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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 392

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, September 12, 1908

Price Five Cents

WILL YOU BE A POLITICAL SCAB

For President:

EUGENE V. DEBS, the Fireman

For Vice-President:

BEN HANFORD, the Printer

PLATFORM FOR ONE CLASS

The struggle between wage-workers and capitalists has now become the only vital issue before the American people.

For President:

WM. J. BRYAN, Lawyer

For Vice-President:

JOHN. W. KERN, Lawyer

PLATFORM FOR BOTH CLASSES

Bryan says: "The Democratic platform does not favor one class against any other class. It breathes the spirit of reconciliation between Capital and Labor."

Platform of the Socialist Party of the United States

PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor under the control of small and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class. (As adopted by the National Convention, this should read after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

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

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

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

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

To maintain their rule over their

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

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

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for ex-

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

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

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

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

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working-

class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

PLATFORM FOR 1908

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for

their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

"Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

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

"Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic and the so-called 'Independence' parties and all parties other than the Socialist Party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

"In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in

power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the South, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

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

PROGRAM

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

General Demands

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

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

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

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

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

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

Industrial Demands

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

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

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

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

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

Political Demands

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

"9.—A graduated income tax.

"10.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we

Washington Socialist Party Platform and Ticket

The Socialist Party of the State of Washington endorses the Principles of International Socialism and of the Socialist Party of the United States. For the campaign of 1908 we present to the voters of this state the following declarations of our principles and program:

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.
5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society, is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletarian Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but abolish all other classes as well.

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletarian Class and to use political power to that end.

This is the Proletarian Revolution.

8. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executives, legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class while it is still in power, such concessions as we can.

Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combinations known as the Trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will, therefore, continue to exist in full power so long as the Proletariat remains a subject and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man." The wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

"Proletarians of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

Washington Socialist Ticket

Presidential Electors.	Lieutenant Governor.
G. W. Morris Arlington	W. E. Tibbets Everett
J. G. Elliott Colfax	Supreme Court Judges.
J. E. Jones Buckley	W. E. Richardson Spokane
C. L. Whiting Snohomish	E. J. Brown Seattle
W. H. Harris Centralia	Congressmen.
	D. Burgess Seattle, No. Dist.
	Emil Herman Tacoma, So. Dist.
Governor.	E. S. REINERT Section Hand
Geo. E. Boemer Prosser	

Secretary of State.	Bangor
E. E. Martin	State Auditor.
C. S. Rood	Riverside
State Treasurer.	Vancouver
W. H. Hetzer	Attorney General.
A. B. Callahan	Seattle
Superintendent Public Instruction.	
(To be Filled.)	
Land Commissioner.	Buckley
Derringer	

King County Ticket

For Sheriff.	Carpenter
J. A. McCORKLE	For Clerk.
U. G. MOORE	Accountant
For Auditor.	Printer
E. B. AULT	For Treasurer.
J. C. STEVENS	Carpenter
For Prosecuting Attorney.	To be filled by committee.
	For Assessor.
J. G. JUHLIN	Painter
For Superintendent of Schools.	Teacher
J. E. SINCLAIR	For Coroner.
DR. L. O. FISET	Physician
For Representatives.	
Forty-first District—	
OSCAR JOHNSON	Farmer, Richmond Beach
Forty-second District—	
JOHN W. GEHRKE	Engraver
D. J. ITEN	
Forty-third District—	
JOHN WILLOW	Carpenter
JOHN SOLAR	Sewer Workman
Forty-fourth District—	
A. P. A. Seidel	Machinist
MARK LEITES	Commercial Traveler
Forty-fifth District—	
DR. H. F. TITUS	Physician
B. KUBASKI	Tailor
Forty-sixth District—	
W. S. FARBS	Carpenter
JOHN DOWNIE	Carpenter
Forty-seventh District—	
C. H. THOMAS	Bollermaker
O. A. Anderson	Longshoreman
For Justices of the Peace.	
Seattle—	
H. O. HAUOKOS	Carpenter
A. WAGENKNECHT	Bartender
JAMES NIELSON	Pressman
Buena Precinct—	
JAMES LUND	Farmer

Continued on Page Four

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THIRD AND VINE STREET.

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BY J. EDWARD MORGAN

En Route to New York

Wait a minute, hold my grip sack,
There's a cinder in my eye!
All right, comrade—where's the soap
box?
Lordy, but my throat is dry!

Got a lemon? Holy Caesar!
Here's what nerves me for the
fight;
Soap box, lemons, torch and water,
Say, old pals, your bunch is right!

Who's that fat guy, fired and bloated,
Punched out like a poisoned pup?
"Bryan Rooter?" Hold my sky piece!
Watch him while I rip him up.

There are others, sleek and sassy,
See them by that big bull's side?
Social bedbugs, Bryan boosters—
Lord! I'll skin them hair and hide!

Any others? No more guttions?
Taft and Bryan boosters gone?
All converted! Debs and Hanford!
Shake, my train is due at dawn.

In last week's letter I touched on
the situation in Nebraska and prom-
ised more this week. I wish I hadn't,
I was badly disappointed when ar-
riving in Omaha, en route, as I ex-
pected, to the far east—I received in-
structions from the National Secre-
tary to remain in Nebraska for about
15 days. The route took me to small
villages—no one seemed to be aware
of my coming. What few Socialists
I found were apathetic, if not alto-
gether discouraged. There had been a
deal of free lancing in the state, a
blunder that the little handful of So-
cialists at these small points were
loath to bear. Finding, after going to
several small places that I had not
been routed, I concluded it best to
go to the larger places. So I wrote
to Comrade Barnes that I would can-
cel some of the dates in the sand
hills. Went to Grand Island and agi-
tated, having very successful meet-
ings, finding a live group of Social-
ists.

Was taken sick, went to my old
home at Clark, Neb., and remained
several days with my aged parents.
Was advised by physicians that I
would have to give up speaking, as I
had a badly injured side. In the
meantime the National office was
"up in the air" over my failure to
make all those dates. I missed an
important letter and telegram. Got
up from a sick bed and went to
Schuyler, Neb., where we had a
splendid meeting. Boys hired a band
to gather a crowd and we made many
converts to the cause. Proceeded to
Norfolk, but the train was late and
I could not hold meeting. Barnes wired
me at Omaha to come direct to Chi-
cago. I stopped Saturday night in
Omaha and had fully 2,000 people on
the corner of Fifteenth and Douglas.
Had to burn up the fat and sassy
Bryan rooters, and the cheers that
went up from that vast crowd for
Debs and Hanford put the quietus on
the Bryan parasites. Missed the com-
munication from Barnes, as it arrived
too late. So I knew nothing of the
cancelling of points in Iowa. I drop-
ped off all along the way, to find all
dates cancelled. Discouraged and as
mad as most hornets get, I hustled up
a crowd and held meetings at most
points—the best and biggest meeting
they say they have had for three
years in Dubuque. But I had to start
after 9 p. m., as I was a stranger in
a strange city, and it took a long time
to find the comrades.

Well, I got to Chicago. I felt I had
an awful fine kick coming—but I
found the National Secretary a ver-
itable black hornet with a stinger
stuck out a foot and a half long. It
seems that comrades at Burwell, Neb.,
hired the opera house and I failed of
course to be there, as I was down
upon my back with a badly injured
side. Well, two hornets met in the
National office. There was buzzing
and sparring—then came explanations.
It was hard to tell which had the
greatest grievance—the "poet agitator"
felt that he had been "treated as a
yellow dog" and there was grave
danger at one point of an eruption
that seemed fair to blow up the
National office. I think it was at
this point when the National Secre-
tary called the agitator an "ass" for
cancelling the sand hill dates: "Mor-
gan, I hate to tell you what's on my
mind. I think you are an ass!"
Holy smoke! Morgan had something
on his mind. He had been nursing
his ire for two weeks—it was in fine
condition. He began to say things
for which he is actually sorry, now
that "explanations" have been made
for the mix-up in the Nebraska and
Iowa dates. I have inscribed a deli-
cate little ditty to Comrade Barnes
to help smooth over the rough spots
in the harrowed feelings of the two
of us. We will all rise and sing this
song and then we will go back to
the Nebraska movement.

The congregation will please rise.
DON'T CALL HIM AN ASS.
Tune, "Johnny, Keep a Jumping."
Dedicated to my good friend J. Mah-
lin Barnes.
If you route an agitator and he
chases round the state,
Anywhere, everywhere he pleases
while you wait,

And you write him and you wire
him and you try to call him
back,
And you can't keep a double-barrelled
bulldog on his track,
And he looms up fresh from no-
where, with a convalescent smile,
With a belly full of grievances and a
liver full of bile;
Chorus.
Don't call him an ass—if he don't eat
grass,
But say "You're O. K. if you could
only eat hay,
I'd ask you to make a little noise
like a bray."
Don't say what's on your mind, for
it wouldn't sound kind,
And an ass never likes to be pricked
from behind.

Now back to Nebraska, and I hate
like the mischief to go back there, as
I am bound for New York.
I said that I believed, generally
speaking, that the occasion for fac-
tionalism in Nebraska had passed—
that many old-time Utopians and
"Populists" were now the most de-
cidedly "revolutionary," leaning even
toward no political action, and that
old feuds and personal feelings were
kept alive and burning brightly by
treacherous propaganda and materi-
al sacrifice. It is a mistake to assume that
all the Marxians are on one side
and that all the Sentimentalists are
on the other—or that all the honest,
loyal comrades are on one side and
all the dishonest and trimmers are
on the other—for such is not the
case.

Capable and efficient comrades are
to be found on either side. Stranger
by far, on the side of the Marxians
—ultra revolutionists, and sticklers
for a clear cut proletarian movement,
I found extreme idealists, and many
middle-class comrades, owning stores,
bake shops, restaurants, cigar fac-
tories and farms. Particularly is this
true of the Schuyler Local, that have
been loyal to the old-time and origi-
nal movement for which Comrade J.
P. Roe has been State Secretary for
a number of years. Now these Schuy-
ler comrades, while acknowledged to
be middle class, are as clear headed
a group as I have met in Nebraska.
Comrades Dr. Cronin and De Forest
are among the ablest we have in
Nebraska, and it is an inspiration to
visit with them. But Dr. Cronin
drives a fine auto and De Forest is a
retired farmer with plenty to keep
him through life—if his enthusiasm
doesn't lead him to spend it all in the
Socialist movement. And these com-
rades in Schuyler are not grouchy
with their money when they see a
chance to put in a lick for Socialism.
It is likewise true of Grand Island
and North Platte and Kearney. Com-
rade Roe's staunch supporters are not
all of the genuine wage workers—
but for the most part are small busi-
ness men and some of them not so
small, either (financially speaking).
On the other hand many actual wage
workers support Comrade Porter;
they believe he is sincere and a good
organizer. It is a mistake to assume
that he is not well read. He is a
student and bending eagerly to the
vast fund of knowledge in our mag-
nificent literature. Many who de-
nounce him as "half baked" are not
as well read in Marx. His methods
and tactics I only know from hearsay,
but after having a long talk with
him I left Omaha feeling that Com-
rade Porter has it in him to do a
deal of excellent work for the cause
of the toiler.

Sincerity is ever the foremost test
with me. Tactics, methods and the
proletarian philosophy can only come
to those who come to us from other
classes, by experience rubbing up
against the rebels with the "blood of
slaves of past centuries in their
veins," will in time compel even
preachers and teachers, small busi-
ness men and farmers to accept the
working class ideals and their way
out of bondage. I verily believe that
Dr. Grear of Colorado, an erstwhile
preacher, will soon be among the
foremost Marxian agitators, altho'
many comrades fought his advent into
the party. He is a powerful preacher,
and above all has shown a tremen-
dous desire to fully comprehend the
class struggle as taught by Marx.
With Nebraska reorganized a strong
movement will appear in Nebraska,
as there are many real stalwarts in
the state. The long fight, tho' bitter
and seemingly needless, after all, has

had a stimulating effect—for the bel-
ligerents have been forced to do a
deal of reading and reflecting; all
have advanced mentally. If only the
first clear-headed ones would be as
wise as they are scientific and be
prompt to acknowledge progress wher-
ever it is made, then a real progres-
sive movement would appear—for all
have progressed. Some even beyond
their old-time critics and teachers,
who now thro' spleen or thoughtless-
ness are loth to regard them as sin-
cere comrades on equal intellectual
footing with themselves.

The comrades in Sioux City years
ago cancelled a meeting arranged for
me when they heard me ask who was
Marx. And I suppose to this day
they have the same old opinion of me
—that I am a "slight sentimentalist"
—fit only to agitate among old wom-
en and children. Yet I have studied,
and studied hard, done a deal of
thinking, have travelled some among
my class. Why should I not make
progress just as my comrades else-
where?

A word about Comrade Roe of
Omaha. Where have I met so de-
voted a Socialist? Year after year
he gave his energies to the cause,
without reward. He is an able and
convincing speaker—thoroughly read
and for years his home in Omaha
was the rendezvous of all the So-
cialist speakers en route. His wife,
for a long time President of the Na-
tional Woman's Socialist movement,
organized the women of Omaha, got
up socials, taught a children's club
and kept the Omaha movement alive
by the splendid enthusiasm she put
into her work.

So with the whole Roe family—the
children were all agitators and boost-
ers for Socialist papers—carrying
away the prizes offered by the "Ap-
peal to Reason."

I am sure Comrade Roe is abso-
lutely above reproach. All his fight,
whatever the course it has taken,
is inspired by his devotion to the
cause he has served so loyally
so many years. He firmly believes
he is right—that the Nebraska move-
ment has been sidetracked from its
straight revolutionary course. He is
fighting to bring it back to the true
course it should pursue. In the bit-
terness of the contest, as is to be ex-
pected, harsh things have been said,
motives have been questioned, pro
and con the lie has been given—tit
for tat—insincerity and sordid crafti-
ness have been charged, and it takes
time for these harrowed feelings to
die out.

Can you wonder that I was anxious
to get out of Nebraska? My old-time
connection with the movement dis-
qualifies me as an organizer after
having so close an acquaintance with
the first row that broke out in
Omaha. Nebraska will soon be again
in the advance guard—and I am
anxious to see my native state in line
a united, revolutionary organization,
with all of its factionalism overcome.
Will report on Iowa, Indiana and Ohio
movements in my next.
(Columbus, Ohio, Aug. 30th.)

Twenty-Five Cents for the cam-
paign is cheap. Five for the cam-
paign for a Dollar is cheaper. You
can do something with this rate. Get
busy.

"THE APPEAL," MISSOURI AND
WISCONSIN.
"Walter Thomas Mills began on
August 16 a speaking tour for Debs
and Hanford. After speaking for fif-
teen days in the State of Washington,
he will go to Missouri for ten days and
to Wisconsin twenty days. Applica-
tions for other dates should be ad-
dressed to Mr. Mills direct. Write to
him in care of S. E. Hilderbrand, 212
South Fourth street, St. Louis, until
Sept. 18. After that, in care of E. H.
Thomas, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee,
Wis."

This appeared in the "Appeal to
Reason" of Aug. 29, 1908. "The Ap-
peal" knows perfectly well that W. T.
Mills was expelled from the Socialist
Party of the State of Washington for
Compromise and Fusion. Yet it pub-
lishes the above notice and still per-
tends to be for Socialist organization.
Whether Mills is really to speak in
Missouri and Wisconsin or not we do
not know. If the announcement of
dates in those States is as true as that
for Washington, then Mills will not
speak at all, for he had only one date
in Washington and that was promptly
condemned by the State organization
and repudiated by the Local concern-
ed. If Missouri and Wisconsin do
employ Mills, then those State organiza-
tions brand themselves as condoning
Mills' compromise tactics.

Free literature is being distributed
from house to house every Sunday in
Seattle. Sales are pushed at all the
street meetings.

Dreamland Rink is the biggest audi-
torium in Seattle, accommodating some
3,000 people. It is at the corner of
Seventh avenue and Union street.
All the Third Avenue cars go there;
also the Pike street cars. Get off at
Seventh avenue.

Special Subscription Cards good for
campaign, Five for a Dollar. Order
a bunch right away and sell them for
a quarter apiece.
National Organizer Guy E. Miller re-
ports from Skowhegan, Me., as fol-
lows: "Republicans had a band con-
cert and rally in opposition to our
meeting. About fifty attended the Re-
publican meeting; there were five hun-
dred or more at ours. There will cer-
tainly be a heavy increase in the So-
cialist vote here."

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THE NATION

BY GUSTAV BANG

TRANSLATED FROM THE DANISH IN "SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN" BY ARTHUR JENSEN

2. The Modern National Consciousness

We have seen how the modern Nation and the feelings and ideas which it gives rise to, have developed through a historical process of evolution, a series of social forces in the dawning age of Capitalism having concurred in creating the conditions for their existence. Patriotism is not an inbred sentiment born by nature such as love between Man and Woman or a Mother's love. It has been acquired and has developed only through certain historical antecedents, which, of course, does not prevent it from being as strong and true a sentiment as any other.

As the national feeling thus is a product of historical evolution, so does it change through the constantly continued historical evolution—changes its nature and character. The Patriotism which animates the modern thinking man of our time is of a different quality than the one which existed at the time of his grandparents, although it may be as deep and warm. The question then arises, how is the national consciousness being transformed by modern Capitalist society?

Capitalism in its earliest form gave birth to the formation of the Nation in its modern sense, and with it the conscious national feeling. At that time and even much later the activity of capital was limited exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the trading life—to the exchange of commodities. It did not as yet touch the production of commodities. Its political effect was to bring together the various parts of the people into a homogeneous whole. The old barriers which had hitherto separated one village, one town and one region from other villages, towns and regions were violently broken down by the constantly growing power of the trading class, while at the same time the national boundaries were drawn sharper than ever. A strongly centralized State power formed the bond between the members of the Nation.

The effects of capital nowadays are quite different, as it is no longer the Capitalistic-exchange of commodities but the Capitalistic production of commodities which determines the form of society. As capital thus in its earliest form created the possibility for the development of a national consciousness, so it now in its present form creates a more and more threatening danger against the further existence of the national consciousness. While it formerly wiped out differences and broke down barriers, it now creates a new, deeper and more fatal chasm than any of old—a chasm which is not of a local but of a social nature between capitalists and proletarians, between propertied and propertyless. The Capitalist mode of production cripples the Nation by dividing it into two Nations. "Two Nations between which no social intercourse and no sympathy can exist; two Nations as unacquainted with one another's habits, thoughts and sentiments as if they lived under different zones or inhabited different planets; two Nations with different birth, eating different food, having different customs and governed by different laws." Thus spoke the English statesman and

poet, Disraeli, half a century ago. The internal cleavage caused by the Capitalist mode of production can work only as a danger to the national consciousness. Men within the same Nation are constantly and irreconcilably standing opposed to one another, fighting each other in a continual civil war in which each contending side is trying to take to itself advantages at the expense of the other side.

And the Class Struggle, which is going on within each and every Nation becomes much more dangerous as by virtue of its entire nature it necessarily must be international. Capitalism is international and it draws the same dividing line through the people of all countries. Everywhere the propertied and propertyless find themselves in the same relation to one another, and they naturally look out over the boundaries of their own country and follow with growing sympathy the struggles of their respective classes in foreign countries. As time passes and modern society develops, every victory or every defeat in one country produces effects in other countries and causes progress or reaction. The Capitalists practice international class consciousness in secret, while they at the same time are anxious to show their patriotism, which all too often is a glaring contrast to their actions. "Always ready to return a favor," was the slogan sent to the German by the Danish buyers of labor power in 1899 when an attempt was made to starve the Danish workers into submission. This is a sentence which has since then burned itself into the minds of every workman. The Wage Workers, on the other hand, practice their international sympathies openly and honestly, acknowledge them, and through their feelings towards their fighting brothers in foreign countries they gain one of the highest and most beautiful culture values of our era.

When, in spite of this international character, the Working Class and its political organization, the Social Democracy, nevertheless becomes saturated with a national feeling fully as deep as the one which animates any other part of the people, it is because of another current, which also is a result of the development of modern society. It is because of the change which is taking place in the national consciousness as a result of the international life becoming stronger and richer.

In the old days when communication between different countries was comparatively insignificant and one rarely became acquainted with foreigners except when they came in hostile armies to rob and plunder, it naturally was the feeling of opposition, the feeling of hostility towards other countries which became the predominating element in the national consciousness. The foreigner was the enemy and it was the Nation's first problem to stand united against its enemies. Patriotism and war enthusiasm, national feeling and national hatred were all ideas which overlapped one another. Quite otherwise nowadays, when the means of communication and the press have brought and are still bringing us nearer to foreign countries. Our conception of people in foreign Nations is no longer as something hostile, or even as something not concerning us. We conceive of them as human beings of the same kind as ourselves, even though their language may be unknown and many characteristics of their thought and culture incomprehensible to us. We read of the sufferings of the soldiers in the Russo-Japanese war with a feeling, perhaps, different in degree but not in kind from the one we would experience if they were our own countrymen. We follow the phases of the Russian Revolution as if it took place immediately outside our own windows. The idea "Man" stands forth with a far different strength than ever before.

And this natural understanding and international sympathy reacts in turn on the national consciousness in a strengthening manner.

The modern man does not alone become acquainted with foreign nationalities, but through this acquaintance he also acquires more knowledge about his own nationality. He learns not alone the similarities which the him and his countrymen to foreign people, but also the differences which separate them from one another. He who has been among foreigners for a longer time and comes in daily contact with them is most receptive to this influence. He never feels quite at home, at least not until he has adapted himself to the new social surroundings through a long and difficult process. A certain harmony is lacking which is difficult to explain or understand, but which is always felt. It is not alone the Russians and the Italians who on many questions, often in the most surprising ways, see, think and judge differently from the Danes, express themselves differently, enjoy another kind of wit, view art and nature differently; but this is true in a lesser degree of Germans and English as well—yes, sometimes even of Norwegians and Swedes. The difference in national character, or, rather, in national temperament, becomes apparent. One feels homeless as if he were torn away from his natural surroundings; a sort of national homesickness seizes one, so to speak. The conditions in the home country acquire a particularly deep color. And through all this the national consciousness becomes filled with warmth and intimacy which can be developed only through international intercourse. There is no hatred towards the foreigner in this feeling, but only a strengthening of the feeling of solidarity towards one's countrymen. And what the individual thus feels in a condensed form little by little seizes the entire Nation as its horizon constantly widens to include the culture of other Nations.

The national consciousness is in this way not alone awakened to new life, but the national feeling of responsibility at the same time becomes sharpened.

A view of the world reveals an incessant movement forward; shows that humanity is constantly advancing. We all partake in this movement. All progress in civilization on this earthly sphere, no matter where it may take place, has to a greater or less extent an international effect. But in a very large degree progress nevertheless takes place within the national frames. Each individual Nation gives expression to its own peculiarities. Take, for instance, the authors of modern Norway, first of all Ibsen, next men like Bjornson, Lie and Hamsun; these are writers whose works are read the world over, whose ideas are digested and adopted by people belonging to the greatest variety of civilized Nations, and they nevertheless wear a strong national impression; they form no school by any mutual agreement, but they each in their way give expression to mental currents which in social surroundings as in Norway have especially favorable conditions for development. In the same way with the direction in English industrial art, with which is connected such names as Ruskin, Morris and Crane; it has as its basis English customs and English national temperament. And it is similar with progressive movements of a purely material nature. The co-operative movement of the Danish farmers and the Trades Union movement of the Danish Wage Workers are each in their own way nationally colored. Even the most international of all modern social movements—the Socialist Movement—is thus influenced by the special political situation, the special social conditions and the special national characteristics of the people in which it appears. Its principles and its aim are everywhere the same, but the tactics are different. In Germany the Social Democracy wins by altogether different methods than in England, where the Working Class possesses a so pronounced "practical" sense and displays so surprisingly little "theoretical" interest. The same Socialist agitation speech which holds the attention of the emotional Italian workers would leave the minds of an audience of Danish Workmen untouched.

In spite of all international feeling of solidarity and all international unity of thought, in our innermost we feel tied to the national social surroundings in which we have grown up and which we understand in its finest details. Here we have our problems, here we have our field of action. Not in the sense that we are desirous of excluding foreign social influences; on the contrary, the wider the door is thrown open to the great world, the greater opportunities we will have to receive new impulses, acquire new material for thought, to be made fertile and transformed into national values of culture. This is true of the few great men whose lives mark the determining crisis in a Nation's social development—Holberg and Brandes, for instance, to name two examples from the history of the Danish mental culture—but it is also true of the great mass of people, the millions of single individuals who, each within their circle of activity, are factors in elevating the country to a higher standard of civilization.

It is an entirely new ideal which thus arises; it is a series of entirely new feelings which is thus developed. The Nation, as the society of culture, is the goal held in view by the modern thinking man. Every act tending in this direction is regarded with joy as a noble national deed, while everything tending to lower our national standard of culture fills us with indignation. Drachmann's poetry, Kroyer's art, Finzen's discovery of light as a source of health, the restless striving of the Working Class to elevate its conditions—all this awakens our national pride. The law providing for corporal punishment, the reactionary politics of the farming interests, the importation of the Poles for the purpose of lowering the standard of living of the Danish worker, all this brings the blush of shame to our cheeks.

Through the social development of our age, the national consciousness and the national feeling of responsibility thus in constantly increasing degree gets a new, richer and stronger tinge.

In the following article we will view more closely the position of the Socialist Movement towards the national question.

THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

The children of Local Seattle, with their red flags (the two are inseparable) are to be a part of the committee to greet Comrade Debs when the Red special looms into sight next Tuesday afternoon!

I have heard many remarks like the following: "Who wants to see a lot of kids get up there." "The children can be used for stage decoration. That's about all you would have them there for," etc. I think any one who really feels like that, whether it be a man or woman, has something lacking in his or her make-up and the thing that is lacking is the quality which goes to make up what sweetness there is left in this work-a-day world. Are children—or are they not—a factor in the industrial world? They certainly are if three million little slaves under fifteen years are any criterion, and for any one to act as if they had no place on a Socialist presidential campaign platform is proof that that person is willing to agree to some of our party principles theoretically, but is not willing to put those principles into practice.

If I had my way those children would carry a big banner with the words, "Socialism is the only party or organization that stands for the abolition of child slavery," and I'd have the women carry one, saying, "Socialism stands for political economic and social emancipation of women."

If there are any people who wouldn't be stirred by seeing those children and by hearing their call to arms they are so benighted that the Socialist Party nor any other party would do them any good.

Woman can get out and fight for her rights, as she is doing the world over, and as men have done and are doing, but can the child do it? No, you bet they can't, and if they know enough to try they'd have the life whaled out of them for the attempt!

There is no other party that would dare to put a child up on its platform while that party supports the present system of exploitation! and no other party who would dare to allow a woman on its platform, while denying her the rights she is entitled to, and I for one see no reason in following the examples of the old parties.

If our friend Dr. Matthews could only rake up one more brain cell (the four he has being occupied by politics, liquor men, women and MATTHEWS, respectively) it might dawn on him that he is saving the Woman Suffragists a whole lot of trouble, for his propaganda is so active that their can well be confined to advertising and seeking him on. Isn't it rich? and the richest part of all is that he doesn't see it!

I print here the following: (To be sung to the tune of "Reuben, Reuben, I've been thinking.")

Matthews, Matthews, I've been thinking,
You are not so very wise,
For your silly, stupid preachings
Help to hasten our franchise.

Women, women, I've been thinking,
When we get the vote we need,
We can say, "Ta ta" to Matthews,
And exterminate the breed.

I have been told that the women's clubs of Denver have endorsed the Socialist Party principles. That sounds pretty good to me!

"Mother" Jones says—"Socialist Woman" "You'll never be a real woman until you've been in jail for Socialism." And she also makes the following pertinent remark: "When he's talking about race suicide why don't President Roosevelt say something to his own daughter? She's been married long enough to do something for her country along that line." (Bully for "Mother" Jones!)

The Woman's Socialist Educational Club of Seattle held another of its enjoyable social nights on the evening of the second of September. During the evening a discussion ensued on "Socialist Women and Street Work," which brought out expressions from some of our more quiet members. Miss Sara Hull contributed to the enjoyment with a reading. Six new members were taken in at this meeting and altogether it was most satisfactory. After partaking of assorted fruits the meeting adjourned.

The offer of \$6.00 a Thousand in bundles of Five Hundred or more is advantage of it. Get yours to try it.

When the soldiers were called out for strike duty against the miners in Alabama, one Lieutenant promptly sent in his resignation with the statement that he had not enlisted to shoot down American workmen.

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DR. TITUS has resumed the practice of medicine. Rooms 313-314 Heusy Block, corner Third Avenue and Pike Street.

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Phones: Office, Main 4823, Ind. A 2461 Res., Georgetown, Main 5424

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PHYSICIAN and SURGEON.
Hours: 10 to 12 A. M.; 2 to 5 P. M.
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DR. FREDERICK FALK, Physician and Surgeon—Office hours 10-12 a. m., 2-4 p. m., Sundays and evenings by appointment. Phones: Office L3696, Residence L367, Main 5649, 301-302 Washington Bldg., 705 First Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON STEWART, Physician and Surgeon—Residence 923 Twelfth Avenue S., Besaco Hill. Office 609 Pioneer Block, Pioneer Place, Seattle, Wash.

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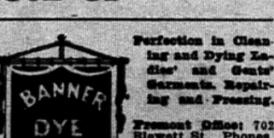
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Fremont Office: 702 Blewett St. Phone, Ind. 312, 473, Sunset North 1083.
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Better job printing than you can get elsewhere at the Trustee Printing Company office. Patronize your own class press and see the results in the improvement of "The Socialist."

Entered as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Washington, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1907.

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All remittances should be made payable to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY. All business communications should be addressed to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY, Box 1673, Seattle, Wash.

- HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; ERWIN B. AULT, Managing Editor; HATTIE W. TITUS, Advertising Manager; RYAN WALKER, Cartoonist; JOHN F. HART, Cartoonist; RICHARD KRUEGER, Washington State Editor; THOS. J. COONROD, Idaho State Editor; THOS. A. SLADDEN, Oregon State Editor.

WILL YOU BE A POLITICAL SCAB

courts and County Clerks will then accept our filings without fees.

See Page One. The Democrats in the State of Washington are simply shot to pieces. It is reported that their party cast about one thousand votes for governor in the Primary election held last Tuesday, Sept. 8.

INJUNCTION CHEESE. Gompers has been caught in the Bryan trap with a bait of injunction cheese. But Gompers, old rat that he is, can't lead the rest into the trap so cunningly set.

POLITICAL SCABS. A great political strike is on. The Working Class is going into politics. Even Gompers and Mitchell advise this course. Exactly what the Socialists have said all along.

National Platform. pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction. "11.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

The Work. Across the continent the Red Special Train has marked a red line of revolutionary thought. Through Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, Washington, and so on East again.

The Stops

SEPT. 14—MONDAY. Grant's Pass—Leave 2 a. m.; Roseburg, Ore.—Arrive 7 a. m.; leave 7:30 a. m.

SEPT. 15—TUESDAY. Portland—Leave 8 a. m.; Centralia—Arrive 11:45 a. m.; leave 12:15 p. m.

SEPT. 16—WEDNESDAY. Everett—Leave 2 a. m.; Harrington—Arrive 1 p. m.; leave 1:30 p. m.

SEPT. 17—THURSDAY. Spokane—Leave 3 a. m.; Wardner, Idaho—Arrive 7 a. m.; leave 7:30 a. m.

SEPT. 18—FRIDAY. Billings, Mont.—Arrive 9 a. m.; leave 9:30 a. m.

SEPT. 19—SATURDAY. Deadwood—Arrive 4:30 a. m.; leave 5:00 a. m.

SEPT. 20—SUNDAY. New Ulm, Minn.—Arrive 11 a. m.; leave 11:30 a. m.

SEPT. 21—MONDAY. St. Paul—Leave 3 a. m.; Duluth—Arrive 2 p. m.

SEPT. 22—TUESDAY. Duluth—Leave 4 a. m.; Hancock, Mich.—Arrive 7 p. m.

SEPT. 23—WEDNESDAY. Escanaba—Leave 3 a. m.; leave 3:30 a. m.

SEPT. 24—THURSDAY. Green Bay—Leave 9 a. m.; Appleton, Wis.—Arrive 10 a. m.

SEPT. 25—FRIDAY. Chicago—Arrive 6 a. m.

On Board. Sept. 2, 1908. Wide Open and on the Main Track. To Our Comrades and Friends: The "Red Special" is on the way. Greeted by thousands all along the line.

Revolutionary thought. Through Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, Washington, and so on East again.

The first is from the Omaha "World-Herald" of Friday, September 4. It is headed "BIG CROWDS LISTEN TO DEBS".

From far and near cheering, eager men and women, wheeling dozens of babies in their little go-carts, 3,000 altogether, paid real round dimes and quarters last evening at the Auditorium to see and hear Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Candidate for President.

The "Red Special" arrived at the Union Station at 7 p. m. It had been advertised to arrive at the Burlington Station at 6:40 p. m., and from 300 to 400 Socialists gathered there.

The official reception committee succeeded in getting past the gate keeper to welcome the next President—perhaps. But Mr. Debs was also and could not be disturbed.

The Simple Life. The "Red Special" is not the most stylish train on earth. It consists of one baggage car loaded with Socialist literature, one day coach and one Pullman car, put on by the committee over the protests of Mr. Debs.

On the train is this party: Eugene V. Debs, locomotive fireman and Socialist Candidate for President. Theodore Debs, brother of candidate and his secretary.

Debs EXPONDS SOCIALISM. Five thousand people in Coliseum Hall last night listened to an exposition of the principles of the Socialist Party by Eugene V. Debs, Candidate for President.

cordial reception, especially of an Undesirable Citizen. The old parties, he said, had outlived their usefulness.

"Capital has been keeping millions in idleness and when they degenerate it buys their votes for drink of whiskey on election day. That is Capitalist politics. They call you the horny-handed sons of toil; they mean that you are the horny-headed sons of toil.

Shames Workingmen. "You Workingmen ought to be ashamed of yourselves. You build palaces and live in hovels. You make automobiles and—walk. You support Government and are oppressed by it.

Criticizes Old Parties. Speaking of both old parties, he said: "The Republican convention consisted of the big Capitalists; the Democratic convention consisted of the little Capitalists; in neither one were there representatives of Labor.

From the Denver "News," Saturday, September 5. DEBS EXPONDS SOCIALISM. Five thousand people in Coliseum Hall last night listened to an exposition of the principles of the Socialist Party by Eugene V. Debs, Candidate for President.

Debs and his party arrived in Denver last night on the "Red Special," the train which is scheduled to carry them twice across the continent before election day.

Debs began his talk by referring humorously to the fact that his audience consisted mostly of "Undesirable Citizens." His voice was husky, but he spoke with vigor.

From the Salt Lake "Tribune," September 8. "If you want your blue-eyed daughter to die in a brothel hell, I want to tell you you are responsible for it if you vote the Republican ticket or the Democratic ticket."

Where Debs Got Infamy. Mr. Debs asserted that there are 4,000,000 children in the sweatshops of the Southern States, where Mr. Bryan's Democratic Party has been in power for the last century.

See Presidency in Hell. The speaker charged Mr. Bryan with being linked with Tammany, the most corrupt political machine in the United States, and made other charges against the Democratic nominee.

Several months ago some "revolutionary" union men broke loose from the regular trade union organization in Denmark and formed a separate union declaring against parliamentary action.

Mr. Debs contended that Capital is degenerate. "First you have the Capitalist," he illustrated. "Then a son is born rich. That's a calamity. The second generation shows degeneracy.

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