

Our Corrupt Class Courts in a "People's Land"

[Portions of an article in Every-body's Magazine, by C. P. Connolly, on our capitalist-controlled American judiciary.]

In casual litigation between man and man courts may preserve the ideals of justice in the highest degree. But such judges as usually preside over the law in favor of the rich and powerful interests. They have upheld supposed powers of corporations theretofore unknown to the reason or theory of the law. They have annulled by judicial decisions, or warped from their proper laws, which Congress and legislatures have, in spasms of public virtue, passed for the general good.

I am talking now, not against an isolated condition here and there, but against the whole system which has made our courts a mockery of justice. It is so much easier to fortify one's point by a case which attracts wide public attention, even though it is indirectly illustrative of the point. While I write, a federal judge in New York City fines in the sum of \$25,000 a rich man who had defrauded the government of some \$1,400,000. At the same time the same judge sentences to three months' imprisonment a minor offender who had defrauded the government of \$2,500. The rich smuggler had netted \$1,375,000. He had figuratively departed from court with the same ease as if he were an importer of silks. The Greek who was sentenced to jail was an importer of dates and figs. Were I in the Greek's place, I think I should change from figs to silks.

Watch the elevators in our federal buildings, and see the trembling, handcuffed wretches who enter, charged with distilling a hogshead of wine, or some such minor offense. Go down to the office of the district attorneys and watch the trust magnate who has levied unlawful tribute upon a nation, in unfettered conference with his lawyers and government officials—and tell me if this is a land of equal law!

Pennsylvania Courts and Politics.

The state of Pennsylvania, with all its wealth and influence, affords some interesting examples of court workings when political interests are involved.

In 1901 the legislature of Pennsylvania passed what was known as the "ripper" law.

While this "ripper" case was before the supreme court of Pennsylvania, all the members of the Pennsylvania Bar were alleged to have informed the ring as to the way in which the case would be decided, he made an address before the graduating class of the Philadelphia Law school.

One of the chairmen of the profession of the law, of the opportunity it gives to throw a lance full and fair into the face of many a frowning wrong, of the ability that it bestows for the protection of the rights of the poor and down-trodden, for the enforcement of equity and the restoration of ill-gotten gains.

It was not the first time that leaks had occurred in the Pennsylvania supreme court, or in other supreme courts of the union. Twenty-four hours before the supreme court of Colorado decided the eight-hour law unconstitutional, the fact was known and discussed in the Denver hotel. A supreme court judge in Ohio was publicly charged by Tom L. Johnson with giving foreknowledge of one of his opinions to friends, who gambled on the stock market on the strength of it.

Judge John P. Elkin, one of the present judges of the Pennsylvania supreme court, has had in the past, and still has, very close relations with the corporations.

His intimate friend is T. Leroy Eyre, a Pennsylvania railroad contractor. The judge and the contractor are inseparable companions. Judge Elkin was mentioned in the Archbold letters, read on the stump by William Hearst in 1908, as receiving \$15,000 for the request to kill certain legislation.

A year ago Elkin wrote the opinion in the Bulletin suit. The "organization" wanted to borrow for the city of Philadelphia \$1,000,000. The railroad "gang" was getting short, and the "public" wanted more public funds. The "gang" needed the money, too, but the "public" needed it worse. It was believed that the constitutional borrowing limit could be safely raised, and named Frank Elliott, the tool of McNichol, the Philadelphia political boss, brought a "friendly" suit against the

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Ohio Rings and Their Courts.

There was a political ring in every large city of Ohio a few years ago, as there are still such rings in some of those cities. These rings were made up of two larger rings, representing the Morgan and the Standard Oil interests. They selected and nominated every judge with a sweeping exception in the trial of judges to the justices of the supreme court.

If a judge showed independence of their power, they did not attack him openly, or manifest their real feelings; they slipped him unfounded stories about him in the clubs and other public places. If the judge lost his temper, he was unbalanced; there was a trace of insanity somewhere in his mind; if he was wrong in small things, these were magnified in the columns of the press, and pity was expressed for the judicial shortcomings. Both his public and private reputation were gradually broken down. The public saw only the newspaper side of his career; they never dreamed of the real inside story.

On the other hand, the judge favored of the ring received a stream of editorial praise on every possible occasion. Stories intended to make him "solid" with the public ran at intervals in the news columns. His levealed-up friends and family were mentioned. The links connecting the corporation lawyer, the press, and the bench were secret, but effective and profitable.

In Self-Defense---Morris Hillquit Discusses Barnes Case

To the Party Members:

Twenty-four years of active and uninterrupted service in the Socialist movement have taught me to take personal attacks philosophically. As a general rule, it is both humiliating and unprofitable to reply to them. There are, however, certain exceptional occasions when silence ceases to be a virtue, and when any Socialist who hopes to retain his usefulness in the movement, owes it to himself and to the cause to speak up in unmistakable terms, and I feel that I am facing such an occasion now.

Ever since the recent Indianapolis convention I have been made the object of open or covert attacks on the part of certain persons within the Socialist movement. The brunt of the attack has been the charge that I induced the convention to elect J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. It is unfair means.

The specific accusation against me in this connection is that I falsely reported to the convention that the nomination of Barnes had the endorsement of the National Executive Committee.

The indictment was first framed by the "Christian Socialist." It was reported and amplified in an anonymous circular movement in the office of Charles H. Kerr & Co., and then it appeared with all the solemnity and authority of an "Editorial Statement" in the International Socialist Review.

So long as the accusation was confined to these sources I did not heed it. It was not until it came to be chosen standard bearer of our party for the fourth successive time, and in a public statement full of indirect innuendo practically endorses the charge against me. It brings the name of the party into disrepute, and I am compelled to publicly take issue with him as at a decided disadvantage.

Under the circumstances the matter assumes a serious aspect. It involves not merely the question of my personal rectitude, but also several weighty problems of principle and policy. I realize that the discussion is singularly inopportune at this time. It is not of my seeking or making. The issue was forced upon me and I propose to face it squarely.

The charge against me hinges on one disjointed sentence of fourteen words taken from the stenographic records of the convention. For the benefit of the comrades who did not attend the convention I will briefly recount the entire proceedings leading up to the election of Barnes as campaign manager. The motion was presented in behalf of the Committee, and I state that it also had the endorsement of the National Executive Committee. The motion was adopted unanimously. My duties as chairman of the committee on Constitution were thereby ended, and I resumed my seat.

The chairman of the convention (Comrade George H. Goebel) then called for nominations of a campaign manager.

Comrade John Slayton, of Pennsylvania, was the first to be recognized at

this point, and the stenographic report here shows the following colloquy:

"Del. Slayton (Pa.): I move that the election of the Campaign Chairman be left in the hands of the National Executive Committee."

Del. Hillquit: The National Executive Committee had the matter under consideration, and prefers that for this important position, this convention make the choice.

Thus at the very outset of the proceedings I disclaimed, as clearly as language can be made, any nomination on the part of the National Executive Committee as such to make or influence the selection of the campaign manager.

I then discussed the floor again and placed Comrade Barnes in nomination for the position. In doing so I spoke throughout for myself—in the first person singular.

At the conclusion of my nominating speech Comrade Merrick asked: "Do you understand that the nomination is the action of the National Executive Committee?" To which I replied: "It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York."

Del. Merrick: The nomination of Barnes, that is what I refer to, is the recommendation of the committee, the recommendation of Barnes?

Del. Hillquit: This comes from the Committee on Constitution and also comes from the National Executive Committee.

Del. Merrick: With the endorsement of the National Executive Committee?

Del. Hillquit: A (The) general recommendation, yes.

The repetition of the recommendation for the election of a campaign manager.)

Personally I am inclined to believe that a stenographic error was committed in the rendering of Comrade Merrick's question or my answer or in the sequence of the colloquy. As the discussion reads it practically makes no sense. The questions and answers do not meet, and there seems to be no valid reason why Comrade Merrick should have repeated his question after my first unequivocal answer.

But whether my surmise is correct or not matters little. The colloquy between Comrade Merrick and myself was closed by the chairman in this unmistakable language:

"I believe Comrade Hillquit was trying to make the point that the nomination was an endorsement of the National Executive Committee."

Neither I nor any other member of the National Executive Committee objected to this interpretation. All delegates acquiesced in it, and the nominations proceeded under this uncontroverted ruling.

All this appears in the same record from the stenographic report, and Comrade Debs quote. The transcript of the entire proceeding was accessible to both of them. But the fair-minded editor modestly contented himself with one sentence quoted in his leading column, and Comrade Debs unfortunately failed to notice my emphatic disclaimer at the beginning of the nominations and the chairman's unequivocal summary. In his public statement he quotes the entire proceeding with the whole exception of the beginning and the end.

The theory of a shrewd and deep-laid plot on my part to deceive the convention into the belief that the nomination of Comrade Barnes had the endorsement of the National Executive Committee, and furthermore no pressure was needed. The great majority of the delegates accepted Barnes' nomination with spontaneous approval, and this to my mind was one of the most significant facts of the movement. The Socialist Party through its representatives rejected with scorn the petty intrigues and persecutions of a handful of meddling mischief-makers and self-constituted guardians of the movement. The convention elected Barnes because it had a well-founded faith in his ability and integrity, and because it had a healthy contempt for the unholy combination of preachers, schemers and impostors which had hounded him out of the office. For a man to be well to remind the comrades that in three searching investigations made at different times by different committees of the Socialist party Barnes was not found guilty of a single irregularity in personal habits or official conduct since he was first elected to the office of National Secretary. That the only substantial charge against him was based on a personal grievance unheeded by certain moral grand dignitars from the dead and long-forgotten past; that Barnes resigned voluntarily in order to avert party strife on his account, and that the National Executive Committee then accepted in accepting his resignation, publicly expressed regret at the loss of a capable

Lincoln vs. the Guggenheims.

The writ of habeas corpus is perhaps the most sacred of human rights. It grew out of those dark days when men, sometimes because they were too poor to buy their independence, were flung into noisome prisons and left to rot. The writ compelled the keeper to bring the prisoner's body into court that the cause of imprisonment might be inquired into. If the imprisonment was unlawful, the writ released the man. Johnson's hands were tied in such a way that he was unable to sign his name as mayor. But the court made a sweeping exception in the case of a contract with the Barber Asphalt Company, which company one of Senator Foraker's law firm represented. Johnson was permitted to sign that contract.

Until last year Cincinnati was the worst boss-ridden city in the United States. Cincinnati wasn't proud of its distinction, but it was helpless—helpless, not because of the individual power of George B. Cox, but because of the political machine which was behind him, his words were wired to every city in the United States and published in practically every newspaper in the United States except the Cincinnati Times-Star, owned and published by Comrade Debs. The paper did not publish that part of his brother's speech because it was supporting the Cox ticket. The Times-Star would not have published it in any event, because C. P. Taft was identified with powerful outside interests that had large investments in Cincinnati, and George B. Cox was the political agent of those interests.

Cox's domination of the judiciary in Cincinnati, and for that matter in other parts of Ohio, makes one of the most shameful chapters in American judicial history.

Influenced by these publications. Even Socialists are sometimes too prone to give absolute credence to the printed word, and to condemn and denounce without the formality of sifting the evidence.

Comrade Debs in his statement asserts that Comrade Spargo and I "declared that all those who protested against Barnes were not Socialists at all and the quicker the party was rid of them the better for the party."

His recollection on this point is somewhat inexact. In the conversation mentioned by Comrade Debs he said that he now regrets what he printed: "Some of the protesting comrades and locals are very angry and threatening, fearing that they will contribute no funds to the campaign; others that they will not vote for the ticket; still others that they will work against the ticket." It was to this statement that I replied then and now repeat with all the emphasis of my command that the persons who uttered these dire threats are not true Socialists and the sooner they quit, the better we are off.

It is within the range of possibility that the selection of Comrade Debs as presidential candidate did not suit the Socialist party. Suppose they would threaten to bolt the ticket on that count or even to work against the ticket? Would Comrade Debs consider them good Socialists? And still they would from their point of view say that they were not justified in that those who are dissatisfied with the selection of a campaign manager.

Comrade Debs, without committing himself on the merits of the controversy, asked the question whether he has been most frequently and insistently pressed upon him and his usual answers to them. They are as follows:

"First. Did you know that Barnes was to be made campaign manager? I did not.

"Second. Were you consulted about his election? I do not.

"Third. Do you approve of it? I do not."

With all due respect for Comrade Debs it seems to me that the questions and answers are somewhat irrelevant to the subject before us. The old parties consider the chief aim of political campaigns to elect their candidates. Their candidates are the prospective dispensers of favors and patronage, and the campaigns are largely their individual affairs. Thus we speak of Taft campaigns, the Roosevelt campaign and the Wilson campaign. The capitalist candidates therefore quite properly select their own cam-

Principles and Platform of America Social-Democracy

[National Platform.]

The Socialist party of the United States declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery, suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of millions of dollars from the producers. Unaided by any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water powers of every state in the Union.

In the spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt every home. Millions of wage-earners have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drugging, toll and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican, Democratic and all reform parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage-earners of this nation as humane a living as the capitalist class already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief

to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulatory measures, none of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave power before the Civil war.

We declare, therefore, that the longer suffering of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for the ends there will be and can be no remedy, and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning, the colleges and schools, and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added power of established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumber the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. It is a class of the weak and ineffective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between the various capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the

capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political oppression of the working class the only reliance left for the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of this organization and urges the wage-earning workers, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to Socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

Working Program.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the cooperative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of all the means of production and communication, and all large-scale industries.
2. The immediate expropriation by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.
3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all.
5. By scientific reforestation and timber production.
6. By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
7. By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
8. By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of oil and of the products of mines and oil wells.
9. By the development of highway and waterway systems.
10. The collective ownership of land wherever the holding of it in private hands is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation.
11. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency systems.
12. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assembly.
13. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the abolition of the present inheritance tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the property, to all forms of property.
14. The extension of democratic government to the United States territories.
15. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education, and the creation of a bureau of education to be made a department.
16. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health: the creation of an independent bureau of health with such powers as to secure full liberty for all schools of practice.
17. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the present bureau of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.
18. The abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals, the holding of all such jurisdiction in all cases arising from the laws of the United States and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for purely local terms.
19. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.
20. The abolition of the present provision for the revision of the constitution of the United States to force measures of relief as we may be able to secure through the present constitution of the workers to seize the whole powers of government for purely local use, and to lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

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Unemployment.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed is the demand of all public works to be engaged directly by the government, not through the present system of contracts and not less than a half in each week. The government also to establish employment bureaus in all cities and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying out the law and to increase other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demand.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the young, is well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the scientific production of machinery.
2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day in every week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of working conditions in all mines and other hazardous industries.
4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
5. By the cooperative organization of industries in federal penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of child labor, of convicts and of all unskilled and untrained men.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to cooperative groups of workers.
8. By establishing minimum wage scales.
9. By the abolition of the present system of substituting a non-paying official charity and subsidizing the products of child labor, of convicts and of all unskilled and untrained men.
10. By the abolition of the present system of substituting a non-paying official charity and subsidizing the products of child labor, of convicts and of all unskilled and untrained men.

Political Demands.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assembly.
2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the abolition of the present inheritance tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the property, to all forms of property.
3. The extension of democratic government to the United States territories.
4. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education, and the creation of a bureau of education to be made a department.
5. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health: the creation of an independent bureau of health with such powers as to secure full liberty for all schools of practice.
6. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the present bureau of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.
7. The abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals, the holding of all such jurisdiction in all cases arising from the laws of the United States and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for purely local terms.
8. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.
9. The abolition of the present provision for the revision of the constitution of the United States to force measures of relief as we may be able to secure through the present constitution of the workers to seize the whole powers of government for purely local use, and to lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

How Will You Vote This Year?

By R. A. DAGUE.

(Written for The Herald.)

The National platform for 1912 of the republican, the democratic and the people's parties are now before the people for their acceptance or rejection. There is, today, but one great vital fundamental and world-wide problem agitating the millions of people of this and of every other civilized nation on earth, and that is the economic or industrial problem involving the capital-labor question, child-slavery, the wage system, the rapid concentration of wealth into the hands of the few, and the poverty and enforced unemployment of the millions of industrial, honest working people.

On these great burning problems pressing hard for solution the two old party platforms are either silent or so smooth and diplomatic in language that their meaning has to be guessed at. Instead of the Chicago and Baltimore conventions seriously considering these problems which so seriously affect the tolling millions, they wrangled and fought like the lowest bullies of the slum over candidates and left the making of the platform to lawyers, representing the interests of capitalism, who so adroitly worded those declarations that they commit the parties to nothing definite that is vital to the content of the platform. They make the tariff an issue, but that has been used with which to fool the people for the past 50 years. All well-informed people know that the industrial problem is the all-important issue.

Senator La Follette, a republican, says that the trust now doing business in the United States are capitalized at \$33,000,000,000, and that 70 per cent

More Failures Than Ever

Capitalist editors may write about "our unbounded and unparalleled prosperity" and our party members may floundered about the number and size of our growing bank accounts, but if figures don't lie, the latest of Dun's financial report of failures for the last six months tells a significant and rather different story.

From this source comes the information that the number of business failures reported for the first six months of the year ended June 30, are greater than ever before. It is particularly noteworthy that the major portion of the failures is contributed by the small business man to whom the hope is held out by apologists for the system that they will surely evolve into Rockefeller and Carnegie, and they only exercise sufficient thrift, foresight and abstinence.

An examination of the statistics of commercial failures reported by R. G. Dun & Co., during the first six months of the year ended June 30, reveals an increase in both the number of defaults and in amount of liabilities over the corresponding period in 1911. The record shows 3,217 defaults in 1912, against 2,928 in 1911, and 2,794 in 1910, against 2,650 defaults in the first six months of 1911, with liabilities of \$103,995,034. It is noticeable, however, that the increase in number of defaults is greater relatively than the increase in the amount of liabilities, the former gaining nearly 18 per cent, and the latter only a trifle over 3 per cent. It follows, therefore, that the average liabilities per failure, was considerably less in 1912 than in the months that in the corresponding period of 1911, so that the characteristic feature of the period under review was that of an increase in number of small defaults, manufacturing failures numbered 1,298, against 1,294 a year ago; trading failures 6,070, against 5,037, and agents and brokers 319, compared with 231.

Obsolete Propaganda Methods

Many of our old methods of propaganda are quite outworn and obsolete. The small meetings at the street-corner, for instance, at which the same message is repeated every week, much better results could be obtained if the energy centered upon these were transferred to other channels. Men are brought from a distance to talk very largely to the same crowd week by week, and the people we want to reach are not there at all. The success which attended our street-corner propaganda in the past has meant that other organizations are copying our methods. They are beginning to do now what we have done for 20 years, with the result that in some favorable spot four or five meetings are often to be found proceeding simultaneously. Where that is the case, the value of propaganda is practically nil. Crowds are attracted not with the desire to learn, but with the anticipation of being amused. Under such conditions I feel that the case is absolutely hopeless and that Socialism

Out of the Depths: A Toller's Prayer

By EDWARD PORTER.

(Based on the application offered three times daily in the name of the strikers of Kalamazoo, Michigan, by one of their number, Joseph Casey.)

Father, a living wage we humbly do implore
That we may care for soul and body too.
Our rich employer has denied our pleas;
He has mistak'n the law to keep us from our right.
O Christ, who in Gethsemane did wait
Thro' the long night for false Iscariot,
Give of your blood forgiveness unto us
When they who promised aid prove faithless.
God help us all: Give us a living wage,
Lead us from out that cold and hungry path
Wherein we tread: We would walk straight,
We would hold fast our priceless heritage;
But—O Lord, this hard, and devil's work,
Cold, hunger, not only for ourselves
But for the helpless ones whose very life
Depends on us: What wonder if we pray!
O Jesus, humble toller, hear our prayer!
You who on the cross did die for us,
Forgive all those who treat us cruelly,
For it may be they know not what they do!
God help us: Give us a living wage!
Amen.

Too Much Traffic

P. V. Daniel, "Virginia Gentleman," was one of the general officers of the old Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad.

Even in those days, before the civil war, the road was prosperous, and at a meeting of the board of directors some progressive introduced a resolution to reduce the rate for passengers from 17 to 11 cents a mile.

Instantly Daniel, who was chairman, declared the motion "out of order."

"Why?" protested Daniel.

"If you do that you will have every rag-tag and bobtail in the state of Virginia riding on our road. That's why!"—Everybody's.

Wisconsin State Ticket

For Governor—
CARL D. THOMPSON, Milwaukee.
For Lieutenant Governor—
HENRY M. PARKS, Superior.
For State Treasurer—
HENRY J. AMMANN, Kiel.
For Secretary of State—
RAE WEAVER, Beaver Dam.
For Attorney General—
Lynn D. Jaepff, Green Bay.

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Our rich employer has denied our pleas;
He has mistak'n the law to keep us from our right.
O Christ, who in Gethsemane did wait
Thro' the long night for false Iscariot,
Give of your blood forgiveness unto us
When they who promised aid prove faithless.
God help us all: Give us a living wage,
Lead us from out that cold and hungry path
Wherein we tread: We would walk straight,
We would hold fast our priceless heritage;
But—O Lord, this hard, and devil's work,
Cold, hunger, not only for ourselves
But for the helpless ones whose very life
Depends on us: What wonder if we pray!
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Congressmen Put to Rout by Truths of Socialism

(Continued from 1st page.)

even a capitalist, may become a member of the political party of the working class if he agrees to aid us in the organization of the working class. We want an honest man in the party, not a man who is honest in his intentions to help us to bring about a complete change of the present system by sane and legal methods. (Applause.)

Mr. Buchanan—In Bad Party, the gentleman does not believe that Abraham Lincoln, who was the leader of the Republican party during the war at the time the slaves were freed, would also exercise his influence in trying to strike the shackles from the industrial slaves of today?

Mr. Berger—He would, if he lived today. Lincoln would, in my opinion, be a Socialist, if he lived today.

Mr. Buchanan—Is it not a fact, all it is not so much in the party as the men who control the party?

Mr. Berger—No. Men are the secondary consideration, principles are the primary. We want men of principle, of course, to carry out the program. But good men are useless or dangerous in the wrong party.

If You Want to Ride Horseback, You Will Not Take a Donkey.

Mr. Buchanan—Is it not a fact in this country, where the workmen have the ballot, their troubles are largely due to their own inactivity in politics and if they would exercise their united influence in politics it would put them in the position of controlling any party for themselves?

Mr. Berger—Mr. Speaker, the party must stand for what it believes in, and a certain group wants that party to stand, and must be made up accordingly.

Mr. Buchanan—And would not any party serve their purpose if the working people would control the party?

Mr. Berger—No! No! No! If you want to ride horseback, you will not take a donkey. (Laughter.) The two old parties represent certain groups in the interests of the capitalist class. Both of these parties are made up accordingly. They can never represent the working class.

The Democratic party and the Republican party have certain principles, certain ideas for which they stand. Their aim, their platform is capitalistic. They could not abolish the present system of exploitation without abolishing themselves. You can not expect a tiger to eat grass and a wolf to live on berries. (Laughter.)

Honest Capitalist Leaders Are Loyal to Capitalist Interests.

The more honest the leaders of the old parties are, the more they will try to abolish the principles of the platform; the more loyal will they be to the capitalistic interest, which they represent.

Goal of Socialist Party

Mr. Cline—Mr. Speaker, I understood the gentleman to say in his address that the Socialist party was in favor of common ownership of most public agencies of production and distribution.

Mr. Berger—For the collective ownership and the democratic management of the social means of production and distribution.

Mr. Cline—I want to understand to what extent you carry that doctrine and who and how are the beneficiaries to derive the profits of it.

Mr. Berger—Well, the Socialist party stands for the collective ownership of the social means of production and distribution.

Mr. Cline—How are you going to evolve the system?

A Natural and Scientific Organization of Society.

Mr. Berger—We believe that everything that is necessary for the life of the nation, for the enjoyment of everybody within the nation, the means of production and management, therefore we shall take over the means of production, for instance, not only street cars and light and heating plants, but also abattoirs, public bath shops, the distribution of mail, and so forth. Everything that the individual can own and manage best the individual is to own and manage. That is simple enough.

In other words, the trust as a business has reached a stage where it is no longer in the private hands of the nation as long as it is in private hands. It can only be managed by the nation for the profit of everybody. The same holds good for certain private monopolies in cities, as far as the cities are concerned.

The Nation Could Get These Properties Easier Than The Trusts

Mr. Cline—How are you going to change the present economic basis? Give us a concrete statement of that proposition.

Mr. Berger—That is easy enough. We could surely get the trust properties in the same way as the trusts. The trusts paid for their properties almost entirely in watered stock, preferred and common. We can give the best security in existence today—United States bonds.

Mr. Cline—Have the government buy them?

Mr. Berger—Have the government buy the trust properties. Why not? But pay only for the actual value. That will be paid for out of the profits of the trusts, every cent of it.

Mr. Barthold—Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger—Yes, sir; for a question.

Mr. Barthold—I merely wish to make a correction here. It may not be important to the gentleman from Wisconsin, but it is of sound importance to the people who are to judge between the two parties—the Democratic and the Republican. I would like to say that the original eight hour law was placed upon the statute books by the Republican party, signed by a Republican president; that since that time a bill which has recently been passed has been reported every year to this house by a Republican committee on labor and was passed twice by a Republican house and was hung up in the senate. I merely state that as a correction.

Mr. Berger—That is not a question, though.

Mr. Dyer—It is information, though.

Mr. Anderson Asks One More Question and Gets an Unexpected Answer.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio—For just a short question. I have always taken a great interest in matters of labor legislation. We agreed to that; do not tell us that.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio—Speaking of the eight hour bill, the gentleman claimed that he voted for all labor measures. Now, the bill went to the senate and was reported every year, but it came back was the gentleman pres-

Hanford Resigned to Protect Higher-Ups

SEATTLE, Washington.—Despite the statements of Federal Judge Hanford and his counsel that the judge resigned yesterday because his health was poor, the impression was general today that the resignation was really presented in an effort to prevent sensational disclosures which might prove serious to powerful associates of the judge. So strong is this impression that many attorneys are planning to demand that Attorney General Wickersham take up the investigation where the congressional sub-committee dropped it and pursue it to the end.

They believe it will disclose a state of affairs which will demand immediate correction.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Investigation by a federal grand jury of the causes leading up to Judge Hanford's resignation while under fear of possible impeachment was threatened today by Representative Berger, the Wisconsin Socialist. He said he would ask the attorney general to have a jury called in Seattle, and, if the attorney general refuses to act, will introduce a resolution in the house.

"I am informed that half a dozen millionaires or other representatives of 'big business' induced Hanford to resign," said Berger. "Anyway, Hanford, his secretary and all his friends got rich while Hanford was on the bench. Then these millionaires induced Hanford to resign to save themselves from exposure in the investigation. I propose to show them up, although dropping the impeachment proceedings."

Nonpartisans in League with Street Railway

By the resuming Mayor Bading's veto of the street railway company's plan for band concerts in Kilbourn park, the "non-partisans" in the common council Monday night placed themselves in the position of soliciting and demanding the franchise for the street railway company.

When the mayor's veto message was read, Alderman Bogk, the majority mouthpiece, explained to protesting members that the street railway company had agreed to have its band give a concert in the park, and that the mayor had asked the street railway company to do so, and that that the company had consented.

"I am surprised at the offer of the street railway company," said Alderman Krzycki. "I am surprised at the offer of my friends in the majority to accept this offer. If the street railway company is doing this you may be sure that it has something in view; the company has the habit of giving something for nothing."

"We need better car service in the city, but the company says that it has not the money to furnish it. Yet it has enough money for this. If the company has the money to furnish it, spend it for better service, and not grant favors to the city administration, which imply favors in return."

The action of the majority was defended by Alderman Kneay, who said that the company would return the return in the increased fares to the parks because of the concerts.

"I know that the men on the street cars are not getting the wages they should," he admitted, "but I know that better service is needed."

The unexpected happened last week—almost as unexpected as smoke arising from a cat's tail when it inadvertently jumps on a red hot stove—when the special committees of the Yockey-Schinz controlled Republican and Democratic organizations reported Friday night that the fusion plan was O. K.

Marvelous in its penetration and originality was the resolution adopted. Now that the game is to beat the Social-Democrats the committees were staunch in asserting the best results in government, county as well as municipal, are best secured through officials who are nominated and elected and who represent non-partisanship, majority instead of minority sentiment.

Another "new and original" statement was made, namely, "we assert our belief in and strict adherence to that fundamental law in all governments by the people, that the majority should rule."

At present the political checker-board looks as follows:

The Democrats will contest at the primaries for sheriff, register of deeds, county surveyor and county clerk. The Republicans will contest for offices of district attorney, clerk of courts, county treasurer and coroner. There may be a fusion along congressional lines. The ward chairmen of the two parties are very anxious towards to determine who shall be the nominees for the assembly and senate. In the meantime supporters of the straight Republican ticket, which was

More Senator Dague Stories

When I was a lad 60 years ago the marvelous age of machinery was just making its appearance. Well do I remember the hand-spinning wheel, the loom, the scythe, sickle, hand saw, and the fact the farming and numerous simple tools with which all farming and nearly all manufacturing was carried on. Nearly every farmer made the shoes for his family, and his wife spun the yarn and wove the cloth which clothed them. I distinctly remember the first cook stove in our village in central Ohio. It was

