these strikes and lockouts would not have occurred had the parties to the dispute been required to appear before an unprejudiced body representing the nation and, face to face, state the reasons for their contention. In most instances the dispute would doubtless be found to be due to a misunderstanding by each of the other's rights, aggravated by an unwillingness of either party to accept as true the statements of the other as to the justice or injustice of the matters in dispute. The exercise of a judicial spirit by a disinterested body representing the federal government, such as would be provided by a commission on conciliation and arbitration, would tend to create an atmosphere of friendliness and conciliation between contending parties, and the giving each side an equal opportunity to present fully its case in the presence of the other would prevent many disputes from developing into serious strikes or lockouts and in other cases would enable the commission to persuade the opposing parties to come to terms.

In this age of great corporate and labor combinations neither employers nor employees should be left completely at the mercy of the stronger party to a dispute regardless of the righteousness of their respective claims. The proposed measure would be in the line of securing recognition of the fact that in many strikes the public has itself an interest which cannot wisely be disregarded—an interest not merely of general convenience, for the question of a just and proper public policy must also be considered. In all legislation of this kind it is well to advance cautiously, testing each step by the actual results. The step proposed can surely be safely taken, for the decisions of the commission would not bind the parties in legal fashion and yet would give a chance for public opinion to crystallize and thus to exert its full force for the right.

Withdrawal of Coal Lands.

It is not wise that the nation should alienate its remaining coal lands. I have temporarily withdrawn from settlement all the lands which the geological survey has indicated as containing or in all probability containing coal. The question, however, can be properly settled only by legislation, which, in my judgment, should provide for the withdrawal of these lands from sale or from entry save in certain special circumstances. The ownership would then remain in the United States, which should not, however, attempt to work them, but permit them to be worked by private individuals under a royalty system, the government keeping such control as to permit it to see that no excessive price was charged consumers. It would of course be as necessary to supervise the rates charged by the common carriers to transport the product as the rates charged by those who mine it, and the supervision must extend to the conduct of the common carriers, so that they shall in no way favor one competitor at the expense of another. The withdrawal of these coal lands would constitute a policy analogous to that which has been followed in withdrawing the forest lands from ordinary settlement. The coal, like the forests, should be treated as the property of the public, and its disposal should be under conditions which would inure to the benefit of the public as a whole.

CORPORATION CONTROL.

Far More Complete Supervision at Early Date Required.

The present congress has taken long strides in the direction of securing proper supervision and control by the national government over corporations engaged in interstate business, and the enormous majority of corporations of any size are engaged in interstate business. The passage of the railway rate bill and only to a less degree the passage of the pure food bill and the provision for increasing and rendering more effective national control over the beef packing industry mark an important advance in the proper direction. In the short session it will perhaps be difficult to do much further along this line, and it may be best to wait until the laws have been in operation for a number of months before endeavoring to increase their scope, because only operation will show with exactness their merits and their shortcomings and thus give opportunity to define what further remedial legislation is needed. Yet, in my judgment, it will in the end be advisable in connection with the packing house inspection law to provide for putting a date on the label and for charging the cost of inspection to the packers. All these laws have already justified their enactment. The interstate commerce law, for instance, has rather amusingly falsified the predictions both of those who asserted that it would ruin the railroads and of those who asserted that it did not go far enough and would accomplish nothing. During the last five months the railroads have shown increased earnings and some of them unusual dividends, while during the same period the mere taking effect of the law has produced an unprecedented, a hitherto unheard of, number of voluntary reductions in freights and fares by the railroads. Since the founding of the commission there has never been a time of equal length in which anything like so many reduced tariffs have been put into effect. On Aug. 27, for instance, two days before the new law went into effect, the commission received notices of over 5,000 separate tariffs which represented reductions from previous rates.

Necessity of Combinations.

The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combinations, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital, like combination of labor, is a necessary element of our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it, and if it were possible such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public or existing in such form as inevitably to threaten injury, for the mere fact that a combination has secured practically complete control of a necessary of life would under any circumstances show that such combination was to be presumed to be adverse to the public interest. It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations which do good and those combinations which do evil.

Rebates, for instance, are as often due to the pressure of big shippers (as was shown in the investigation of the Standard Oil company and as has been shown since by the investigation of the tobacco and sugar trusts) as to the initiative of big railroads. Often railroads would like to combine for the purpose of preventing a big shipper from maintaining improper advantages at the expense of small shippers and of the general public. Such a combination, instead of being forbidden by

It must not be supposed, however, that with the passage of these laws it will be possible to stop progress along the line of increasing the power of the national government over the use of capital in interstate commerce. For example, there will ultimately be need of enlarging the powers of the interstate commerce commission along several different lines, so as to give it a larger and more efficient control over the railroads.

Legislation the Proper Antidote.

It cannot too often be repeated that experience has conclusively shown the impossibility of securing by the actions of nearly half a hundred different state legislatures anything but ineffective chaos in the way of dealing with the great corporations which do not operate exclusively within the limits of any one state. In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will, among other things, prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. This will tend to put a stop to the securing of inordinate profits by favored individuals at the expense whether of the general public, the stockholders or the workworkers. Our effort should be not so much to prevent consolidation as such, but so to supervise and control it as to see that it results in no harm to the people. The reactionary or ultra conservative apologists for the misuse of wealth assail the effort to secure such control as a step toward socialism. As a matter of fact, it is these reactionaries and ultra conservatives who are themselves most potent in increasing socialist feeling. One of the most efficient methods of averting the consequences of a dangerous agitation which is 80 per cent wrong is to remedy the 20 per cent of evil as to which the agitation is well founded. The best way to avert the very undesirable move for the governmental ownership of railroads is to secure by the government, on behalf of the people as a whole, such adequate control and regulation of the great interstate common carriers as will do away with the evils which give rise to the agitation against them. So the proper antidote to the dangerous and wicked agitation against the men of wealth as such is to secure by proper legislation and executive action the abolition of the grave abuses which actually do obtain in connection with the business use of wealth under our present system, or, rather, no system, of failure to exercise any adequate control at all. Some persons speak as if the exercise of such governmental control would do away with the freedom of individual initiative and dwarf individual effort. This is not a fact. It would be a veritable calamity to put a premium upon individual initiative, individual capacity and effort, upon the energy, character and foresight which it is so important to encourage in the individual. But, as a matter of fact, the deadening and degrading effect of pure socialism, and especially of its extreme form, communism, and the destruction of individual character which they would bring about are in part achieved by the wholly unregulated competition which results in a single individual or corporation rising at the expense of all others until his or its rise effectually checks all competition and reduces former competitors to a position of utter inferiority and subordination.

In enacting and enforcing such legislation as this congress already has to its credit we are working on a coherent plan, with the steady endeavor to secure the needed reform by the joint action of the moderate men, the plain men who do not wish anything hysterical or dangerous, but who do intend to deal in resolute common sense fashion with the real and great evils of the present system. The reactionaries and the violent extremists show symptoms of joining hands against us. Both assert, for instance, that, if logical, we should go to government ownership of railroads and the like, the reactionaries because on such an issue they think the people would stand with them, while the extremists care rather to achieve solid results. As a matter of fact, our position is as remote from that of the Bourbon reactionaries as from that of the impracticable or sinister visionary. We hold that the government should not conduct the business of the nation, but that it should exercise such supervision as will insure its being conducted in the interest of the nation. Our aim is, so far as may be, to secure for all decent, hardworking men equality of opportunity and equality of burden.

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law, should be favored. In other words, it should be permitted to railroads to make agreements, provided these agreements were sanctioned by the interstate commerce commission and were published. With these two conditions complied with, it is impossible to see what harm such a combination could do to the public at large. It is a public evil to have on the statute books a law incapable of full enforcement, because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country, for the result is to make decent railroad men violators of the law against their will and to put a premium on the behavior of the willful wrongdoers. Such a result in turn tends to throw the decent man and the willful wrongdoer into close association and in the end to drag down the former to the latter's level, for the man who becomes a lawbreaker in one way unhappily tends to lose all respect for law and to be willing to break it in many ways. No more scathing condemnation could be visited upon a law than is contained in the words of the interstate commerce commission when, in commenting upon the fact that the numerous joint traffic associations do technically violate the law, they say: "The decision of the United States supreme court in the transmission case and the Joint Traffic association case has produced no practical effect upon the railway operations of the country. Such associations, in fact, exist now as they did before these decisions and with the same general effect. In justice to all parties we ought probably to add that it is difficult to see how our interstate railways could be operated with due regard to the interest of the shipper and the railway without concerted action of the kind afforded through these associations."

This means that the law as construed by the supreme court is such that the business of the country cannot be conducted without breaking it. I recommend that you give careful and early consideration to this subject and, if you consider the opinion of the interstate commerce commission justified, that you amend the law so as to obviate the evil disclosed.

INCOME TAX DISCUSSED.

Both This and Inheritance Tax Strongly Advocated.

The question of taxation is difficult in any country, but it is especially difficult in ours with its federal system of government. Some taxes should on every ground be levied in a small district for use in that district. Thus the taxation of real estate is peculiarly one for the immediate locality in which the real estate is found. Again, there is no more legitimate tax for any state than a tax on the franchises conferred by that state upon street railroads and utility corporations which operate wholly within the state boundaries, sometimes in one and sometimes in several municipalities or other minor divisions of the state. But there are many kinds of taxes which can only be levied by the general government so as to produce the best results, because, among other reasons, the attempt to impose them in one particular state too often results merely in driving the corporation or individual affected to some other locality or other state. The national government has long derived its chief revenue from a tariff on imports and from an internal or excise tax. In addition to these, there is every reason why, when next our system of taxation is revised, the national government should impose a graduated inheritance tax and, if possible, a graduated income tax. The man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the state because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government. Not only should he recognize this obligation in the way he leads his daily life and in the way he earns and spends his money, but it should also be recognized by the way in which he pays for the protection the state gives him. On the one hand, it is desirable that he should assume his full and proper share of the burden of taxation; on the other hand, it is quite as necessary that in this kind of taxation, where the men who vote the tax pay but little of it, there should be clear recognition of the danger of inaugurating any such system save in a spirit of entire justice and moderation. Whenever we as a people undertake to remodel our taxation system along the lines suggested we must make it clear beyond peradventure that our aim is to distribute the burden of supporting the government more equitably than at present, that we intend to treat rich man and poor man on a basis of absolute equality and that we regard it as equally fatal to true democracy to do or permit injustice to the one as to do or permit injustice to the other.

Necessity of Combinations.

I am well aware that such a subject as this needs long and careful study in order that the people may become familiar with what is proposed to be done, may clearly see the necessity of proceeding with wisdom and self-restraint and may make up their minds just how far they are willing to go in the matter, while only trained legislators can work out the project in necessary detail. But I feel that in the near future our national legislators should enact a law providing for a graduated inheritance tax by which a steadily increasing rate of duty should be put upon all moneys or other valuables coming by gift, bequest or devise to any individual or corporation. It may be well to make the tax heavy in proportion as the individual benefited is remote of kin. In any event, in my judgment, the pro rata of the tax should increase very heavily with the increase of the amount left to any one individual after a certain point has been reached. It is most desirable to encourage thrift and ambition, and a potent source of thrift and ambition is the desire on the part of the breadwinner to leave his children well off. This object can be attained by making the tax very small on moderate amounts of property left, because the prime object should be to put a constantly increasing burden on the inheritance of those swollen fortunes which it is certainly of no benefit to this country to perpetuate.

Technical and Industrial Training.

It would be impossible to overstate, though it is of course difficult quantitatively to measure, the effect upon a nation's growth to greatness of what may

be called organized patriotism, which necessarily includes the substitution of a national feeling for mere local pride, with as a resultant a high ambition for the whole country. No country can develop its full strength so long as the parts which make up the whole each put a feeling of loyalty to the part above the feeling of loyalty to the whole. This is true of sections, and it is just as true of classes. The industrial and agricultural classes must work together, capitalists and wage-workers must work together, if the best work of which the country is capable is to be done. It is probable that a thoroughly efficient system of education comes next to the influence of patriotism in bringing about national success of this kind. Our federal form of government, so fruitful of advantage to our people in certain ways, in other ways undoubtedly limits our national effectiveness.

It is not possible, for instance, for the national government to take the lead in technical industrial education, to see that the public school system of this country develops on all its technical, industrial, scientific and commercial sides. This must be left primarily to the several states. Nevertheless the national government has control of the schools of the District of Columbia, and it should see that these schools promote and encourage the fullest development of the scholars in both commercial and industrial training. The commercial training should in one of its branches deal with foreign trade. The industrial training is even more important. It should be one of our prime objects as a nation, so far as feasible, constantly to work toward putting the mechanic, the wage-worker who works with his hands, on a higher plane of efficiency and reward, so as to increase his effectiveness in the economic world and the dignity, the remuneration and the power of his position in the social world. Unfortunately, at present the effect of some of the work in the public schools is in the exactly opposite direction. If boys and girls are trained merely in literary accomplishments to the total exclusion of industrial, manual and technical training the tendency is to unfit them for industrial work and to make them reluctant to go into it or unfitted to do well if they do go into it. This is a tendency which should be strenuously combated. Our industrial development depends largely upon technical education, including in this term all industrial education, from that which fits a man to be a good mechanic, a good carpenter or blacksmith, to that which fits a man to do the greatest engineering feat. The skilled mechanic, the skilled workman, can best become such by technical industrial education. The far reaching usefulness of institutes of technology and schools of mines or of engineering is now universally acknowledged, and no less far reaching is the effect of a good building or mechanical trades school, a textile or watchmaking or engraving school. Such training must develop not only manual dexterity, but industrial intelligence. In international rivalry this country does not have to fear the competition of pauper labor as much as it has to fear the educated labor of specially trained competitors, and we should have the education of the hand, eye and brain which will fit us to meet such competition.

In every possible way we should help the wage-worker who toils with his hands and who must—we hope in a constantly increasing measure—also toil with his brain. Under the constitution the national legislature can do but little of direct importance for his welfare save where he is engaged in work which permits it to act under the interstate commerce clause of the constitution, and this is one reason why I so earnestly hope that both the legislative and judicial branches of the government will construe this clause of the constitution in the broadest possible manner. We can, however, in such a matter as child labor and factory laws, set an example to the states by enacting the most advanced legislation that can wisely be enacted for the District of Columbia.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

This Whole Question Should Be Regulated by Congress.

I am well aware of how difficult it is to pass a constitutional amendment. Nevertheless, in my judgment, the whole question of marriage and divorce should be relegated, to the authority of the national congress. At present the wide differences in the laws of the different states on this subject result in scandals and abuses, and surely there is nothing so vitally essential to the welfare of the nation, nothing around which the nation should so bend itself to throw every safeguard, as the home life of the average citizen. The change would be good from every standpoint. In particular it would be good because it would confer on the congress the power at once to deal radically and efficiently with polygamy, and this should be done whether or not marriage and divorce are dealt with. It is neither safe nor proper to leave the question of polygamy to be dealt with by the several states. Power to deal with it should be conferred on the national government.

When home ties are loosened, when men and women cease to regard a worthy family life, with all its duties fully performed and all its responsibilities lived up to as the life best worth living, then evil days for the commonwealth are at hand. There are regions in our land and classes of our population where the birth rate has sunk below the death rate. Surely it should need no demonstration to show that willful sterility is, from the standpoint of the nation, from the standpoint of the human race, the one sin for which the penalty is national death, race death, a sin for which there is no atonement, a sin which is the more dreadful exactly in proportion as the men and women guilty thereof are in other respects, in character and bodily and mental powers, those whom for the sake of the state it would be well to see the fathers and mothers of many healthy children, well brought up in homes made happy by their presence.

President Roosevelt's Solution of the Labor Problem

In all the long list of letters sent by presidents of the United States to congress, Roosevelt's stand unique in the attention given to the labor problem. Roosevelt has more to say upon this subject than all his predecessors combined.

This means that the day of ignoring the labor problem has passed. It means that the agitation, whose logical and inevitable conclusion is Socialism, has forced itself into the focus of public attention.

That it is Socialism, and Socialism alone, which has brought forth this discussion is seen by the opening sentences, where a warning cry is raised against those who dare to recognize the existence of a class struggle.

There is no attempt made to disprove the existence of this struggle—only a scolding of those who dare to speak of it.

When he refers to Socialism it is to lie about it, for it is hard to believe that it was ignorance that penned a sentence speaking of "communism" as the "extreme form" of Socialism, and it would certainly be an insult to the intelligence of the president to assume beliefs on his part that anyone was advocating the thing he attacks.

When he is through scolding at the bogey-man his own fear of Socialism has created, he proceeds to suggest how capitalism may be saved.

It is no new gospel he preaches. It is as old as oppression and tyranny and human resistance to aggression.

HE BEGS THE MASTERS TO BE GOOD AND THE SLAVES TO BE QUIET.

He threatens the capitalists with an income tax which he admits to be unconstitutional, and an inheritance tax which will punish them only after death.

There is also a threat of "regulation and control," but while the capitalists own Congress this is but another appeal to "self-control," and is not apt to prove very effective in producing good behavior.

So much for Roosevelt's message to the capitalist.

What has he to say to laborers?

Some indefinite generalities about injunctions that give no promise of abolishing the situation under which a capitalist controlled judge may usurp the functions of legislator, prosecutor and jury.

Some more generalities about the extension of the eight-hour system into fields where organized labor is already strong enough to take this step, but nothing about the postal clerks, who are constantly forced to violate this law, while we are blandly told that it does not apply at all at Panama.

There is plenty of "hot air" about better conditions for the wage-workers, but this is coupled with a demand that the powers of the national government be extended to force a Japanese immigration that will cut down wages.

He calls upon the mothers of America to breed more wage-slaves—a call which has been sounded by every ruling class since it was first discovered that slaves were profitable.

He lavishes praise upon the blind, unreasoning patriotism of the Japanese soldiers and urges the establishment of rifle ranges in the public schools to instill the same ignorant obedience into the children of American workers.

GOOD MASTERS AND OBEDIENT SERVANTS—this is the sum and substance of what is without a doubt the most significant utterance on the labor problem ever coming from the White House.

IT WILL TAKE SOMETHING MORE THAN THAT TO STOP THE RISING TIDE OF SOCIALISM.

Combination Inevitable

The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combinations, good or bad, is innoxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital like combination of labor is a necessary element of our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic.

Who says Roosevelt is not progressive? It has only been a little over half a century since the Socialists pointed out that combination was an inevitable accompaniment of our present system.

For saying this we were laughed at, denounced, called fools, visionaries, impracticable—nearly everything in the vocabulary of invective. Today we see this fundamental premise of Socialism accepted in a President's message. Perhaps the day may come when the workingman will get this idea into his head.

There are only three positive recommendations in Roosevelt's message—the inheritance tax, the income tax, and government ownership of the mines—and all three are stolen from the Socialists' party platform.

That hint that it might be possible to fix the Supreme Court so that an income tax would look constitutional to it will come in handy when the constitution gets in the way of a Socialist Congress and President.

Roosevelt hints very broadly that a way might be found to make the Supreme Court see the constitutionality of an income tax, but this idea never comes to him when he is considering an anti-injunction bill.

Roosevelt objects to the corporation contributing directly to campaign funds, but will offer no objection if the stockholders hand it out as individuals.

THE RELIEF SURPLUS

The Relief Corporation is holding secret sessions to discuss ways and means of wisely investing the \$4,000,000 that yet remains unspent, and the various members of the executive committee are advocating their special projects for benefiting humanity with the money donated for relief of the refugees.

Allan Pollok has proposed a hospital. This scheme looks good to many of the board. Herbert E. Law, living a little nearer to the letter of the gift, proposes distribution among the various charitable organizations of the city.

And so it goes! And in the meantime misinformed San Francisco gasps a little and ejaculates:

"Four million dollars still unspent!"

"Four million dollars still under discussion!"

"Four million dollars still due to the refugees!"

And then comes the vital question: "What about the tiny babies born in tents?"

"What about the frail, worried mothers cooking in the open air?"

"What about the imitation houses that the refugees were permitted to purchase at so much a month?"

"What about the camp dispensaries that issued the same kind and amount of medicine to five different cases and diseases?"

"What about the refugees that die, and are hauled out and buried at night, as Mary Kelly claims?"

"What about the women who have been carted to hospitals in a coal cart in lieu of an ambulance?"

"What about camps with open sewers that are a disgust to the eye, a stench to the nostril, a shame on the city and a menace to life?"

What about all these things? And then what about the \$4,000,000 surplus that remains to be expended in the latest up-to-date, most modern and scientific charity?

The number of refugees now dependent upon the Relief Corporation has been greatly reduced. By what means?

By methods so severe that some have died of the process, some have been stung into open rebellion, some have been seceded by neighbors scarcely better off than the suffering ones, for it is usually the poor themselves that best help the poor.

The Relief Corporation members may have been honest in their methods and intentions. They have kept books upon both themselves and the refugees, but the relief itself has been an automatic, soul-degrading affair. It has been relief in theory and not in fact! It has been a humiliation of the soul and not an upliftment! It has been a dispensing of charity, and not an affair of brotherhood.

Many and many a time those who were aided have accepted the relief because it was a necessity, but they have hated themselves for being obliged to use it. It has been the bold, the coarse, the strong ones, who came early and often, and got the most, and spent it gleefully, that have been most frequently assisted.

Those who were frail and ill, shrinking and reined, loathed the yards of red tape, the delay and humiliation used in administering the aid, sent by all the people of the country to their sisters and brothers in distress.

Long ago the beautiful spirit of the gift was marred and lost and forgotten. The love of humanity, deep-rooted as life itself, called into quick life by the calamity of April 18, has been trodden underfoot, until now nothing remains but the DOLLARS!

—San Francisco Daily News.

Last Words of a Railway President

President Samuel Spencer, of the Southern Railway, whose death last week in a wreck on his own road called attention to the weakness of profit seeking in railway management, had the following to say in a speech a week before he died:

"In a country so wide in extent and with a commerce so vast it is no longer possible to do the transportation service of the public by individual enterprises or even by small corporations. Large corporations and large aggregations of capital are essential."

"This fact and the shortcomings necessarily incident to hurried preparations, and overtaxed facilities, have largely deprived these carriers of popular sympathy, and subjected them to easy misrepresentations and to popular misunderstanding. The outward expression of size and power has impressed the popular mind with the idea that they possessed untold wealth and limitless resources. It made them the easy mark of the political agitator. The result has been that there has crept into the public mind a different standard of justice for them from that which governs the property rights of every individual property holder in the land. Statutes have been enacted establishing principles of liability of a railroad company which do not apply in the case of the farmer, the mill owner or the employer in any other department of industry. Juries have come to think it right to award verdicts for larger damages against railroad corporations than against individual litigants."

"With the increased prosperity of the country have come—and properly—higher wages and also higher prices for everything the carrier must buy."

"I need not call your attention to the increase in the price of labor. It applies to every industry, and the railways are not only not exempt, but they suffer the great disadvantage not shared by others that increased prosperity of the country, and activity in business does not bring to them increased prices for the only article they have for sale—transportation."

"The farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, when paying higher wages or higher prices for raw material, obtains as a rule a higher price for his products."

"Not so with the carrier. He must, under stress of market competition and the inexorable decree of public sentiment, keep the prices for his product—transportation—the same or at lower figures."

"Increased taxes have also added substantial burdens to the carriers, the taxes of Southern Railway Company, for example, per mile of road, having increased since 1893 more than 40 per cent."

Congressmen arriving in Washington expressed the fear that this country is prepared for war with Japan. They were informed that President Roosevelt had everything ready. A few big capitalists are class conscious and they are behind all this talk of a foreign war. A war is the only thing that will prevent the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth in the next fifteen years, and the captains of industry are very desirous of warfare.

Republican office holders are a complete control of Cook county. It is his, repeats itself all of the officials will not die poor.

Death to ten Filipinos resulted through a mistake made in the laboratory at Bilhad, Luzon, P. I. The experiments were made in the absence of Dr. R. P. Strong, the examining physician, and the prisoners were given disease.

SPAIN IN THE THROES OF PROGRESS

Madrid, Dec. 4.—This city is on the verge of rioting as a result of the latest cabinet crisis. The Moret ministry, appointed only last week, was forced to resign yesterday. Rioting followed as soon as this fact became generally known. The police were able to quell the crowds last night, but the worst fears are entertained for what may happen today. Both the church and Mexican questions have greatly excited the populace of late.

News and Comment

Bishop Potter, boom friend, is mixed up in a scheme to "improve the condition of the working class." The best thing he can do is to invest in Socialist literature and help educate the common man to do something for himself.

The Merchants' Club, composed of traders, schemers, money lenders and stock gamblers, will discuss "Public Schools and their Administration" Saturday evening.

A few days ago a story in these columns said E. H. Harriman, Wall street gambler, would go into the telephone business here. Yesterday the capitalist "confirmed the report."

How would you like to be a brilliant writer and be compelled to write an editorial eulogizing Otto Young, who was the most heartless exploiter of girls and women clerks, children and grown-ups, this town ever harbored?

Following the "example" of lesser steel companies, the United States Steel Corporation will increase the price of its products \$2.00 a ton. These corporations increase wages a few pennies a day per man. If you will watch closely you will see every company getting back all it gives in wage increases. If wage earners were paid \$10.00 a day from to-day they would be no better off after a few months.

If working people can arrange to deposit their savings in Canadian post offices, where it will be safe, the bankers that manage congress will allow the "statesmen" to adopt a postal savings bank law.

Jacob Teratovsky, a young medical student, became inoculated with the disease he was studying. He took carbolic acid and was found dead in his room.

John Garry, 6809 Throop street, a driver of wreck wagons for the Chicago City railway company, was thrown off a car and his back was broken, and he will die. He had been on the wreck wagon for ten years.

The Thirty-first Ward Improvement club is making a very strenuous fight against the railroads in that district. It will perhaps force the Pennsylvania system to elevate its tracks.

Bill Joslyn, a ten-year old newsboy, stumbled over a package in the lobby of the Palmer House, but was prevented from leaving by Tom Lewis, head porter. It was found to contain \$200 and belonged to C. W. Staten of New York. Staten rewarded the boy with a crisp \$20 bill, and also rewarded the porter.

Professor Jackman says there are no boys born lazy, and if they become unwilling to work, they should have medical treatment. This will be good news to the exploiters of child labor.

The State of Illinois will sue the Illinois Central for all back taxes, which will amount to about \$3,000,000.

Seven provinces in the Russian famine belt, with a population of 20,000,000 are in crying need. Another great famine is imminent in Russia.

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When President Roosevelt set foot on dry land the Rhode Island farmer who supplies the White House with Thanksgiving turkey breathed easy once again.

Chestnuts. "Bjaxon is quite a story teller, isn't he?" "Yes, I always like to hear Bjaxon's stories. From previous experience you always know just where to laugh."

What does it matter to the president of the Mormon church if he was fined \$300. He has a family of forty-three children who will help him pay it.

The disaffection of Peary's sailors once more illustrates the old saying that a man is never here in his own household.

A Laugh or A Smile

By F. B.

So Artistic! "Yes," said the poetical chap, "when I breathe that perfume the whole past was recalled to me."

"Ah, I see," replied the practical fellow. "Quite sentimental, wasn't it?"

When the Honorable Jeff Davis of Arkansas takes his seat in the senate perhaps Ben Tillman will know what it is to leave competition.

The colored people, since he spoke in Chicago, now know what a mistake they made when they thought Tillman was their enemy.

It is authoritatively stated that the present session of congress is going to give some consideration to the case of Reed Smoot of Utah.

Congress may do a lot of talking, but the past hasn't been a marker to what will happen when they come to devise a tariff system when flying machines are in every-day use.

Signor Caruso really had something to be thankful for on Thanksgiving, after all.

Quite Natural. "Do you know where that expression about the 'nigger in the woodpile' originated?" "Sure. Ben Tillman."

Gov. Deneen, in behalf of the state of Illinois, has demanded \$3,000,000 of the Illinois Central Railroad. Another case of presidential aspiration, doubtless.

Perhaps New York took Caruso to its heart just in order to demonstrate that it was thoroughly cosmopolitan, and not afflicted with provincial squeamishness.

Lots of folks doubtless think that Mayor Schmitz is locked up securely in the San Francisco jail.

Secretary Wilson in his annual report says the agricultural wealth of the United States is increasing at a phenomenal rate. The secretary says it with all due modesty, too.

Spain is having almost as many shifts in cabinets as her nearest neighbor across the Pyrenees.

His Answer. "Sir," began the delegate who was sent by his union to confer with the capitalist, "the prices of the necessities of life are constantly going up, therefore—"

"Therefore, in order to make both ends meet at home," interrupted the great man, "I have decided that it will be necessary to cut your wages one-half."

Thanksgiving would be a great deal nicer if the turkey could all be eaten up on the day of the festivities.

When the governor of North Carolina heard how Tillman had propped up the enemy in the north, can you guess what he said to the governor of South Carolina?

Mrs. Hannah Graham probably was not in the audience which so wildly cheered Caruso on his opening night.

Between Count Boni and the New York restaurant man who offered him a job as waiter merely to get a little free advertising, sympathy should be strongly on the side of Boni.

Appropriately So. "Have you solved that problem of aerial navigation you were so hard at work on?" "No, as yet I'm all up in the air."

If all the spelling reformers would learn how to speak Esperanto and form a colony by themselves, what a relief it would be for the old-fashioned section of the world.

Agricultural products grown last year amounted to \$9,794,000,000. If Uncle Sam were only rich enough to give us all a farm.

Lots of folks have reason to be thankful for the existence of various remedies for biliousness on the days immediately following Thanksgiving.

The Servians are talking of depositing their monarch. For the Servians to deposit a king would be considered an unusually mild measure.

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Knocking Out Socialism

Our effort should be not so much to prevent consolidation as such, but so to supervise and control it as to see that it results in no harm to the people. The reactionary or ultraconservative apologists for the misuse of wealth assail the effort to secure such control as a step toward socialism. As a matter of fact it is these reactionaries and ultraconservatives who are themselves most potent in increasing socialistic feeling. One of the most efficient methods of averting the consequences of a dangerous agitation, which is 80 per cent wrong, is to remedy the 20 per cent of evil to which the agitation is well founded. The best way to avert the very undesirable move for the governmental ownership of railroads is to secure by the government on behalf of the people as a whole such adequate control and regulation of the great interstate common carriers as will do away with the evils which give rise to the agitation against them. So the proper antidote to the dangerous and wicked agitation against the men of wealth as such is to secure by proper legislation and executive action the abolition of the grave abuses which actually do obtain in connection with the business use of wealth under our present system—or rather no system—of failure to exercise any adequate control at all. Some persons speak as if the exercise of such governmental control would do away with the freedom of individual initiative and dwarf individual effort. This is not a fact. It would be a veritable calamity to fail to put a premium upon individual initiative, individual capacity and effort; upon the energy, character and foresight which it is so important to encourage in the individual. But as a matter of fact the deadening and degrading effect of pure socialism, and especially of its extreme form communism, and the destruction of individual character which they would bring about, are in part achieved by the wholly unregulated competition which results in a single individual or corporation rising at the expense of all others until his or its rise effectually checks all competition and reduces former competitors to a position of utter inferiority and subordination.

Poor befuddled Roosevelt. What will he do to save capitalism? "Abolish the grave abuses." But that would "do away with the freedom of individual initiative." No, it is "unregulated competition" which "reduces competitors to a position of utter inferiority and subordination." Heavens! That is just what the Socialists say. Let's hit the Socialists a whack so as to save our face!

Yet five years ago that message would have sounded almost revolutionary.

Dreams and Deeds

If I could forge a master key
Out of my heart's desire;
Shape it of truth, and temper it
With love's divinest fire,
I'd force the barricades of hate
And break the chains that bind
My brother, never more to be
A martyr for his kind.

If I could build a tower high
Upon the coast of time
And light it with a precious hope
Thro' all the night sublime;
No ship upon life's stormy sea
Should battle wind or tide,
With freedom's harbor, calm and deep,
Before it, open wide.

If I could mould a current coin
Sufficient for its day,
What long-forgotten debts of love
Its shining power would pay.
Or, could I sound a trumpet call
The world has waited for,
'Twould rally all the troops of peace
Out of the hosts of war.

If I could write a final deed
To all the land and sea,
I'd give, with the sun and air,
To men as glad and free,
And could I voice my dearest prayer
To god's I'd like to love,
They'd fold me with affection here,
And I'd see their thrones above.

If I could sing some simple song
To cheer a heart bowed down,
The Czar might keep his majesty,
The king might wear his crown,
Oh, could I plead with voice or pen
Equality for all,
I'd care not how imperial states
In scattered host should fall.

But all the wishes that were mine
Brave hearts have turned to deeds,
A song becomes a service now
For nobler social needs,
Above the state that sold its slaves
To Mammon's cruel trade,
A comrade creed is written high
In signs that cannot fade.

—GEO. E. BOWEN.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Deduction from Past and Future to Present. Socialism is science. It is an analysis of past and present conditions, deducing from the facts obtained what the next step in human society will be, which is the co-operative commonwealth. Socialism recognizes the materialistic conception of history (economic determinism), which explains that the history of all life, at all times and in all places, has had as the first law of its existence a desire for material well-being, material being the first requisite in the preservation of self or species. Socialism is not an appeal to dreamers any more than it is an appeal to parasite lords. It is for those who use reason from cause to effect. It is for those who place themselves among the materialists of the senses, not for those who bow down without question to faith or myth. M. B. HAYES, Chicago.

Only Legitimate Civilization. In a collectivity such as each nation, state, tribe or group represents, Socialism is the only legitimate civilization, because for all to be free, about the same number of the possible good to the greatest possible number. It has been practiced in the family by both the rich and the poor, and has three been an unqualified success for ages. Why, therefore, across the Socialist, can Socialism not be made a success in that larger family, the state? All that has to be done is to effectually curb such aggressive "individualism" as will interfere with the welfare of the collectivity. F. CANNESBY, Chicago.

Somewhat Visionary. Here is my conception of Socialism, which must admit resembles more the surrealistic or boresal expression than the sharp line of a realist or scientific definition, which is perhaps what you ask for in "What is Socialism." Language cannot express nor the mind conceive the complete meaning of Socialism. At the center, it means a clearing from the madhouse of our present institutional life into the rational life, by securing for all the means of material well-being, and the natural right of all to share in the fruits of national production. It means ultimately the obliteration of national boundaries and race prejudice, till all men are brothers and every country home. It means the realization of the loftiest vision of human bliss divided by need of care in the annals of time. It means that the race mind, released from its groveling servitude to physical wants—free, open and fearless in its interpretation of the Cosmos, will do for a thousandfold in the utilities, grace and sanctities of existence. J. A.

Reconstruction of Society. Socialism means the reconstruction of society so as to conform with its co-operative economic foundations of the present, by the abolition of the competitive, privately owned and managed industries of production and exchange of commodities for profit, and the establishment of universal democracy, ownership and democratic management of all said industries for the use and benefit of all the people. It means the ending of all economic slavery, because that all workers shall be self-employed. Socialism will end all aristocracy based on the possession of capital and establish universal democracy everywhere, making possible the brotherhood of man. G. R. FRANKLIN, Chicago, Ill.

Principles Leading to Action. Socialism is those principles, theories and ideas and the teaching of the same, which have caused the workers of the world to organize into a political movement for the purpose of capturing the governmental power in each country and to use the same in the interest of the workers of the world by abolishing the present competitive system of production, and to use the same for the benefit of the whole of society, in order to establish a new system of society, in which production will be carried on for the benefit of all, and not for the profit of a few. JOHN A. HALDEN, Beckford, Ill.

Socialization of Machinery. Socialism means the socialization of the machinery of production and distribution and the democratic management of the same by all the people. The invention of machinery and the harnessing of the natural resources to lighten the toil of man are leading toward the final point when the people will have to decide as to whether these great labor-saving machines shall benefit a few through private ownership or be operated for the benefit of the mankind. LER W. LANG, Macleata, Iowa.