

"Comrades, Friends and Fellow-Workers:-

"For this very cordial greeting, this very hearty reception, I thank you all with the fullest appreciation of your interest in your devotion to the cause for which I am to speak to you this afternoon. To speak for labor, to plead the cause of the men and women and children who toil, to serve the working class, has always been to me a high privilege, a duty of love.

"I have just returned from a visit from yonder (pointing to workhouse) where three of our most loyal comrades are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe for the world. I realize in speaking to you this afternoon that there are certain limitations placed upon the right of free speech. I must be extremely careful, prudent, as to what I say, and even more careful and prudent as to how I say it. I may not be able to say all I think, but I am not going to say anything that I do not think. And I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant or coward on the streets. They may put those boys in jail and some of the rest of us in jail, but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all of the ages of history for standing erect and seeking to pave the way for better conditions for mankind.

"If it had not been for the men and women who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles.

"This assembly is exceedingly good to look upon. I wish it were possible to give you what you are giving me this afternoon. What I say here amounts to but little. What I see here is exceedingly important. You workers here in Ohio, enlisted in the greatest cause ever organized in the interests of your class, are making history today in the face of threatening trouble of all kinds, history that is going to be read with profound interest by the coming generation. There is but one thing that you have to be concerned about, and that is that you keep four-square with the principles of the international Socialist movement. It is only when you begin to compromise that trouble begins. So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what others may say or think or do, as long as I am sure that I am right with myself and the cause.

"There are so many who seek refuge in the popular side of a great question. I am not of that number. As a Socialist I have long since learned how to stand alone.

"For the last month I have been traveling over the Hoosier state, and let me say that in all my connections with the Socialist movement, I have never seen such enthusiasm, such unity of movement, such a promising outlook as there is today. Notwithstanding the statement published by the capitalist press that our leaders had deserted, I wish to say for myself I never had very much faith in leaders anyway. I am willing to be charged with almost anything rather than be charged with being a leader. I am suspicious of leaders, especially all the intellectual file. Give me the rank and file every day in the week. Go to the City of Washington and consult the files there and you will find that the corporation lawyers, members of congress and misrepresentatives of the masses--all of them claim that they have risen from the ranks. I am so glad that I cannot make that claim for myself. When I rise, it will be

with the ranks and not from the ranks.

"When I came away from Indiana, the comrades said, 'When you cross the line, tell those comrades that we are on duty and doing duty and are going to make a record this fall that will be heard around the world.'

"The Socialists of Ohio are very much alive this year. The party has been 'killed' this year, which accounts for its extraordinary activity. This naturally helps a party. The oftener it is killed, the more energetic and more powerful they become. We have been reading capitalist newspapers lately, and what a capacity they have for lying. They know all about the Socialist party except what is true. Only the other day, they took an article that I had written and most of you have read, and made it appear that I had undergone a marvelous transformation. I had suddenly come to my senses, had ceased to be a wicked Socialist and had become a respectable Socialist, a patriotic Socialist--as if I had ever been anything else. What was the purpose of this deliberate misrepresentation? It is so self-evident that it was against itself. It was to sow dissatisfaction among our ranks, so that we would pit ourselves against each other to our mutual undoing. But Socialists were not born yesterday. They know how to read capitalists' newspapers, and to believe exactly the opposite of what they read.

"Why should a Socialist be discouraged on the eve of the greatest triumph of all the history of the Socialist movement? It is true that these are anxious, trying days for us all, testing those who are upholding the banner of the working class in the greatest struggle the world has ever known against the exploiters of the world; a time in which the weak, the cowardly, will falter and fail and desert. They lack the fibre to endure the revolutionary test. They fall away. They disappear as if they had never been.

"On the other hand, they who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the Social revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect, to assert their convictions, to stand by them, to go to jail or to hell for them--they are writing their names in this crucial hour, they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind. Those boys over yonder, those comrades of ours--and how I love them--aye, they are our younger brothers, their names are seared in our souls.

"I am proud of them. They are there for us and we are here for them. Their lips, though temporarily mute, are more eloquent than ever before, and their voices, though silent, are heard around the world.

"Are we opposed to Prussian militarism? Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born and we are going to continue to fight it today and until it is wiped from the face of the earth. Between us there is no truce, no compromise, but before I proceed along this line, let me recall a little history in which we are all interested.

"In 1869, that grand old warrior of the Socialist revolution, the elder Liebknecht, was arrested and sent to prison for three months because of his war as a Socialist on the Kaiser and the Junkers that ruled Germany. In the meantime, the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Liebknecht and Badel were the Socialist members of the Reichstag. They were the only two to protest against the taking of Alsace-Lorraine from France and giving it to Germany. They were taken from the Reichstag and sent to prison for two years. For four years previous to this, they had been fighting the Kaiser and the Junkers of Germany. They have fought them from that day to

have to beg for a job and you will get just enough to keep you in working order. And you will be looked down upon in contempt. If you would be respected you will have to begin by respecting yourself. I would not want to be in the predicament that poor fellow was in who heard a Socialist speech the other day and thought he ought to be a Socialist. The argument was invincible.

"Well, all he said was true."

"But he finally concluded he might lose his job."

"I guess I can't afford to take the chance."

"That night he slept alone. He was in trouble with his conscience. Such men always are. A Socialist always goes to bed with his self-respect and he can look the whole face in the world (the crowd laughs at the unconscious inversion of words) without a tremor."

"This poor fellow had a terrible dream and bounded from his bed and said: 'My God, there is nobody in this room!' And he was absolutely right. No wonder he was terror-stricken. How would you like to sleep in a room with nobody in it?"

"There is a great deal of hope for our comrades, Wagenknecht, Ruthenberg and Baker. Anybody can be nobody, but it takes a man to be somebody. Turn your back upon that corrupt Republican party and that still more corrupt Democratic party, the gold-dust twins of the ruling class. Get into a minority party that fights for a cause. Make that change. It will be the most important change you ever made in your life. You will thank me for having made the suggestion. It was a day of days for me. I passed from darkness to light."

"Great, seething, throbbing Russia was transferred from a land of seething darkness to a land of living light. There is something splendid in the prompting of the heart to be true to yourself."

"You are in the crucible today, Mr. Socialist. You are going to be tried, to what extent, no one knows. If you are of weak fibre, that weakness will be found out. We will have to bid good-bye to you. You are not of the stuff of which revolutionists are made. The intellectuals, a good many of them, are all gone. That is no loss to ourselves and no gain to others. In discussing intellectuals, let us answer this question: They have been with us for a long while. What will become of the rank and file as soon as the shepherds cease to guide us? 'You are my sheep.' In other words, you are my mutton. They are ruled through the intellectuals in the capitalist parties. If you are in the Republican or Democratic party, you will not be called upon to think. They ride in the carriages; you tramp in the mud. The capitalist system affects to have great regard for intellect. We used to tell the capitalists sometime ago, 'The working class will rule'. We used to say, 'The people ought to own the railroads'. We advocated that twenty years ago. You have got to have brains to operate railroads--and the other day McAdoo fired all the brains. Have you noticed any change since the brains have gone? The railroads are now operated by hand."

"This determines how invaluable is the quality of capitalist brains. They have always given themselves credit for having superior brains. They have had all the brains and all the wealth. As to brain capacity, they are the most woeful people on the face of the earth. But they know how to gouge. And they do it legally, for the reason that the class which can rob on a large scale has the power to control courts."

"Among other things they tell you to cultivate war gardens. Government reports now show that 52% of the arable, tillable soil is held out of use by the profiteers. They do not allow others to cultivate it. They keep it idle, to enrich

"They tell us that we live in a great republic. Our institutions are democratic. We are a free people. This is too much, even as a joke. It is not a subject for levity; it is an exceedingly serious matter.

"To whom do the Wall Street Junkers in our country, to whom do they marry their daughters? After they have wrung the hundreds of millions from your sweat and from your life blood, in times of war as well as peace, they invest these millions in the titles of broken-down aristocrats, and to buy counts of no-account. Are they satisfied to wed their daughters to honest workmen? To real democrats? They scour the markets of Europe for those who have titles and nothing else, and they swap their titles for money. And they swap their matrimony for more money, while the plutocrats in this country scan the country with their magnifying glasses for evidence of disloyalty. Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels. It has been the tyrant who wrapped himself in a cloak of religion or patriotism, or both. They would have you believe that the Socialist party consists in the main of disloyalists and traitors. It is true, in a certain sense. We are disloyalists and traitors to the real traitors of this nation. And the gang on the Pacific coast are trying to hand Tom Mooney in spite of the protests of the civilized world.

"I know Tom Mooney. He is an absolutely honest, innocent man. He had no more to do with the crime with which he was charged than I have and if he ought to go to the gallows, so ought I. What is he guilty of? I will tell you. For years he has been fighting the battles of the working class out on the Pacific coast. He continued loyally in the service of the working class. They said, 'He can not be bought; he refuses to be bribed. Therefore, he must be murdered.'

"Let us review another bit of history. Do you remember when Francis J. Heney was shot down in the court-rooms of San Francisco? A committee of high-binders, composed largely of members of the Chamber of Commerce, absolutely controlled the courts of San Francisco. They did not hesitate to commit murder to further their murderous regime. Tom Mooney was the only representative of the working class that they could not control. They owned the railways; they controlled the industries; they were the rulers and from them there was no appeal. And they were as infamous as any rulers that ruled in Germany or any other country. At last a grand jury was found that would indict them, and Francis J. Heney, who had been selected by the National Administration to assist in the prosecution, this same gang controlled by the Chamber of Commerce, this gang hired a murderer to shoot Francis J. Heney down in the court-room and he did. Francis J. Heney happened to live, but that was no fault of theirs. The same gang are also for the execution of Tom Mooney. Every solitary one of them claims to be an arch-patriot. Everyone of them claims he is trying to make democracy safe in this world. What humbug! What rot! What false pretence! The patriots are the men who have the courage to stand face to face and fight them, and they call them disloyalists and traitors, and if this be true, I want to take my place side by side with the traitors in this country.

"Why, the other day they sent a woman to Wichita penitentiary for ten years. Just think of sentencing a woman to the penitentiary for talking. The United States under the rule of the plutocrats is the only country which would send a woman to the penitentiary for ten years for exercising the right to free speech. If this be treason, let them make the most of it. Let me review another bit of history. I have known this woman for ten years. Personally I know her as if she were my own younger sister. She is a woman of absolute integrity. She is a woman of courage. She is a woman of unimpeachable loyalty

to the Socialist movement. She went out into Dakota and made her speech, followed by plain-clothes men in the service of the government, intent upon encompassing her arrest, prosecuted and convicted. She made a certain speech and that speech was deliberately misrepresented for the purpose of securing her conviction. The only testimony was that of a hired witness. And thirty farmers who went to Bismark to testify in her favor, the judge refused to allow to testify. This would seem incredible to me if I had not some experience of my own with a Federal court. Who appoints the Federal courts? The people? Every solitary one of them holds his position through influence and power of corporation capital. And when they go to the bench, they go there not to serve the people, but to serve the interests who sent them. The other day, by a vote of five to four, they declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional; a law secured after twenty years of education and agitation by all kinds of people, and yet by a majority of one, the Supreme Court, a body of corporation lawyers, with just one solitary exception, wiped it from the Statute books, so that we may still continue to grind the blood of little children into profit for the Junkers of Wall Street, and this in a country that is now fighting to make democracy safe for the world. These are not palatable truths to them. And they do not want you to hear them and that is why they brand us as traitors and disloyalists. If we were not traitors to the people, we would be eminently respectable citizens and ride in limousines. It is precisely because we are disloyal to the traitors that we are not disloyal to the people of this country.

"You have heard of Scott Nearing. He is the greatest teacher in the United States. He was in the University of Pennsylvania until the Board of Trustees, composed of great capitalists, found he was teaching true economics to the students of that university, as the same forces said of a Judean carpenter nineteen centuries ago. They said of Jesus Christ, who was a workman and teacher, they said, 'He is preaching a false religion,' and his lineal descendants said, 'He is preaching false economics.' 'We cannot crucify him so we will starve him to death. We will make it impossible for him to get a job. He is a dangerous man. He is teaching the truth.' The truth is always unpalatable to these plutocrats, who make their living by the sweat of the working class.

"They are afraid that we might contaminate you. You are their wards. They are their own guardians. They must see that our vicious doctrines do not reach your ears. What a mistake they make. We ought to pass a resolution of thanks and send it to them. Those are the people who want to seize our paper. And woe to the man who reads Socialist literature. He is a goner. I have known of a thousand experiments but I have never known of a single experiment to escape it. Let me tell you about John Werk, of Milwaukee. The capitalists of Milwaukee said to John, 'We have got to find out about Socialism. John, you are a bright, young lawyer; we want you to find out all about Socialist literature.' After reading the Socialist volume, John was a full-fledged Socialist and has been fighting for us ever since.

"How short-sighted the ruling class is. The exploiter cannot see beyond the end of his nose. He has just cunning enough to know what graft is and where it is but he has no vision. You know this is a great throbbing world that spreads out in all directions. Look at Rockefeller. Every move he makes hastens the coming of his doom. Every time the capitalist class tries to hinder the cause of Socialism they hurt themselves. Every time they strangle a Socialist newspaper they add a thousand voices to those which are aiding Socialism. The Socialist has a great idea. An expanding philosophy. It is spreading over

the face of the earth. It is useless to resist it as it is to resist the rising sunrise. Can you see it? If you cannot you are lacking in vision, in understanding. What a privilege it is to serve it. I have regretted a thousand times I can do so little for the movement that has done so much for me. The little that I am, the little that I am hoping to be, is due wholly to the Socialist movement. It gave me my ideas and my ideals, and I would not exchange one of them for all the Rockefeller blood-stained dollars. It taught me how to serve; a lesson to me of priceless value. It taught the ecstasy of the hand-clasp of the comrade. It made it possible for me to get in touch with you, to multiply myself over and over again; to open the avenue to spread out the glorious vistas; to know that I am kin with all that throbs, that become class conscious. Every man who toils, everyone of them, is my comrade. To serve them is the highest duty of my life. And in their service I can feel myself expanding. I rise to the stature of a man. Yes, my heart is attuned to yours. All of our hearts are melted into one great heart which throbs to the response of the people.

"Here I hear your heart beats responsive to the Bolsheviks of Russia. (Applause) Yes, those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades, who have by their sacrifice added fresh lustre to the international movement. Those Russian comrades who have made greater sacrifices, who have suffered more, who have shed more heroic blood than any like number of men and women anywhere else on earth. They have led the first real convention of any democracy that ever drew breath. The first act of that memorable revolution was to proclaim a state of peace with an appeal not to the kings, not to the rulers, but an appeal to the people of all nations. They are the very breath of democracy; the quintessence of freedom. They made their appeal to the people of all nations, the Allies as well as the Central Powers, to send representatives to lay down terms of a peace that should be lasting. Here was a fine opportunity to strike a blow to make democracy safe to the world. Was there any response to that noble appeal? And here let me say that appeal will be written in letters of gold in the history of the world. While it has been charged that the leader made a traitorous peace with Germany, let us consider this proposition briefly. At the time of the revolution, Russia had lost 4,000,000 of her soldiers. She was absolutely bankrupt. Her soldiers were without arms. This was what was bequeathed to the revolution by the Czar. For this condition, Leon Trotsky was not responsible nor was the Bolshevik movement, but the Czar was.

"When Leon Trotsky came into power, he found the secret treaties made between the French government and the British government and the Italian government which was to divide the territory of the Central Powers if the Allies were victorious, and these secret treaties have not been repudiated up to this time. Very little has been said about them in the American newspapers. This shows that the purpose of the Allies is exactly the purpose of the Central Powers.

"Wars have been waged for conquests, for plunder, and since the feudal ages along the Rhine, the feudal lords made war upon each other. They wanted to enlarge their domains, to increase their power and their wealth and so they declared war upon each other. But they did not go to war any more than the Wall Street Junkers go to war. Their predecessors declared the wars, but their miserable serfs fought the wars. The serfs believed that it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another, to wage war upon one another. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always brought a war and the subject class has fought the battle. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, and the subject class has had all to lose and

nothing to gain. They have always taught you that it is your patriotic duty to go to war and slaughter yourselves at their command. You have never had a voice in the war. The working class who make the sacrifices, who shed the blood, have never yet had a voice in declaring war. The ruling class has always made the war and made the peace.

"Yours not to question why,
Yours but to do and die.

"Another bit of history I want to review is that of Rose Pastor Stokes, another inspiring comrade. She had her millions of dollars. Her devotion to the cause is without all consideration of a financial or economic view. She went out to render service to the cause and they sent her to the penitentiary for ten years. What has she said? Nothing more than I have said here this afternoon. I want to say that if Rose Pastor Stokes is guilty, so am I. If she should be sent to the penitentiary for ten years, so ought I. What did she say? She said that a government could not serve both the profiteers and the employees of the profiteers. Roosevelt has said a thousand times more in his paper, the Kansas City Star. He would do everything possible to discredit Wilson's administration in order to give his party credit. The Republican and Democratic parties are all patriots this fall and they are going to combine to prevent the election of any disloyal Socialists. Do you know of any difference between them? One is in, the other is out. That is all the difference.

"Rose Pastor Stokes never said a word she did not have a right to utter, but her message opened the eyes of the people. That must be suppressed. That voice must be silenced. Her trial in a capitalist court was very farcial. What chance had she in a corporation court with a put-up jury and a corporation tool on the bench?

"If the war was over tomorrow, all the prison doors would open. They were just to silence these voices during the war, and the cases will be pending in court for months, perhaps years. The truth will make the people free and the truth must not be permitted to reach the people. The truth has always been dangerous to the rule of the rogue, to the exploiters. And every time they make an attempt (to attack Socialism) they have ten thousand voices proclaiming that Socialism must live.

(Gets a glass of water from one on the platform)

"Thank you, comrade. How good the touch of the hand of a comrade is and a sip of water furnished by a comrade! And how good it is to look into your faces this afternoon! You are really good looking to me this afternoon, I assure you. Your tribe has increased wonderfully since I came here. You used to be so few and so far between. When you struck a place the first thing to do was to try to find a Socialist. If he happened to be the only one in town, he now holds a place of honor in the hearts of all now living. Now you can't throw a stone in the dark without hitting a Socialist.

"I went to Warren some years ago. It happened the year President McKinley was assassinated. In common with all others, I deplored that tragic event. There is not a Socialist who would have been guilty of that crime. We do not attack individuals. We have no fight with individuals. We are capable of pitying those who hate us. We do not hate them. We know better. We would hand them a cup of water if they needed it. There is not any room in our hearts for hate, except for a system, a system in which it is impossible for one man to achieve a tremendous fortune while millions and millions struggle for the bare necessities of life. When McKinley was assassinated the ministers met at Portsmouth and passed a resolution that Debs was responsible for the death of McKinley.

So all those ministers met and said I was not permitted to come into the city. I went there soon after, however.

"At Warren I was prepared to speak at the hall. I arrived in the evening and was no more than registered when I was ordered to leave the town, as I was not to be permitted to speak there. I sent word to the mayor that I would speak at Warren or I would leave Warren in a box. I went to the hall and the G. A. R. had a special meeting. In the full uniform they sat in the front seats. I went to the hall and made my speech. I told them who was responsible for the assassination. As long as there is misery, caused by robbery at the bottom, there will be assassination at the top. Well, I made the speech that night. I was back there the other day and the whole population of Warren was there to meet me.

"They who have had the courage to take their places at the front, they who have been true enough to speak the truth that is in them, who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor, who have upheld the cause of righteousness--they have made the history. They have paved the way to civilization. There are so many who remain on the popular side. They lack the fibre that endures. They are to be pitied and not treated with contempt. Those who have lived and endured that we should live on the earth today, had their bones broken on the wheel and were burned at the stake. We are under obligation to them because of what they suffered for us, and the only way we can cancel that obligation is by doing and seeking today for the interest of everyone who needs us.

"Every Socialist on the face of the earth is animated by the same principles. Everywhere they have the same noble idea, everywhere they are calling one another 'comrade', the noblest word that springs from the heart and soul of unity. The word 'comrade' is getting us into closer touch all along the battle line. They are waging the war of the working class against the ruling class of the world. They conquer difficulties; they grow stronger through them all.

"The heart of the international Socialist never beats a retreat. They are pressing forward here, there, everywhere, in all the zones that girdle this globe. These workers, these class-conscious workers, these children of honest toil are wiping out the boundary lines everywhere. They are proclaiming the glad tidings of the coming emancipation. Everywhere they are having their hearts attuned to the sacred cause; everywhere they are moving toward democracy, moving toward the sunrise, their faces aglow with the light of coming day. These are the men who must guide us in the greatest crisis the world has ever known. They are making history. They are bound upon the emancipating of the human race.

"They have been sufficient to themselves, pressing forward toward the heights. Do you wish to hasten the coming day? Join the Socialist party. Do not wait for the morrow. Come now. Enroll your name. Take your place where you belong. You cannot do your duty by proxy. You have got to do it yourself. You will have no occasion to blush. You will know what it is to be a man or a woman. You will lose nothing. You will gain everything. You are very apt to find something. You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder. You need to know that you are not created to work and to produce and to impoverish yourself. You need to know that you have a soul to develop. You need to know that it is for you to know something about literature and about science and about art. You need to get in touch with your comrades. You need to become conscious of your own interests. You need to know that as long as you are unorganized industrially and content you will remain exactly where you are. You will be exploited. You will

this. Thousands of them have languished in the prisons for war on the ruling classes of that country.

"Let us come down the line. At the close of Roosevelt's second term as President, he went over to Africa to make war on some of his ancestors. You remember at the close of his expedition, he visited all of the capitals of Europe and he was wined, dined, dignified and glorified by the Kaiser, kings and czars of the old world. He visited Potsdam while the Kaiser was there and, according to the account published in the American newspapers, he and the Kaiser were soon on the most intimate terms. They were hilariously intimate with each other. They slapped each other on the back. After Roosevelt had effused over the German troops, he remarked to the Kaiser, 'If I had that kind of an army, I would conquer the world.' He knew the Kaiser as well as he knows him now and yet he permitted himself to be entertained by the Beast of Berlin. He was cheek by jowl with the Beast of Berlin. And while he was being entertained by the Beast of Berlin, that same Kaiser was putting Socialist leaders in jail for fighting Kaiserism. Roosevelt was a guest of honor of the Kaiser while the Socialists were in the jail for fighting the Kaiser. Who was fighting against the Kaiser? Roosevelt? No. It was the Socialists.

"When the newspapers reported that Kaiser Wilhelm and Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt recognized each other at sight, at the first touch, they made admission that they are fatal to the champions of democracy. They admitted that their ideas and ideals were about the same. While Theodore Roosevelt, who is now the great champion of democracy, the arch foe of autocracy, what business had he as the guest of honor of the Kaiser and was it not pretty strong proof that he was a Kaiser at heart? After being the guest of the Kaiser, he wants us to send 10,000,000 men to murder the Kaiser, to murder his former friend and pal. And yet he is the patriot and we are the traitors. I challenge you to find any Socialist who was ever the guest of the Kaiser, except as one of his prison wards.

"In 1902, Prince Henry paid a visit to this country. Do you remember him? I do. Exceedingly well. Prince Henry is the brother of King Wilhelm. He is an autocrat; an aristocrat; a Junker of Junkers. He came over in 1902 as the representative of Kaiser Wilhelm. He was received by Congress, by several State legislatures, among others the State legislature of Massachusetts, then in session. He was invited there by the members of the legislature. And when Prince Henry came there, there was one member who kept his self-respect, put on his hat, and as Prince Henry walked in, he walked out, and that man was James F. Carey, and all the rest of the representatives joined in doing honor in the most servile spirit to that high representative of autocracy, and Carey was the only one who left that meeting.

"You will remember history along the same line. I have a distinct recollection. It occurred just 15 years ago. When Prince Henry came here, all of our plutocracy, living along Fifth Avenue, threw their palace doors wide open and received him with open arms. They got down on their stomachs and vied with each other to lick the boots of Prince Henry, the representative of the Beast of Berlin.

"Do not imagine for one moment that all the plutocrats and Junkers are all in Germany; we have them here in our own country, and these want to keep our eyes focused upon the Junkers in Germany so we won't see those within our own border. I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany and not one particle more use for the Junkers in the United States.

themselves. Thus, it makes their land valuable. It is not the fault of the people; it is the fault of the landlords. And while we are upon the subject, think about the landlord. The landlord is the great patriot. He is fighting to make the world safe for democracy. He it is who profits at the expense of the people under the pretense of being a great patriot. It is he whom you need to wipe from power. It is he who diminishes your health and your liberty far more than the Prussian junker on the other side of the ocean. According to their own figures, they will tell you that we will have to export more wheat for the soldiers on the other side.

"They tell you there is a coal famine. The State of Indiana, where I live, is underlaid with coal. The coal is under our feet. All that we can possibly use. The miners are ready to enter the mines. Here is the machinery ready to increase the output to any desired capacity. Aye, only three weeks ago, the officers of the United Mine Workers issued a bulletin to the Labor Department of the United States that the 600,000 coal miners of the United States at this time when they tell us of a coal famine, are not permitted to work more than one-half time. I have seen the miners idle. In the meantime there is a scarcity of coal. They tell you to buy your coal now and they charge you three prices for it. Now, we have private ownership of the coal mines, and you ought to have if you vote for the Democratic or Republican ticket. The profiteers want a scarcity of coal. They make money out of a scarcity of coal. The operators say there are no cars and the railroads say there is no coal. And between them they defraud the people. Here is the difficulty. Here are the cars. The Socialist says, 'Take possession of the mines. Set the miners at work. Give the miner all he produces.' The miner works three hundred feet in the earth. The owner of the mine lives in New York or Vienna or Paris. He does not have to do a bit of work. He owns the tools, the machinery and the miner. And that is what you do every time you vote the Democratic or Republican ticket. Let the miner mine the coal and then he gets the full value of his toil. He can then provide himself and his wife and his children with a good home (and plenty to eat). So they continue to charge three prices for coal. If that is the thing you want, you will get it to your heart's content.

"A change is needed, a change of system from despotism to democracy, a change from slavery to freedom; a change from brutehood to brotherhood. To accomplish this you have got to organize, and to organize not along the zig-zag lines laid down by Sam Gompers who, through all of his career, has been on the side of the capitalist class. You never hear the capitalist papers speak of him except in praise. Gompers was always conservative,, by solving the labor situation by the aid of Elihu Root and Andy Carnegie with whom he drank wine and smoked scab cigars.

"Few men have the courage to say a decent word in favor of the I. W. W. I have. (Here several in the crowd yelled, 'So have I.')

"I have a great respect for the I. W. W. There has been a pamphlet issued called, 'The Truth about the I. W. W.' After long investigation by five men who are not Socialists: John Graham Brooks, Harvard University, Mr. Bruers, government investigator; (other names not noted).

"These men investigated the I. W. W. They have examined its doings, beginning at Bisbee, Arizona, where the officers deported five hundred. It is only necessary to label a man, 'I. W. W.' to lynch him. Just think of the state of mind for which the capitalist press is responsible.

"When Wall Street yells war, you may rest assured

every pulpit in the land will yell war. The press and the pulpit have in every age and every nation been on the side of the exploiting class and the ruling class. That's why the I. W. W. is infamous.

"The I. W. W. in its career has never committed as much violence against the ruling class as the ruling class has committed against the people. The trial at Chicago is now on and they have not proven violence in a single solitary case. And yet, one hundred and twelve have been on trial for months and months without a shade of evidence. And this is all in its favor. And for this and many other reasons, the I. W. W. is fighting the fight of the bottom dog. For the very reason that Gompers is glorified by Wall Street, Bill Haywood is despised by Wall Street. What you need is greater organization.

"In the shop is where the industrial union has its beginning. Organize. Define your capacity. Act together. And when you organize industrially you will soon learn that you can manage industry as well as operate industry. You will find that you do not have to take work from them; you give them work to do. You can dispense with them. You ought to own your own tools. Organize industrially. Make the organization complete. Unite in the Socialist party. Vote as you organize. Stand with your party. See that that party improves the working class, especially this year when the forces will clash as they have never clashed before. Take your place in the ranks. Help to inspire the weak and strengthen the faltering. Then, when we vote together we will develop the supreme power of the one class that can bring peace to the world. We will transfer the title deeds of the railroads, of the telegraphs, the mines and the mills. We will transfer them to the people. We will take possession in the name of the people. We will have industrial, social and political democracy. This change will be universal.

"And now for all of us to do our duty. The call is ringing in your ears. Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involves yourself. This year we are going to sweep into power and in this nation and we are going to destroy capitalistic institutions and re-create them.... The world of capital is collapsing. We need industrial builders. We Socialists are the builders of the world that is to be. We are inviting you this afternoon. Join and it will help you.

"In due course of time we will proclaim the emancipation of the brotherhood of all mankind."

