THE CHILD LABOR EVIL.

By James F. Carey.

statesmanship by establishing a sys-

tem of industry that should operate for the benefit and protection of the whole of society, in place of the pres-

ent system which has disrupted it by

eause it increases the competition in

such a manner that the steadily downward tendency of wages is accentuated; and every time the wages of the workers go down, the difference be-

tween the value of what they produce

and the amount returned to them in wages by the capitalist increases; in

other words, because the capitalist

class is thereby enabled to absorb a

still greater proportion of the produce of the labor of the working class.

When you allow or countenance the

labor of children you countenance an unnatural competition between the father and the child which ultimately

will throw the father out of employ-ment; making the child the wage-earn-er of the family and the father merely

a dinner-carrier to his child. This is

not overdrawn. You can see it for

yourselves in Lawrence and Lowell and many other manufacturing cen-

ters-the father carrying dinner to his

class are dissatisfied with their wages.

why crime increases, and why there are so many saloons!

Do you know what it is, this life

in a factory? I know, because I have lived it for 22 years. Should I picture it to you here, what I would say

would not be something that some pro

fessor at Harvard told me, or some-thing that I have read in a book about "how the other half lives." It would

be what I know from my own per-sonal experience. We will let it pass; but this I will lask you to answer: When you take a boy of 14 and shut

him up in a factory to work for ten or twelve hours, on insufficient or in-

nutritious food, leaving him at the close of his day's work filled with that

indefinite longing for something which

a lack of sufficient nourishment al-

stores to him at least a semblance of

saloons, and that they become drunk-ards? And if they do, it is you who

are responsible, not they. Instead of imprisoning the drunkards they ought

to imprison you because you permit

and defend an economic system which

makes drunkenness our only refuge

of 14 years, after working nine or ten

hours, to go out in the evening; prob-ably not having had enough to eat and needing some stimulant to last me un-til I could go to sleep and forgot that

I lived-I know what it is under such

inviting because they offered at least

Some will make the objection that to

raise the age of employment would put Massachusetts at a disadvantage in

in Lawrence and Lowell and New Bedford, that represent in part the la-

for force of which my class has been

this Commonwealth, and not the

have told us in every campaign how

ment from 14 to 16 years? 14,907 of them! Nearly 15,000 children would, by the enactment of this law, be freed

from the slave pens where the capital-ist system holds them enchained. Why

when you refuse to these children the boon of two years more of education? How can you witness the long line of children entering the factories as a re-

[A speech made when Comrade array was a Social Democratic Representative in the Massachusetts Legissature, upon the acceptance of the report of the Committee on Labor that bill, introduced by him, to raise the Carey was a Social Democratic Repre-sentative in the Massachusetts Legis-lature, upon the acceptance of the report of the Committee on Labor that a bill, introduced by Maria school age and the age of employment from 14 to 16 years, "ought not to

I would ask the Committee on Labor to submit their reasons for reporting adversely on this bill were it not that would merely consume the time o the House to no purpose, because there is not a member of this House nor of the Senate who can advance a single rational argument why children should be allowed to toll in the workshops of this country to-day. I submit, and I defy contradiction, that there is absolutely no rational basis for the report of the Committee on Labor, recom-mending that the bill ought to pass which contemplates the raising of the age of employment from 14 to 16

Let us see if we can anticipate some of the arguments that may be present-ed against the bill. One of them, ofttimes, I confess, given by working men themselves, is that it is necessary in certain instances for the children to be at work in order that they may sup-plement with their wages the little that the husband and father may earn. and thus contribute to the support of the family.

To some this may seem to be an un answerable argument against à propo-sition to prohibit the employment of children under sixteen years of age, but let us examine it. Let us see what there is at the basis of the position of those who may present the argument that it is necessary to employ children in the factories in order that the fam-ily may exist. I submit to you that the man who makes such a proposition to this House or to any body of citizens in this Commonwealth, but presents to the people an indictment against the ent industrial system that makes a living, when the productivity of the labor of those fathers is such that the warehouses burst with the superfluity of their product, there is a periodically recurring cry of overproduction, and you are obliged to seek foreign markets so that the surplus may be dis-

posed of.
Until such time as your Committee
on Labor and the members of this use can demonstrate to me and to citizens of this Commonwealth that the labor of children is economi-cally necessary, I say that you stand indicted as committing a crime against the children of the working class and against society by your rejection of this bill.

And further, let me ask you, those of you who may honestly advance this argument, have you ever considered and do you realize the effect of the em-ployment of child labor upon the wages of men? Are you not aware that the competition for work which the present industrial system forces upon the working class is one of the chief the working class is one of the chief factors in reducing thefr wages and keeping them down? Do you not know that every time a child enters a factory the competition grows keener, and the child becomes the rival of the father in the economic struggle for existence, and brings an added pressure to bear upon the downward tendency of his wages? When women began to work in the factories and had to leave work in the factories, and had to leave their small children alone at home all day, a similar excuse was urged in justification, viz., that the wife's earnings were necessary in order to sup-plement those of the husband. You beplement those of the nussame lleve, and you may have reason, that the husband's income was not suffi-cient to support his family; but instead of its being increased by the wages of his wife, as you apparently expect it would, the very fact that the wife was knocking at the factory door for a mittance was used by the capitalist class as a club to beat down still fur-ther the wages of the husband. And not satisfied with that, they call in the children and put them in competition with their parents until the wages of each are still arther reduced, and it becomes necessary that not only the child of fourteen should work but also

When you demonstrate to me that wealth may be produced to satisfy the eds of society to-day, I will withdraw my objection to the report because, as a Social Democrat, I stand for society first and for the individual afterwards. But I see about me a country rich, incalculably rich in natural resources, with a soil so fertile that the merest touch of the hand of multiplies a seed a hundred fold, labor multiplies a seed a hundred fold, peopled by a race of willing and in-telligent workers, whose inventive genius has carried the productivity of their toil to the highest point known in the history of man, a country where bursting warehouses abound, where foreign markets are sought for the ab-morption of labor's product, and where at least 2,000,000 men are permanently of production and distribution were managed with reason or anything like reason, not only the material needs of society but all its commorts and luxcould be supplied in abundance out calling in the aid of the chil-

eradle and send him to work in the mill or factory in order that he may be able to eke out a living, is in itself evidence that those who possess d manage the means of social pro-ction are incompetent and that they inipulate those means for purposes and mentally so that they might reach a higher development as citizens?

I will assume that it is because you

ignorant of the conditions under ch some of the children are coinpelled to work; and, for your enlight enment, will read a clipping from the New York "Journal" of March 11, in relation to the mills in Fall River: "FALL RIVER, Mass., March 11.—

Situated in the very center of Fall River's wharf line and flush with the waters of Mount Hope Bay is the mammoth plant of the American Printing Company, the largest estab-lishment of the kind in America, and the individual property of Matthey Chandler Durfee Borden, the million aire resident of New York.

creating two hostile classes, and given to the smaller, the capitalist class, the power to exploit the vital energies of the larger, the working class, and keep "Hundreds of small boys work for "Hundreds of small boys work for Mr. Borden, and many of them toil ten hours a day without a thread of clothing on their bodies. No one except employees are allowed to enter the works, and therefore when it was stated before a woman's club in New York last week that naked bables were it in needless and unjust poverty and privation. The labor of children is de-sired and made use of now, only be-York last week that naked babies were at work in the Fall River mills much

interest was aroused.
"A 'Journal' man has investigated the matter and found that the statement was practically true. That is, naked people work in the American works, but they are not exactly babies. They are children, sometimes not more than fourteen years old.

"They work in the big tanks called ime keer,' in the bleach house, pack-'lime keer,' in the bleach hing the cloth into the vats.

"This lime keer holds 750 pieces of cloth and it requires one hour and twenty minutes to fill it. During that time the lad must work inside, while his body is being soaked with whatever there is of chemicals which enter into the process of bleaching, of which lime is a prominent factor.

"The naked bodies of the children

who do this work day after day are never dry, and the same chemicals which effect the bleaching process of wife and child who are working in the factory, while he himself is unable to find employment. And yet you wonder why it is that the working the gray cloth naturally bleaches the skin of the operator, and after coming out of the vats the boys show the ef-fects in the whiteness of the skins,

which rivals the cotton cloth.' Such is the situation which this bill asks you to relieve—an industrial coudition where, under pressure of eco nomic necessity, boys of 14 are werking, stark naked, in steam and hot air and chemicals until their bodies be-come whiter than the cloth they bleach. You are asked to take these boys out of these ghastly dens and send them to school for two years longer. I wish I were able to bring them here before you to-day, that you might see them with your own eyes. And not only these, but all of the 15.-000 children, many of whom are working under conditions less extreme but no less deadly in their effects. I wish I could show them to you, as you ought to see them, when they first enter the mills and factories, with some vigor in their limbs, with the flush of his exhausted vitality? Is it any won-der that the overworked and underfed workers, both men and boys, go to the youth in their cheeks and the sparkle of life in their eyes; and could show them to you again at the end of two years, with their pallid faces, lustre-less eyes and lagging tread. What he s become of the flush that was on their cheeks when they entered? been stolen by their masters to color the wine they drink at their feasts, and the sparkle that was in their eyes has been crystallized into the diamonds that blaze and flash upon the bosoms and in the glittering tlaras of their masters' wives and daughters. And when the Committee on Labor

of this House reports against a bill which puts off the evil day for two years longer, and you endorse their report, you endorse that funeral procession of the children of the poor, marching saily to the grave of their childhood and their innocence. You endorse the crime and vice and ignora narcotic to my misery. That I did not enter is no credit to you, and had I done so it would be your shame. ince that follow the employment of children—and you cannot justify your-selves by saying that it is socially necessary. Suppose that you and I ad lived a hundred years ago, in the competition with other states, and that the greatness of Massachusetts would be to that extent impaired. I want to ask those who raise this objection, what is it that constitutes the greatdays of the hand loom and the spin-ning wheel and the ox cart and the ness of Massachusetts? Is it the mills wealth, and I had drawn for you a prophetic picture of the modern ma-chines in all their productive power, and had asked you whether in the day exploited? Is it the stocks and bonds by means of which the capitalist class manipulates the wealth produced by of all these wonderful machines the la-bor of children would have been necessary, what would you have ans my class? Or is it not rather the mem-ory of Phillips and Garrison, and the knowledge that Bunker Hill still rises Surely, if you had lived in the days of Benjamin Franklin and could have foreseen the marvellous development of machinery you would have said that in their day the labor of children proudly on the eastern horizon, a witness to our fathers' love of liberty? Is would assuredly not be needed. And that it is needed, that there is a single, able-bodied workingman who cannot get enough to support himself and his family without having to call upon his it not the fact that Massachusetts, at different periods in her history, has stood boldly and immovably for prog-ress and for humanity? These are the things that-constitute the greatness of children for assistance, is not an argustocks and bonds and the vested inter-ests of capital, which seemingly are the things most considered here. called statesmanship of the political parties that have had the control of You Republicans and Democrats class out of the home and the school and thrusts them into the factory to you; and yet you refuse to take a step which will give to the children of the poor two years more of school life. Do you know how many children in this Commonwealth would be affected by this law, if we raise the age of employand up into profits for the capi-

Naturally you grow impatient. You do not like to listen to these bald truths; but despite your impatience I shall talk until the hour of adjournment; and to-morrow I shall ask the members of your Committee on Labor to tell me why they report adversely on this bill, and I will see to it that the on this bill, and I will see to it that the people know the reason. You must take up your position upon this question—Are you in favor of child labor or are you not? If you say you are in favor of it lecause without it the workingman's wages would not be sufficient to support his family, then I say you should do some serious thinking as to why, in view of the increased productivity of his labor, his wages are not sufficient, and should attempt to find such a remedy as would make the labor of the child unnecessary.

I will not now deal with the ethical

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Preliminary Work of the First Two Days.

One Hundred and Ninety-Four Representatives of the Revolu tionary Movement Assemble in Chicago and Begin the Work for the Next National Campaign Against Capitalism.

Missouri-E. T. Behrens, Wm. M.

Brandt, Fred H. Dilno, W. L. Garver,

C. A. Hoehn, Carl Knecht, Caleb Lips-comb, T. E. Palmer, Geo. H. Turner, Hugh J. Raible, J. H. Rathbun.

Mississippi—Sumner W. Rose, Montana—C. C. McHugh, W. G. O'Malley, J. H. Walsh, Jehn H. Hirt, Nebraska—W. E. Ciark, Wm. Mailly,

New Hampshire—James S. Murray, New Jersey—Peter Burrowes, Wn. Glanz, Carl Kronenberg, W. L. Os-

wald, Charles Ufert, David Rubinow,

Bush, Wm. Butscher, A. L. Byron-Cur-ties, Chas. Dobbs, Wm. Ehret, P. J.

Flanagao, Julius Gerber, Ben Han

ford, Geo. D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Jones, Algernon Lee, Frank Sieverman, H. L. Slobodin, John Spar-

go. Otto. Wegener, H. W. Wessling, Gustave Dressler, C. P. Hawley. North Dakota—Tonnes Thams. Ohio—Robert Bandlow, C. A. Bick-

ett. D. P. Farrell, Martin Goss, Max S

Hayes, W. A. Stanton, W. L. Webster C. E. Wiley, Julius Zorn.

. E. Wiley, Julius Zorn. Oklahoma-J. V. Kolachney, A. S

Loudermilk, J. E. Spyder, Roy Hayes,

Pennsylvania-Hugh Ayres, J. Mah

on Barnes, Geo. W. Bacon, Miss In

nes Perbes, Louis Gonziou, Char, Hey-drick, James Mauer, Ed. Moore, Robert Ringler, P. Gaghardi.

South Dakota-Freeman Knowles.

O. C. Potter.

Tennessee-Chas. If. Stockell.

Texas-John Kerrigan, R. O. Langworthy, E. B. Latham.

Washington-O. Lund, Herman F.

Washington—O. Lund, Herman F. Titus.
Wisconsin—H. J. Ammon. Victor L. Berger, J. W. Born. W. R. Gaylord, J. M. A. Spence, E. H. Thomas. Jacob Hunger, Frederick Heath, H. W. Bistorius, Richard Elsner, F. J. Weber, Aniong the other alternates who are present but whese delegations are

present, but whose delegations are full, so that they have no voice or vote in the convention, are E. E. Sonnastine of Celerado: H. P. Newman, W. H.

Spears, A. Harrack, and J. W. Saun-

ders of Illinois; F. R. Markert of Kentucky; Gaylord Wilshire, Bernard J. Riley, and C. P. Hawley of New York;

and W. C. Young and Ira Cross of

of Wisconsin were elected assistant secretaries and reading clerks. In

sary oratorical efforts and get down to

pratical work and the transaction of

order that the hall might be prepared

The report of the committee on rule

On the following morning, May 2,

Comrade Hillquit was elected chair-man with a negro comrade, Woodbey of California, as vice-chairman. Comrade Sen Katayama of Japan.

seated on the platform amid great ap-

CHICAGO, May 2.-The first two

days of the national convention's sessions have, as was to be expected

been taken up-largely with the routing

of organization. This has been done

carefully and thoughtfully, though at times—as when Delegate Parks of Kansas was rising to points of order and appealing to high Heaven on be-

helf of Roberts' Rules—an uninformed spectator might have had reason to doubt such an assertion.

The convention has had admirable oresiding officers—Carey on Sunday and Hillquit on Monday—and Dobbs

of New York, Cross of Wisconsin, and Waldhorst of Alabama form an effi-cient secretarial force; it must be re-membered, too, that National Secre-tary Mally and his assistant, Clark,

Martin, and Oneal, are in constant at-tendance and are undoubtedly about the busiest men in Chicago this week. The Credential Committee, of which

Lee of New York is chairman and re-

Lee of New York is chairman and re-porter, Bistorius of Wisconsin secre-tary, and Hayes of Ohlo, Garver of Miscouri, Titus of Washington, Float-en of Colorado, and Kronenberg of New Jersey, members, has had several hours of hard work, but this is now practically at an end. Aside from the more routing of examining the regular

mere routine of examining the regular and some more or less irregular cre-dentials, a few cases of some interest have come before the committee. The Utah affair came up, of course

The Utah affair came up, of course. That state seems to be prolific of contests and protests, in the Socialist Party organization as well as at Washington. It will be remembered that the Utah state charter was revoked by the National Committee last summer on account of its failure for about a year previous to that time to pay dues even to the extent of settling for more than a small part of the dues stampa, to the amount of \$108.25 which had

editor of the Tokio "Socialist."

djourned for the day.

ard, and the convention then

Carey was then elected permanent chairman for the day and Dobbs was elected permanent secretary for the convention. Delegates Waldhorst of Alabama and Frost

W. Renchaw. Oregon-Irene M. Smith.

New York-Warren Atkinson, C. P.

J. W. Hawkins, P. J. Hyland.

G. H. Strobell, Jas. M. Reilly.

CHICAGO, Ill., May 2.—The nation- Glibertson, S. M. Hohnan, Nicholas al convention of the Socialist Party of Klein, Thos. H. Lucas, Geo. B. Leon-the United States was called to order ard, Ed. Bosky, E. B. Ford. by National Secretary William Maily on the morning of May 1, shortly after ten o'clock. The National Secretary announced that the comrades of Wis-consin had precented a silver gavel to the Socialist Party for the use of the charman during this convention and succeeding conventions. The seats for visitors were crowded. There was ap-plause when Comrada Debs entered Carey of Massachusetts and Rich ardson of California were nominated for temporary chairman and Carry was elected. Charles Dobbs of New York was elected secretary pro tem.

Credential Committee was elected omposed of Comrades Lee of New York, Titus of Washington, Floaten of Colorado, Bistorius of Wisconsin, Kronenberg of New Jersey, Hayes of Ohio, Garver of Missouri,

At this point a delegate moved that moking be prohibited during the courention. Some of the delegates ob jected to such action, but on a vote being taken they were found to be in a minority, and the convention voted to prohibit smoking. Nominations for Committee on Rules

and itegritations were then received, and pending the result of the ballot a recess was taken until the afternoon. At the afternoon session the election of the following Committee on Rules vas announced; Penrose of Arkansas, stedman of Illinois, Work of Iowa Saylord of Wisconsin, Taft of Illineis,

Slobodin of New York, and Robbins f California! Comrade Lee then reported for the Committee on Credentials. There was a profest brought against the seating of J. Stittt Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge presented by Delegate Stanton of Ohio, in writing that Comrade Wilson had sent a con-gratulatory telegram to Mayor Samuel Jones of Toledo of the occasion of his lection, and that this should debay him from taking part in the delibera-tions of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the committee and made the statement that he did not send that telegram; that he did not authorize its sending; that he did not have anything to do with it or know anything about its having been set until a considerable time afterwards. but that it was sent by Mr. Nelson of St. Louis, with whom he had been in conversation before that time in re

gard to this and other matters; and that he believed that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in sending it and us his (Wilson's) name along with own. But that as a matter of fact he did not authorize it, did not know of intention to sign his name to such telegram would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wil-son, there being no further evidence or statements of fact upon the one side or upon the other, the committee had decided to sent Comrade Wilson

as a delegate from California. Other contests, especially against the Utah delegation, were still pending in the committee.

Credentials were received for 173 delegates and 32 alternates. Of the intter, 21 were seated in place of dele-gates not present. There are thus 194 votes in the convention, about 50 less than the full representation to which the various states and territories are entitled. Florida, Georgia, Maine, New Mexico, North Carolina, Rhôde Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Vir-ginia, and Wyoming are not representother simple tools that were used in ed, while the delegations from several their full number, a fact which is due chiefly to the difficulty of bearing the

Upon report of the Credentials Comseated: ... Alabama—F. X. Waldhorst.

Arkansas-Wells LeFever, Wm. Pen-

California-J. L. Cobb, P. Deutzma M. W. Wilkins, Paul H. Keller, H. M. McRee, J. J. Patton, N. A. Richardso H. B. Weaver, Bertha Wilkins, J. Stitt Wilson, C. W. Woodbey, Sam Robbins, Colorado—Wm. Ash, A. H. Floaten, Ida Crouch Hazlett, Guy E. Miller, R. Connecticut—Cornellus Maheny, Eu-

Idaho-E. B. Ault.

Illinois—B. Berlyn, Sam Block, Chas. L. Breckon, Jas. H. Brower, E. E. Carr, John Collins, Wm. Dalton, Duncan McEachern, A. W. Mance, Meyer, Thos. J. Morgan, J. E. Pheli D. M. Smith, Jas. S. Smith, A. Simons, Seymour Stefman, M. Taft, Ernest Untermann.

Indiana—Wm. Barrett, Eugene V Bebs, Matt Hollenberger, James Oneal

S. M. Reynolds.
Indian Territory—W. I. Whitelatch.
Iowa—John W. Bennett, J. J. Jacobson, Carrie L. Johnson, John M. Work.
Kansas—Mrs. E. G. Cogswell, Mrs.
Luclia R. Kraybili, Waiter T. Mills,
Thomas E. Will, W. S. Neal, W. R.

Parks.

Kenjinckys-Thomas McGrady, A. L.

Nagel, F. L. Robinson.

Louisiana-Wilbur Putnam.

Maryland and District of Columbia

Wm. A. Toole, S. L. V. Young.

Massachusetts-James F. Carey,

Herman Brandt, J. A. Keown, Geo. E.

Littiefield, H. A. Gibbs, John J. Kelly,

A. B. Outram, Dan A. White, Alex.

Hayman.

the National Committee meeting 4a February, 1962. There are several lo-cals in the state affiliated directly with the national organization. These, how-ever, have no representative at the convention. The suspended state organization was represented, however, by Charles Randall, who appeared be fore the committee with credentials from a state convention recently held and with a draft for \$80.75 to pay the

been advanced to it immediately after

old account in case he was seated in The committee spent several he Sunday evening and this afternoon in hearing Comrade Randall and Com-rades Robbins of California, Mills of Kansas, and Mrs. Hazlett, now Colorado, who appeared on his behalf, and National Secretary Mailly, who, on behalf of the National Committee. opposed the acceptance of his creden

The evidence presented seemed to indicate that practically every member of the Utah movement has, at one time or another within the last two years, taken part in a bolting convention or helped in issuing a manifesto of seces sion. The one thing that seemed to be thoroughly clear to the committee, as indicated by its report, was that the National Committee had power to revoke the charter, that it had been jus tified in exercising its power in this case, and that the payment now of the debt that was overdue even a year ago, was no sufficient reason for reersing its action.

The committee recommended this evening that Randall be not recognized as a delegate, but that he be extended the courtesy of a seat in the convention without vote or voice. The recom mendation was adopted with little de bate. Mills gave notice that at another time he would introduce a motion looking to a permanent settlement of the

In your correspondent's opinion, this case is only one out of several Blustrations of the unwisdom of allowing state organizations to be formed be-fore a sufficient number of numerically strong and well disciplined locals have been formed and before the comrades have had time to learn some-thing of the principles, the tactics, and the effices of the Socialist movement.

It is only fair that publicity should be given to the matter of the protest against the seating of J. Stitt Wilson from California. Stanton of Ohio pro-tested on the ground that Wilson had sent a telegram congratulating Golden Rule Jones of Toledo on his election as Mayor last year. Wilson appeared before the committee and stated that he did not send the telegram nor au-thorize the signing of his name to it; that it was sent by N. O. Nelson of St. Louis; that he believed Nelson acted in good faith in adding his (Wilson's) signature to his own, but that Nelson misunderstood his position and that he would not have authorized the sending of the telegram had he been informed of it. The committee was evidently satisfied with this complete discinimer, for it unanimously recommended the seating of Wilson and the recommend-ation was accepted without opposition. The third case of interest was that of A. T. Gridley of Aurora, Ind.,

taking the chair Carey stated that pro-paganda speeches to Socialists would not be expected and that he hoped the convention would be void of unnecesagainst whom a protest was entered by Wm. Barrett of Indianapolis on the ground that he held the position of City Engineer, elected by a City Council composed of old-party representa-tives. Gridley replied that the posi-tion was not a political one; that he had first been elected to it nineteer years ago, before the Socialist Party came into existence, and had been re-elected ever since; and that his adherfor a banquet be given to the delegates in the evening, but upon the earnest protests of Hillquit, Spargo, and others the motion was voted down, upon the ence to the Socialist Party and advocacy of its principles was and is open ground that the work of the conven-tion was first in importance and should not be interfered with by anything and well known.

Taking into consideration these arguments and the fact that the party as made no clear law defining such positions as party members may not consistently accept, the committee recommended that Gridley be seated and, further, that a definite provision be made to cover such eases in future. The recommendation was adopted, by narrow vote, the opp led by Knecht of Missouri and Waldhorst. Mailly spoke on the question holding that there could be no excuse for Gridley, as a party member, ac cepting such a position, but that un not assume jurisdiction in the case. No doubt the Constitution Committee will report a provision for the certain guid-ance of local and state organizations in

such matters henceforth. A delegation from the Polish Socialist Alliance, composed of Comrades Anielwski, Debski, Odalski, and Liss, is in attendance at the convention, fo the purpose of making arrangements for the affiliation of the Alliance with special committee was appointed t confer with this delegation and report to the convention. This committ consists of Lee, Gaylord, Hayman Massachusetts. Sieverman of No York, and Untermann of Illinois, It will probably report on Tuesday or Friday.

The convention will not meet to-

morrow till 1:30 p. m., leaving the morning for the committees on plat-form, state and municipal program, resolutions, constitutions, and trade unions to begin their work.

It seems certain that the convention will continue throughout the week, as there is much work to be done and

there is much work to be done and the delegates are generally more interested in having it done well than in getting through with it quickly.

There are some impossibilists in the convention and some opportunists, some who do not realize the value of organization, some whose eagerness to get and hold the floor and to insist on petty points of order indicates a lack of Socialist discipline; but on the whole the convention seems a representative one and represents a movement full of vitality and steadily growing in intelligence and power of

WHAT SOCIALISM STANDS FOR.

brain is the creator of all wealth, and that the laborer is entitled to all of the wealth which he creates. We declare that capital, the modern

means of production (the tools, the machines with which we work) is but a part of the wealth created by labor and rightfully belongs to its creators, the laborers of the past, and to their selrs the laborers of the present. We declare that the present system

of private ownership of capital enables a few idlers to keep the greater part of the wealth which labor alone creates, and to return to the workers of the world but a meagre share called wages, is but another form of slavery. This system, the "Wage or Profit

System" is—
The cause of industrial crises (so-

called hard times).

The cause of poverty and starvation in the midst of plenty,

The cause of idleness for men, The cause of overwork for women

The cause of wars for foreign mar-

The cause of the adulteration of our Da. Wiley, who has been chief chem-

ist for the United States Department of Agriculture for the past eighteen years, says that "practically everyterated." The man who says this is a capitalist official and would not wish to make things seem worse than they really are. Why is not all food pure and wholesome? Because food is sold for profit and not for the benefit of your health.
The abolition of these conditions is

the final object of the Socialist Party. The keystone of capitalist society is the private ownership of industry. So long as the present system of industry remains, the capitalist class will approprinte the wealth created by the working class, and there will inevitably be warfare between the interests of the verking class and the capitalist class.

We, therefore, call upon the working class, while neglecting no opportunity o secure through trade unions imme diate improvement in the condition of inbor, to organize into the Socialist Party, and wrest all political power from capitalist control, so that it may be used by the working class to abolish the wage and profit system by restor-ing the industries of the country to the people as a collective body, and to introduce a system of industry which shall secure to all the full enjoyment of their rights as well as industrial of their rights as well as industrial and political freedom.

While the first object of the Socialist Party is to organize the wage-working class into a party, so that they may act politically with a view solely to their own class interests and the final abolition of the private ownership of industries and of wage slavery, the representatives of the Socialist Party, if elected to a municipal legislature, would not idly wait for the final inau-guration of the Co-operative Common-wealth, but would be active and persistent in promoting labor's interests

in the city.

Representatives of the Socialist
Party are pledged to do all in their power to secure public ownership of such public utilities as the street rail-ways, gas lighting and dectric lighting plants, and water supply. But unlike the municipal reformers, who advocate such public ownership solely for the purpose of reducing the rates charged for water or lighting, or reducing taxation of real estate by means of the income from public utilities, the Socialist Party would conduct such public service solely for the benefits. like the municipal reformers, who adfit of the mass of the people, the wage-working class. Hours of labor would be reduced and wages be increased to

We declare that labor of hand and rain is the creator of all wealth, and hat the laborer is entitled to all of the would be pensioned when sick, disabled or aged.

The reformers who advocate public ownership are the mouthpieces of the dying middle class of small capitalists, who are being driven out of the busi-ness field by the growth of great cor-porations in all lines of production and distribution. These see in the large profits of water, and gas light, and electric light, and street rallway companies, an income which may be di-verted into their own pockets by reducing water rates or reducing taxes, or reducing fares to the suburban dis-tricts where their own property may be located.

The public ownership cry also serves their purpose in another way. It serves to hold the wage-working voters who already feel that their interests lie toward collective ownership; and to keep them supporting the political party of the petty capitalist or middle class. the petty capitalist or middle class.
Thus the cry of "Down with Trusts" and "Public Ownership of Public Utilities," prevents the wage-workers from building up a party of their own class and makes them the ally of the dying middle class against the great capital-

But the wage-working class must and should not politically, independently of all other classes and solely along the lines of its own interests. The wage workers constitute an absolute majority of the voters of the city or the nation. The wage werkers perform all the useful work of conducting the great industries and utilities on which society depends for its existences

The working class is slowly but surely organizing in trade union and political party on distinct class lines and must eventually achieve complete emancipation from the wage system by making the great industries and utilities which the workers already op-erate the collective property of the na-

The wage-working class must, and should act politically, independent of all other classes for the protection of

its interests at the present time.

The various suits for conspiracy, together with attachment of property and funds, injunctions and unwarrantable arrests which have been brought against the trade unions recently, show conclusively the power of gov-ernment in the hands of the capitalist ciass. Every trade unionist must admit that the union is at the mercy of the government and the courts. No union, nor all the unions together are able to cope with the power of the gov-ernment. But the power of govern-ment has been given to the capitalist by the votes of the wage workers who have supported the Republican and Democratic parties, and when wage workers act independently in the Socialist Party, our superior numbers will easily place the power of govern-ment in the hands of wage workers and such aggressions of capital against labor will cease. More than this, the great growth of the labor vote under the banner of the Socialist Party will be a warning which every capitalist. employer or politician will heed. The conspiracy suit against the striking teamsters would have had a different ending or would never have been attempted if capitalist interests in New Haven were menaced by a strong labor

small, the old party politician will use his official p.we in the interest of the apitalist class.

Let the vote for the Socialist Parly.

be large, let it be largely increased, these same politicians will fear its further increase and respect the interests of the working class which it claims to represent.—Platform and Address of the Socialist Party of New Haven.

BILL WAS NOT PASSED.

Mr. Workingman, the eight hour day | tected in a Democratic state he gare is your cry. You send your delegates to Washington, to implore, to beg: "Oh! please, Mr. Democrat, 'do Mr. Republican, vote for the eight hour bill. The unions of the country want it. So please do us a favor."

A long series of hearings was held before the Congressional Committee on Labor, action on the bill was put off from time to time until near the end of the session and then decision was postponed until next session—until after election, until after you have once more elected the same

Will you succeed in getting it? I this. In the first place, when you go to our Senate or Congress, you don't know the kind of people you are dealing with. I hope, Mr. Union Man, you don't think they are the represents tives of the people, by the people—I-mean the like of you and I. If you do think so, you have been pitifully misled. It has become a notorious fact that our Senate and Congresses are but that our Senate and Congresses are but the political committee meetings of big corporations. We admit this now with-out even cracking a smile. A New York paper recently said when our State Senate adjourned that "the com-mittee of public thieves and robbers will adjourn their session to-day at Al-bany." These plunder rings are strange, yet comman.

strange, yet common. Andrew Carnegie last week offered a cold million to the Republican campaign fund? Do you know that Jay for an eight hour day, no asking. Gould, upon being questioned to what you can take a four hour day. The political party he contributed, replied about Socialism. Read about that when he had interests to be pro-

to the Democratic fund, when in a Re-publican state he gave to the Republican fund, but was for the Eric Hallroad all the time.
So here we understand where all the

money comes from with which to buy orators and election beer and win votes. Now if our millionaires hire the politicians to do their political work, don't you think they will gladly protect and promote the interests of the millionaires? Surely they will, and with pleasure.

ingman, and ask the representatives of the corporations to pass laws that will lessen the corporations' profits, you are simply going to the jeweller's to have your shoes soled. They are at Washington and the state capitols to pass laws in the interest of those who sup-plied them with the cash to win their election. "There is no use crying over split milk." Your votes put them there. You decided to have the agents of Rockefeller, Morgan & Company run the machine at Washington. You are just getting what you voted for. Take your medicine, but profit by your experience. Remember, the Republi-can party stands for the big fleecer, the Democratic party for the ameli-fleecer, but both stand for the fleecing of the working class.

Remember that the S Remember that the Social Penno cratic Party is supported by working-men, controlled by workingmen, and managed by workingmen. So don't beg from your masters' agents, but elect men to office from your own class, on a Socialist platform. Then no begging for an eight hour day, no asking, but

The Worker. RM ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.)

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 184 WILCIAM STREET, NEW YORK By the Socialistic Co-operative Pub-lishing Association. P. O. BOX 1512

Telephone Call: 302 John-

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in Advance.

Bundle Rates

Address all business communications, and the money orders, checks and drafts pay-ie to Tr. Worker. Communications con-money to the editorial department of the star bould be addressed to the Editor The Worker. Communications for the olkszeitung" or the State Secretary of 18. D. F. should always be separately dressed.

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tered as second-class matter at the York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6,

state of New York, on account or a state of the election laws, the Farty is officially recognized under of Social Democratic Party, as as is the Arm and Torch, as show above.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a small, ring-ruled, morthand organization which bitterly opposes the frade unions and carries on an abusive campaign of slander against the real Socialist movement, which supports the trade unions. THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Voya.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its ascend general election. Its growing now is indicated and its speedy victory for shadowed by the great increase of its rote as shown in these figures:



The Colt Arms-Company of Hartford, Conn., so we are informed by one of its wage-slaves, has sold to the mine owners of Colorado and of West Virginia a supply of the terrible, automatic, rapid fire rifles that shoot 250 bullets per minute; they carry a thirty calibre rifle ball two miles and the balls are nickel faced and will penetrate two inches of steel. The mine owners seem to be preparing to get along without the militia they have been using so long. This must be interesting to se miners who contemplate going on strike this year and voting the tickets of the Republican and Democratic parties that support these murderous mine owners and other capitalists it their private ownership of the mines and other means of production, the before the public their automobites their fine works of art, their monkey dinners and champagne suppers, and militia with all its modern death-dealing appliances to mete out destruction to any who dare to dispute all or any of this program.

A copy of the "Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Company" is being sent gratuitously to every clergyman in the country. The book is published by the Morganized Harper Bros., and the Rockefeller hireling whose nam appears as its author is Gilbert Hol hand Montague. This is Rockefeller's way of meeting the charges in Ida M. Parhell's articles in "McClure's Magaand in Henry D. Lloyd's Wealth vs. Commonwealth," which latter work, by the way, is said to have been quietly killed by the publishers in response to Standard Oil pressure—that is, allowed to lapse into comparative obscurity by failure to advertise, list, or push it. It is significant, too, that the publisher of "McClure's Magazine" has lately been refused admission to the Ardsley Chth. which are a number of Standard Oil magnates. The raising of the So cialist press to the highest possible degree of efficiency is, of course, the only way to overcome this capitalist control and wa opression of public information about capitalist infamies. Bockefeller will not think it necessary to send a copy of the book to legisla tors and public officials; they are all anfe" sure, as long as the old parties are in power-if they were not he and his fellow magnates would not let them remain in office.

of Brooklyn contributes an article to "Everybody's Magazine" urging a church trust as the next great step in religious progress, His argument as attracted considerable atpotion in the religious world, is summarized by the "Literary Digest" as

"The epoch of church unity has fully a epoch of church unity has fully
It could no longer be delnyed,
sen who have simplified business,
sniked the banks under one manent, reorganized the factory, and
fore, and the shops, are the men
are now in the pews. Having
ad how to save the wastes on Satthey are twittened by the iny, they are irritated by the ecch missiled wastes manifest on Sunday. They realize that it is unnecessary, it-

logical, puerile, and wicked to duplicate many church plants, involving enormous wates and lessened effi-ciency, when one central church plant could quadruple the results at one-quarter of the cost."

And, of course, these same business

men, bankers, factory-owners and shop-keepers "who are now in the pews," also believe that it is "unneces sary, illogical, pperile and wicked" to have anything said from the pulpit which might tend to hurt business in terests or reduce the amount of profit which they squeeze out of the workers. They want a "church plant" run on business principles to teach the poor to be submissive and contented. obey their masters, and look for their reward in another world than this; and they are in the habit of getting what they want-Dr. Hillis is only a particularly despicable one of many who always have been and always will be ready to give it to them. And, if Dr. Hillis' plan is carried out, when the church is fully trustified, in organization as well as in the pulpit, and when there is no "reduplication of plant," some of the many ministers thus hrown out of a job will probably come into the Social'st movement-in fact we have a good many of them already.

WHAT SORT OF SPEAKERS DO

It is very important to know just what sort of speaking accomplishes the most lasting good for the Socialist movement and should therefore recive the most encouragement.

The very kind of "magnetic oratory" which makes people say that a speaker has the "oratorical temperament" and which is so successful in drawing applause from an audience is, perhaps, the very sort of speaking which is least valuable to the Socialist movenent, unless the speaker has also certain other qualities which are rathe rarely found in combination with it. If a speaker merely stirs the emotions of his audience without driving definite ideas into their heads the which he produces though it may be superficially stronger, is not fastling. At the present stage of the Socialis movement especially, we need speakers who convince the reason more than we do those who merely stir the emotions.

An emotional speaker is needed whenever it is necessary to inspire people to some immediate action. If the object were to persuade people to contribute liberally to a collection or to lead people out into the street raise a barricade or storm a stronghold then the emotional speaker would be the man for the moment. But for the purpose of bringing men to believe in and work for a cause and an idea which they have hitherto regarded as visionary and unpractical we must hav speakers who use facts, reason, proof. logic to indelibly impress certain definite ideas upon the minds of their hearers, speakers who make clear what So cialism really is. A magnetic smaker or an eloquent rhetorician may stir an audience up to a great pitch of tempor ary emotional enthusiasm but some thing more than that-something that can give a lasting basis to enthusiasm and form a rational foundation upon which to sustain it-is needed to make men stick to the belief which the speaker inspires. The object of the speaker should be to give his audience a lasting conviction rather than pass

ing emotions. Too often the emotion and hurral which the speaker produces does not last even until Election Day, His hearers applaud and go home full of sympathy and admiration, but if they are asked next day just what the speaker proved, just what propositions showed to be true, just what principles he laid down, they can give no definite idea; they only vaguely re- of an audience, as well as arouse the member that it was a "fine speech" and that "that fellow is all right great talker."

Mere gorgeous rhetoric, mere pathor about the misery of the poor, mere de nunciation of existing conditions, mere pictures of the beauty of the Co-operative Commonwealth, are not enough The speakers who are of most value to the movement are those who explain what Socialism is, who give the people something to take home and think over, some ideas, principles, conclusions which cannot be forgotten the next day, which burn into the brain of the listener and cause him to investigate and to think further, ideas which will not allow themselves to be forgotten which he who heard them cannot help remembering at the next strike or wage-reduction. We have too many "cheap rhetoricians intoxicated by th expherance of their own verbosite"to borrow Disraeli's caustic characterization of Gladstone-and not enough speakers who make clear the fact of the class struggle and the nature of the wages system.

Certainly the power and usefulne of eloquent oratory cannot be ques tioned. Certainly the emotions and the reason can both be appealed to at once. And certainly any speech, however clear and convincing, can be made still more convincing and effective by the embellishments of emotional eloquence. The two qualifies should go together; the em should be appealed to through the reason. Of course, the best speech or lecture, the ideal speech, is that which first convinces the reason and then rouses the will by an appeal to the

But the point is that wit

logical basis in fact and reason, the and wind; and that as between an emotional speech of such power as to draw forth great applause but without the definite ideas and principles of the Socialist movement and a "dry" speech establishing those principles, the latter is of much greater service because what effect it has is lasting, and those who are reached by it, although fewer in number, are more likely to be "converted" than the greater number who are temporarily thrilled by a speech of the opposite na

Not only is this so, but it is also tru that if that part of a speech which anpeals most directly to the reason is subordinated, if the emotional part of a speech far over-balances the mental part, the minds of the hearers are distracted by the banging on their heartstrings and in their emotional excite ment they miss the points and principles which should be grasped by the intellect.

The unsubstantlated and temporary effect of merely emotional speech is strikingly shown in the fact that one will often feel that queer emotional thrill which is produced by "magnetic oratory" while listening to an orator speaking in another language which the thrilled listener does not under stand.

The merit of any Socialist speceh may be measured by the answer to this question: Does the speaker make clear the fact of the class struggle under capitalism and its outcome with words and facts so familiar and logic so inexorable that the stupidest man in his audience may see it?

And how much credit is the speaker entitled to for his speech, and what kind of ability does his "good speaking" indicate? Of course, these last two questions are important only because the answer to them determine the measure of prominence and influence in party affairs, party councils. and party leadership which the speaker should be given by the rank and file of the membership.

There can be little doubt that many speakers, merely because they were "good talkers" have assumed an importance in the movement which their general abilities do not warrant. This is natural enough on account of the publicity which speakers must be given and because their travels bring them into personal connection with the comrades throughout the country -advantages not enjoyed to the same extent by comrades active and wise in party councils, whose service requires more thought and rarer qualities, nor by writers, who have always to be saying new things or old things in a

different way. It is not a very great thing to pro pare a speech and deliver it the same all over the country. Nor is personal magnetism and "gift of gab" always accompanied by originality of thought, soundness of judgment, or strength of character-that it is not is amply witnessed by the fact that some of the greatest rascals in history have had this power of "magnetic oratory."

As the movement grows, those speakers who have nothing more than thi oratorical power, who are merely speakers without being thinkers or real leaders (in the good and democratic sense of the word)-and real leaders will always incidentally be strong speakers-will be appraised at their true value as mental mechanics. tools of propaganda, accomplished phonographs-a part necessary, useful and honorable, but without the undue and disproportionate influence in party affairs which it has sometimes carried with it in the past.

To sum up: The movement n speakers who can make the class struggle clear and convince the reason emotion; and the membership will ultimately regard good speakers as "lenders" only if their power of speaking is based upon power thought, comprehensive knowledge of Socialism, strength of character, and the general intellectual ability which fits a man for service of special importance-in short, leaders who lead only by teaching. C. L.

THE SOCIALIST INSPIRATION

OF THE WORKING CLASS. Nothing is more calculated to im-ress upon a class a worthy and moral naracter, than the consciousness that it is destined to become the ruling class, that it is called upon to raise the of its class to the prin ciple of the entire age, to convert its dea into the leading idea of the who of society, and thus to form this so-ciety by impressing upon it its own

The high and world-wide honor of this destiny must occupy all your thoughts. Neither the load of the oppressed, nor the idle dissipation of the thoughtless, nor even the harmless frivolity of the insignificant is henceforth becoming to you. You are the rock on which the church of the present is to be built.

ent is to be built.

It is the lofty moral earnestness of this thought which must with devouring exclusiveness possess your spirits, fill your minds, and shape your whole fill your minds, and shape your whole lives, so as to make them conformable to it, and always related by it. It is the moral greatness of this thought which must never leave you, but must be payed to your heart in your workshops, during the hours of labor, in your issues hours, during your issues hours, during your issues hours, during your issues hours, and even when you stretch your linds to rest upon your hard couples, it is this thought which must fill and occupy your minds till they lose themselves in dreams.—Lassatle, in The Workingman's Program.

WHAT MEN MIGHT BE.

By Horace Traubel.

What men might be if they were llowed to be men no arithmetician ould figure and no moralist could offhand against men. See if men may not respond. See if men may not reallowed to be men no arithmetician could figure and no moralist could guess. The prospect would baffle all prophecy. It would outfigure all figures. We do not encourage manhood in men. We put the whole of civiliza tion in the way. Look where the man may the path is blocked. Men are permitted. The man is forbidden, You speak of men who are weak. What do you know of weak men and strong men? The thing has not yet been put to a fair test. We have had half tests False tests. Show tests. Pious tests of churchmen. Political tests of heel-ers. Economic tests of tariff mongers. ers. Economic tests of tariff mongers. Tests of plutocracy. Tests of trades. Robber tests. Tests of all kinds in the dark. But the honest man test yet remains to be tried. The test in the open. The test out in the sun. Weak What makes weak men? We pride ourselves upon our weak men The strong men are either seduced or destroyed. The strong man is given only one alternative. He can decide to be weak. Then he may be left to be honest. He may decide to be strong.' Then he must be converted to the class of those who exploit. Our civilization leaves only honesty to the weak. It leaves only robbery to the strong. Is that a basis upon which to build a conclusive brotherhood? To build literatures and sciences and arts and states and personality? Is this the test you want to see perpetuated? Can any race long survive the regime of exalted robbery? Civilization takes good care of men. But it cares nothing for man. What becomes of man while you are taking care of men? Civilization takes good care of rebbery. But it cares nothing for service. taking care of robbery? Yet all life when life deserves to be called life is rich or poor in the quality of the mu-tual service of flich." Every man serving all he can for every other man serving all he can. Not service given according to returns. Service given according to power. I giving with all the power I have to give for you giv-ing with all the power you have to give. Are you afraid to concede man a chance to live this life? Are you

eat the general fruit in the spirit of human service? Are you afraid? Do you shrink from the trial? What men might be. You have de-cided so many points offhand against men. Made an experiment the other way. Dechle he few points for men. Try a few influences in their favor. Try them in religion. Try them in politics. Try them in trade. Try them in your parlors. Try them in interna-tional relations. Try them in war. Try them in that war worse than war. Try them in commercial peace. Whenever you think mean things about man, try them. Whenever you think yourself a superior person, try them. Whenever you thing you should have a preferred chance to live, try them. When you think that art is a great thing and that labor is not a great thing, try

you afraid to put this seed into the

ground?" The seed of this test? And

help it all that help can to fruit? And

fession in his way. You put up factohis way. You took a shabby fall out of Panama and put it in his way. And so on. And so on. Almost everything you do you do to put it in his way. his way. Suppose you stopped always demanding service. Suppose you com-menced always to serve. Would that

SOCIALIST SPRING SONG.

The Spring is here, and the long nights Less bitterly cold than awhile ago,

Warmth enough in us to let us sleep, The rain that trickles down our walls No longer seems to freeze as it falls, There was dust, not mud, on our feet

There's some green in a flower-pot over the way,

blue;

drear, ; Or if Spring be here?

In the Western half of our Christian town
The winter only pretends to frown, And when his undreaded rage is done The "London Season" they say is begun. With wine, feast, revelling, laugh and

song, The hours rose-garlanded dance along. The whirl of wickedness wilder grows, In this western camp of our bitter

They fight with each other-the victors take
The largest share of the wealth we make.

lives

when the lives they have wrecked shall be counted up.

and they, for their work, shall have

When called in the man spirit men will always answer man. Do not take me for a good prophet. Try men for yourself. Then you will be your own prophet. You will not need my word to back your word. Your word will be enough for you. For the whole of life will be back of your word. But

spond in man. Men will answer man.

make the trial Create the case Take away all the obstacles. Give man a chance to be free. The man in men. The man in yourself. What men might be If you took all obstructive institutions out of his way. If you took the political state out of

the way. If you took the anti-Christianity of the Christian church out of he way. If you took war out of the way. If you took humbug peace out of the way. If you took the military class out of the way. If you took the priestly class out of the way. If you ook the literary class out of the way. The musical class. The mere painters and the mere orators and the mere showmen of any kind. If you took them out of the way. If you took wages out of the way. If you took the landlord off the land. If you took the storelord out of the store. If you took the took the factorylord out of the factory. If you took the boss out of the shop.
If you took all who are served without serving out of the way. If you took heaven out of the way and hell out of the way. Yes, if you took God himself out of the way. (It will not hurt God to take God out of the way. For God is never in the way). If you took all these out of the way. Yes, all these and more than these. If you left no warnings and pitfalls and ambushes in the way of men. Then men would have a chance to be man. Then men would be man. What man might be. But for your

whoever you are. If you did not spend most of the time in all your days put-ting things in his way. You put your store in his way. You put your prories in his way. You put your Demo-cratic convention in his way. Your You have Republican convention. You have got a whole congress in Washington in his way. A president in his way. You stole the Philippines and put them in Suppose you changed your life. Suppose you shifted your principles. Sup-pose you turned your face towards justice. Suppose you stopped putting everything in his way. Suppose you commenced taking everything out of his way. Suppose you spent the whole of the rest of your life keeping out of not give a more auspicious aspect to civilization? To the average of social behavior? To your own life? Would it not make civilization worth while at And all men worth while at last? Yes. Even you worth while at last? For them we should know what men might be. What men might be.

They know no justice, no pity, no

Our rags serve their purpose now an

The sky-stripover the court 's changed

From dull yellow-gray to clear gray Through our broken windows no more the storm Laughs and shricks as we try to keep

warm, But through dusty panes long sunbeams peer. For the Spring is here.

spring more.

To gray hard lives like our own can The fruit will grow with the changing

bring. A drowning man cares little to think Of the lights on the waves where he soon must sink.

The greenest garments the spring can Are black already with our despair.

we care

If snow or sunshine be ever us there, Or if wintry the world be we fo

make.

They spend on their houses, their women, their wives,

The money wrung from our blasted It is theirs to enjoy—it is ours to pay. Do they never dream of a reckoning

shall be counted up.

And measured the "lion that has brightened their cup.

When we who have worked shall take payment due.

Do they dream of that coming time? Not they!

But the Spring is here! Yes-here! . In the hope we had almost

That has sprung to bud after long years' frost—
In this fire in our veins, that cries

"Give youth, manbood, life, for the Right and the Truth." In our stendy purpose-for Freedom's sake-Through custom, privilege, "Fate." to

break-In the brains of the thinkers, the arms of the men will strike and strike and still

strike again
Till they cut our way to the land of flewers, And the summer of freedom at last

is ours. In these is the Spring. The winter was Small Joy the greenness and grace of It is over and done-and will come no

> Though only the blossoms now appear For the sake of the fruit the blossoms are dear.

And the Spring is here—the Spring is -E. Nesbit.

THE FACT-FOUNDED FAITH OF SOCIALISM

A word remains to be said of the faith of Socialism—that unwavering certainty of its absolute righteousness and of its ultimate triupmh. The true believer finds in Socialism that which satisfies the needs both of the mind and of the heart. He feels that her at least and here only he has a real synthesis of human affairs. He feels hat he has the clue to the course of numan history; to his instructed ever he most surprising movements in the world drama fall into intelligible plot and for him life has no tedior Above all he is conscious of that high privilege—the special birthright of man as a spirit—the merging of him-self into a worthy cause; and he finds in Socialism a cause which, unlike not even o uselessness; a propaganda generous, rational, intense and full of hope; a campaign which is to make the twen-tieth century glorious for us Amerians, as the emppaign against me free men.—A Churchir and Collectivism

— Membership in the various Citi-zens' Alliances is said to be about equally divided between Republicans and Democrats—just like the votes of the working class.—Eric People.

SOCIALISM MUST COME.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

There is a fanaticism of forelook in goal. I first saw its beginning just this expression which brings eddles of where I began to read for beginnings wrinkled disapproval to the brow of in the emigrations of the Abrahams ogic. "Must come!" he exclaims. "You in the secession from each other of the should not say, 'must come' until I have reasoned it out." "But I have reasoned it out," answers the fanatical Socialist, "and therefore I say, 'So-cislism must come.'" "But I am not cosvinced." "Nevertheless, Socialism must come." "But you have not submust come. But you have not sub-chilsin cannot come without the en-dorsement of my logic. I do not ap-prove the whole of your hope until the whole question is submitted, and So-cialism cannot come without the endorsement of logic. Wait till all the facts are in and I have vise-d them; then you may perhaps say that Socialism must come." until the last beat of the last human heart? And where then will your art of minute logic be?" In thus seeking the satisfaction of his own method, the logician is right. In thus expressing the vital heat of

his own conviction, the Socialist is right.

There is a certain fanaticism of con viction which becomes and which is becoming Socialism. There is a hot blood coursing through those little veins in the brain of a Socialist which differentiates the pregnant cranium from the one that waits. Mankind in one to its class struggle Moneykind subsidizes the other to its ervice, I am not here opposing Socialsm to logic, but comparing the whole flow of a continental, a world river, to the details of its tributaries.

Yes, it sounds fanatical to say So-cialism MUST come. And sometimes when this great world-saving faith wrapped up in that sentence is sup-ported only by another sentence of emptiness. I have as little use for it as for my imaginary logician. If the So-cialist only says, "Because truth is eternal and must prevail, therefore So cialism must come," he is not my kind of a fauntic. But if he says: "There are certain eternal MUST NOT BES in the world, which are fighting for the ssion of the government against Socialism, therefore come"-this is my doctrine and my man, and the man that will redeen our race from the abuses of course, there is no abs

in the moral world, and Socialism deals mainly with the moral world. Every day and every life is but a single experiment, a single experience, a marching away from evil; for the only moral property of the world is evils while we are marching away from them, and the end of that march ng away is Socialism.

And, of course, again, there are bits of Socialism called victory, as there are bits of all other wars. And Social Verily I say unto you I bring no peace, but a sword." The warriors against property-crimes will pitch their tents in many a sunny vale of victory before the Red Flag of human fraternity floats over all the capitols world. And such a fraternity will, because it must, come-must, b cause it will, come-as the outcome by repudiation of our great criminal in-dustrialism, alias private property, alias aristocracy, alias capitalism, in last days of American business corruption, alias Republican and Democratic parties.

If a man says that there is nothing outside the physical sciences which he regards as absolutely true, and ret he is almost a fanatical believer in So cialism, you have a good right to ask him where he gets his convictions

The fanatics that I am looking for must be private persons, since the so-ciety of the whole cannot be a fanatic. And yet the society of the whole may be saved from its tribulations only by those who are so convinced of the exceeding truth of their truth that mind-habit, will, and all the passions of their soul are IT.

There is a definite perception of the wholeness of things around, which falls to the mind of every man; and that perception is every man's truth. There is one point of common truth to which all these separate single conceptions converge and that one point Like little rivulets far remote from the great continental river, the private minds may meander around the dead trunks of fallen doccient and rotten institutions, among the tangled undergrowths of laws which rogues have made for fools to follow; but at the end of every life's thinking there is a net gain of approach to the nearest valley and the greatest river, an income to Socialism.

To convincedly and convincingly af firm the truthfulness of any human or activity is but to affirm so much Socialism of it. And every affirmation so made is like lifting a bandful of water out of a running only arresting and limiting it within andaries of our own observation ust long enough to say within our elves, and with our own ability know, whence it came and whither it coes. Then we throw it back into its burney towards the sea. In human affairs this throwing back

of the thing observed is the throwing of our observation into the stream of life. It is the expression of our new new conviction, one we have sampled despotism and sla ery, monarchy and democracy; we have sampled law, theology, art, letters; and we know whence they hav come, from the alf-determining monn come, from the all-dertrian in this slopes of economic initiation, mind, if not yet of the body, and the from the "hows," the "wheres," and the "ree thought, free-trade, free labor; of the "whys" of human labor. We are the all importance of liberty, equality, free-trade, and honest the slip importance of liberty, equality free thoughts. these sources. We are inspired by the magnificent necessity laid upon all mind, ultimately, to see the righ ful mind, ultimately, to see the rate of supremizer of labor in all human af-fairs and we are astromoid at the col-lossal and most criminal madness of its oppressors. We detained the ever-flowings of life to photograph them into words of truth—or we seemed to detain them; they stood not at all, but the photograph stands and is with us.

Lot families and the Noah families who were in quest of new territors in the emigration for food down to Egypt; in the flight from labor slav ery out of Egypt; in all the blind wan derings around and yet away from the social truth of civilization by fellow ship with ourselves, in quest of civil ization by territory. Of hunters and hunter kings; of shepherds and shepherd kings with their moving flocks o sheep and slaves: of patriarchs and land kings with their gradual appro to the world's great discovery of the one thing fruitful-labor; of the slave "All the facts? Not method of cultivating labor and its of the last human dull satiation; of the semi-military then will your art slavery which used conquered labor for the conquest of more varied labor and all at the bitter cost of labor; and the growth of the fierce appetite of luxury, and boundless ambition to con quer new lands, but only as an inci-dent in their insatiate craving for the conquest of new men to labor, to make new things to fill, fill, fill the palace with splendor and to adorn the con quering persons with gilttering wealth Oh, human labor, how fruitful you were of splendor and variety, how fruitful you were of despots to stea you, to bind you, to sweat you, to arm you against yourselves! how fruitful in the wrongs that must ultimate in

> Then I saw it begin again another nearer stage in the return of the slaves from battle, with the germ of the world-mind just come into them. They had seen other countries, other slaves other implements, other weapons, oth er masters, other oppressions, other mercies. Their horizon widened. The slaves began to think. The masters saw it; they saw that the slave had learned some moral differences; his palate and his brain and his soul and his royal personal hand began their tans, skull-tans or drum-taps, and mas ters became more accommodating and rulers made offerings of better slavery to the Tommy Atkinses of ancien Rome, and the mines slave lords of the Middle Ages began to recognize the value to themselves of being known as good masters. So they cheated the slaves into the belief that they were argely liberating them by no longer at taching them to one bit of soil, whil taking care by a concerted arrangement with their own class that the slave could not escape the whole soil of the Kingdom. The mouse was let out of its little trap into the larger trap. But this was gain. The masters were no longer doing it all by violence

democracy and Socialism.

or slaughter. They were doing some of it by cunning. The masters also were therefore beginning to think publicly, and to secure labor was the subject of

their thinking.

And I saw another stride to the So cialism that must be when soldle slaves were rewarded with lands of their own in return for the fruit of willing to admit others to be master of their share of nature they must pay spoiled and blighted life-the aliena-tion to others of all that constitutes buman life, its time and its activity Then the slave people who had see other people began therefore to live more, and instead of cultivating the earth they began to cultivate that which is socially greater. From rais ing all out of the earth's fecundity by spade or plough, they commenced to give greatly out of their own fecundoats.

ity through the artizan hand. The mind and hand of the slave went into partnership and began to make things to sell out to the wants which theh international tighting-slave forefathers had imported to their communities and the artizan workers became again the chief factor towards Socialism Not yet free from their masters, they were plucked in their handicraft as they had been in their plougheraft. But the musters were losing hold, for the slaves were becoming men. Then the difference of the two interests of master and slave classes was getting clearer and Socialism nearer. And field that another owned began to combine around a skill which no one could own but themselves. So the ar-tizans began to turn villages which lay round the feudal castles into littie cities, and the markets into great cities; and commodities, the product of labor power and labor skill, began to crowd out agricultural products as things for merchants to buy. The men who had learned on the back of slavery the mystery of getting more for less followed labor to the market. The farmer came in and sold his cabbage still, but that is now a small part the selling business. The country could only sell provender to labor to keep it working and another seller arises to sell elsewhere the products of the worker. To find the world market came the merchant. Then other sellers arose to sell the worker to the merchant - priests, patriots, politicians worker to the man sell the who had nothing wherewith to what he had stolen, was stealing, and

to be sold. And as the old soil-lords of human ity saw humanity slip away from their chains into the chains of the new bourgeois master, the new conflic ame between aristocrat and profit eeker. The profit-seeker, in his fierce offer ever-yet made to toiling hunau He offered the freedom of the mind, if not yet of the body, and the ternity and at last, perhaps, as honest attempt at democracy in America and Franco-but, honest or dishonest, force ned to fallure, because an attempt dations of monarchy and the private ownership of labor was a mockery, a held more men, to more bard work here more consent, more indiscriminate plunder, more dependence, more pow-erlessness, more contrasts of poverty and childishness in the midst of sur-roundings of wealth and wisdom, than

could continue to steal from the man

ever the slaves of the world have withered under before. And this was, of all beginnings, where I and most other Socialists saw the beginning of the end of all forms of slavery, the recognition of democracy, of public mind-dness, the wealth of free thought, of criticism, of scorn for the fraud lords of history. The bourgeois has giv-en us the marrow of all history for the bone which he must throw away to-morrow-the idealism of freedom

and of all nations' sociality.

Socialism is coming and the evils afflicting the working class and all the rest of humanity have no other ten-dency than to hasten its arrival. Spe-cial agencies like our reputed old friend the Devil or his now permanent guest Mark Hanna can only arrest in one direction to hasten it in another An allusion which may bring me the rebuke that one should speak only good of the dead. This old saw should hold with those who are still afraid of Mr. Hanna's ghost. As a political force or a specter to head off Social-ism or frighten away its expression, he was always dead. We are indebt ed to his life only as the man who boldy resorted to a conjunction of capitalists for starving American citizens into the Republican party.

A TRADE UNION MULE.

A Working Class Fable.

By Ceorge G. Cutting.

A Trade Union Mule and a Scab Ox chanced to meet in a field one day and their conversation drifted about their family affairs, neighbors' affairs and to discuss politics, as he believed that it would cause indigestion.)

"Well," said the Scab Ox. "I am not at all satisfied with things as they are going now. My master has turned me out here in a field where the grass is short and innutritious, and he only gives me corn when he places me at work when you, Mr. Mule, refuse to work, and only then just long enough to starve you to work again. I am into starve you to work again. I am in-clined to believe this is the only thing that keeps me off the butcher's

bench. "Good enough for you, Mr. Scab Ox," aid the Mule, "you should join with me and refuse to work until he gives us both corn and oats and then ac ing to a great economist, a Mr. Hanna-gomp, we would get all the eats and corn in the storehouse. You have been the cause of all my troubles, and my master has loaded me with a heavier plow each year, giving me a few extra oats during working time, but greatly reducing the quality during resting spells. I cannot find words to voice my contempt for a scab; I have a mind to kick you, and were it not for my

master's whip I would do it now."

The Ox, showing signs of anger, now replied bothy: "You are a hybrid whose father was a Feudalistic Ass and your mother was a Capitalistic Mare; and as to your posterity, you

are the last of your line."

The Mule, showing his teeth, replied with all the eloquence of an Eliot over a pint of Merchant's Club wine: "True, Mr. Ox, I am a hybrid unable to reproduce my kind, but my father was a product of evolution and my mother a have made protests in regard to the quantity of onts-in other words, I have never been a complete slavish tool like you, Mr. Ox; but I confess I am uncertain of the future. If I could only disgnise myself by having my ears clipped and the few grey hairs in colored, I would slip stable and become a carriage horse and thereby get a blanket and some

"Foot" said the Ox. "you could never disguise that tail of yours, that mulish eye, and besides, master has a new machine which he calls an obile' and I heard him say he out into the field with us, as it was cesting too much to buy benzine for the machine and oats fon the horses."

"The busy season is now here," said the Mule, "and I shall soon have oats for lunch." At this moment there fell on the ears of the two old enemies, who were near unto kicks, a continuous peal of snap-by explosions, and looking over into a neighboring field they saw their mas-ter sented upon an elevated seat and in the rear they saw a serial gang p

rolling over the sod. "Ah!" said the Mule, "it's no use to strike now; we had better crop the can kick down those fences) as our master has no use for our labor now hadn't we better combine and help push down the fence which separates us from the fine field of grass?"

Moral.-The Trade Union Mule and the Scab Ox have been fighting, while the master profited. But the master has found a substitute which suits him better, which never goes on strike, and does not ent outs. The Trade Union Mule was born of a Fendalistic Father and a Capitalistic Mother and their of spring has served a purpose, but evolution says the species is ended with the hybrid The future system reproduction with an environment capable of improvement. The most re markable thing is that the Mule and the Ox should have ever made such important discoveries.

AS PEACEFUL AS GOOD DIGESTION.

The communalization of certain so cial functions corresponds ing an exact analogy-to the process by which physiological actions become automatic. As it becomes a state automatic. As it becomes a state function commerce will cease to ab-sord the best energy and enterprise of the world and will become merely me chanical.-Havelock Ellis, in The New

THE OUTCOME OF TRUSTIFICATION

In the profoundly interesting movenent witnessed to-day in the direction of trusts and syndicates, we see the natural and inevitable transition to a new cra. Like all transitions, it can only be effected with much friction. From one point of riew it is the last incricate of capitalism; from a wider standpoint it is the forging of a huge instrument to be taken up eventually. by a vast international community who will thus control the means of providing for themselves by methods of simple and unevenths rest'me— Havelock Elits, in The New Spirit

Program Forward or Backward?"]
The stately stream of the Revolution accompanied by little side currents

is accompanied by little side currents and backflows, like all great streams. One of the most notable of the counter currents in the Socialist movement is the tendency toward so-ceiled Revisionism or Opportunism. The historian who attempts to classify the tendencies expressed by these two terms will find it very difficult to group them all together under one head. But, broadly speaking, one might call Re-visionist those who frame the theory of this side current of Socialist thought, and Opportunists those who seek to apply the new theory in prac-tical party work and in parliament. The principal characteristic of this tendency is not that it revises the Marxian doctrine, for no one is more diligently engaged in applying the keen blade of critique to this doctrine than the Revolutionary Marxians themselves. Its principal mark of dis-tinction is that it revises the Marxian doctrine in a direction which brings into conflict with the revolutionary element. It finds fault with the course of the great revolutionary main cur-rent and seeks to divert it into side channels. In order to clearly under-stand in what respect this new philo-sophy differs from the original Mar-xian philosophy, it will be necessary to state the fundamental theses of the

two.

The Marxian philosophy declares that the economic foundation of so-ciety determines the form of human activity and thought; that the history of all human societies since the intro-duction of the principle of private en a history of class struggles, waged for economic a political supremacy; that in prescapitalist society there are three disthat economic classes—the capitalist class who are in control of the essen-tial means of production, the working class who are proletarian in character, being in possession of no other means of existence but their labor power, which can only be applied by its sale to the capitalist class, and the midd ciass, who are partly capitalist, partly proletarian in character; that the ma-jority, of the middle class are being reduced, by the process of capital-ist production, to the ranks of the the middle class and the capitalists are becoming less and less essential lu production compared to the working class; that the ever more intensified economic antagonism between the capitalist class and the working class. capitalist system economically inevitable and produce a corresponding in-tensification of the political struggle between the two contending forces; that this class struggle will end in the victory of the working class; and that this class will inaugurate a system of collective production based on economic and political equalities which exclude the existence of all classes but one, the working cla

The fundamental theses of Revisionism are not formulated so con-cisely, but they may be stated in substance as follows, taking as their basis Eduard Bernstein's work, "Die Morausetzungen des Sozialismus."
That the Marxian conception of hi-storical materialism is formulated too degmatically; that the Marxian con-ception of the class struggle still conception of the class struggle still con-tains some of the "dangerous elements of Blanquism" and is too catastrophic; that the economic inevitability of the does not disappear from society, but simply changes its character; that the the historical mission of the working class is not denied by Revisionist philosophy, but récedes almost out of sight before the present day activity of the Socialist movement, as they would have it.

The purpose of this article does not require a further analysis of these fundamental theses as to their sound-ness. I am simply stating the condi-tions not analyzing their theoretical origin. I am comparing what others origin. I am comparing what others have formulated, not seeking to justify the scientific claims of one side or the other side, the Revisionists rather paves the way for a more elab other. I can therefore proceed to state that the Marxian philosophy has given rise to tactics which follow the so-called Revolutionary method, tactics which aim to keep step in the uncompromising political evolution of the working class with the economic evo-lution of the capitalist system and to accompany the intensification of the economic class struggle by an intensification of the political class struggle.

It does not pretend to cure the evils
of capitalist society by the old method symptomatic treatment, but by the lition of the causes of the evil.
Revisionist theory, on the other The Revisionist theory, on the other hand, has created a tactic which is so free from the "dangerous elements of Blanquism" that it has a decided affinity for the utopian attempts of Proudhon to emancipate the working class by the help of the capitalist standpoint of securing the aid of the capitalist state for the amelioration of condition of the working class The Revolutionary method keeps the class lines constantly and clearly in view; the Revisionist method blurs

and of the Revisionist tactics are sup-posed to be summarised in the follow-ing resolution, which posed to be summarised in the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 288 against 11 at the Dress den Convention of the German Social-Democracy, September, 1803; "The Convention repudiates emonatically the Revisionist attempts to change our present tried and victorious tactics in such a way that the conquest of political power by a defeat of the capitalists would be replaced by a policy of concillation with the present order of things. The consequence of such a policy would be that our party, instead of being a movement aiming to revolutionise the present capitalist society, would be transformed into a movement which would be content to reform the present society. The con-

or even obliterates them.

By Ernest Untermann. vention furthermore condemns the at-tempt to gloss over, in the interest of a gradual approach to the capitalist-parties, the ever increasing class an-tagonisms. The convention instructs its representatives in the Reichstag to use the greater power acquired by an and of the mass of Socialist voters in the interest of the proletariat as pro-vided by our platform, to work energetically for the extension and secur-ity of the political liberties and equal-rights of all, and to carry on a still more aggressive campaign against militarism, against an increase of the navy, against colonial expansion, against imperial world politics, and against wrong, oppression, and exploitation of every kind." The discussion of the resolution at the Dresden convention reproduced, in

a more pronounced form, the phenomena which had appeared in the wake of Bernstein's above-named work. Bernstein strenuously denied that it was his intention, or even a logical conclusion from his standpoint, to abandon the ground of the class struggie. He held that the resolution did not represent his case fairly and therefore voted against it. Most of his followers also claimed that they were not Revisionists in the sense defined by the resolution, and that, since it did not fit their case, they could very well vote for it. And so they did, This lack of unity on the part of the Revisionists was also shown in their theoretical discussions. In the literary discussions, Bernstein often found himself compelled to deny that the conclusions of so-called Bernsteinians could be derived from his criticism of the Marx'an doctrine. And whenever, Revisionism was pressed for a concise definition of its for a concise definition of its position, the majority of Bernstein's followers forsook him. The same lack of unity is also shown by the practical Opportunists. While the German Opportunists claim to be in full harmony with the Marxian program and method, the Italian and French Opportunists have formulated as Science. formulated a Socialist program of their own, and drawn the very conclutheir own, and drawn the very conclu-sions which Bernstein repudiates, And while the German Opportunists, in spite of their lack of harmony in the-ory and practice, have expressed them-selves in favor of the unity of the party, the French and Italian Oppor-tunists have established harmony betunists have established harmony tween theory and practice by divorc-ing themselves from the Revolutionary method, forming distinct Opportunist parties, and going to the full length of the practical consequences of such a step. The Revolutionary Marxians are a unit on the fundamentals enumerated above and on the revolutionary

But apart from these differences be-But apart from these differences be-tween Revisionists and Opportunists, there are other differences between Revisionist-Opportunists and Revolu-tionary Socialists that compilerate the signation will more. These differences situation still more. These differences seem to be mainly traceable to certain misunderstandings, which are express-ed in the charge that the Revolutionary element rejects all present-day work for palliatives and is working intentionally toward a catastrophe, and on the other hand that the Revisionsts are undermining the independent existence of the party by neglecting the class lines. Neither of these charges can be logically connected with the theoretical and practical position of the two camps. The Revolu-tionaries cannot be blamed for any catastrophes that may follow in the course of social evolution, because there is no fundamental distinction beas some Revisionists affect. The Marxian philosophy defines revolution as a certain stage of evolution. Hence cat astrophes lie in the very dialectic of capitalist development. We do not seek these conflicts wilfully. We are born into the midst of them. Between the choice of meeting a catastrophe by preparing for it or meeting it unpre-pared, the Revolutionary Socialists prefer the former alternative. There fore they endeavor to organize the working class in harmony with this process of evolution and work consciously toward the stage where the Whether this will bring on a catastrophe will depend in

seem to have a secret horror of the idea of a final climax between the contending forces in the class struggle. And the Revisionist theory of the de-crease in the intensity of the class antagonisms furnishes the scientific basis for this view. Nevertheless, this pol-icy cannot evade the final catastrophe any more than the Marxian tactics can. It only leaves the proletariat un-

the last analysis on the capitalist class,

As for the charge that Revisionist tactics must necessarily and logically lead to a dissolution of the party or of the party discipline, this is founded on the similar misapprehension of the facts as the charge of catastrophic in-Socialist movement has not suffered in unity and discipline, in spite of its tac-tical differences, while the Italian and tical differences, while the Italian and French Socialist movement has. Hence there must be some deeper cause to explain these results; they cannot be traced to the theory of Revisionism itself. Kautsky sees a step toward the solution of the problem in the distinction between theoretical Revisionists and practical Opportunists. Of course, there is such a distinction, and I have made it in the introduction of this article. But the same distinction can also be made between theoretical and practical Marxians. That is a perfectly legitimate and rational dis-

fundamental difference between the maximum program and the minimum program, between the fundamental So cialist program and the immediate de mands. While in our electoral cam-paigns we are distinguishing ourselves from all other parties by the maximum program which can only be realized by the Revolutionary method and by a majority of the voters of a nation, we are forced, while representing a min-ority party, in parliament to confine ourselves to the minimum program, which is essentially non-revolutionary and symptomatic in character. This minimum program offers little oppor-tunity for the employment of the Revo-lutionary method, but lends itself much better to the Opportunist method. The Dresden resolution has no solved this contradiction. It starts out with a ringing declaration in favor of the Revolutionary method, but ends with a weak program which that method shall realize at present. The resolution is, therefore, unable to give either the Marxians or the Revision-

ists their just dues.

The distinction between the maxigram is plainly that the one is our rent platform, while the minimum program is nothing but a set of instructions given to our representatives in parlia-ment for the guidance in parliamentarian action. To the fact that the "Communist Manifesto," in 1848, has not made this distinction, and that the first German Socialist platform did not correct this mistake, is due, in my opinion, the whole trouble which the Revisionist ideas have caused. From this contradiction between the Revolu tionary method and the Opportunist immediate demands spring all the diffi-culties between Marxians and Bernsteinians in Germany, Guesdists and manifesto; and the same reason, that of compromising with heterogeneous elements, was still active in the formation of the Gotha program of the German Socialist Party in 1875. But the Erfurt program of that party, in 1891, was no longer subject to such considerations of expediency. On the contrary, every consideration of that per iod was in favor of separating the campaign platform from the working

program of the elected representatives.

There is a very logical reason for this differentiation of our campaign platform from the parliamentarian program. The campaign platform is the basis on which the whole body of Socialist voters is moving in elections as distinguished from all other voters. But the program for parliamentarian action outlined by the immediate de-mands is only the basis for the movement of our representatives. Thes. representatives get into office only be-cause the whole body of Socialist voters is moving on a platform which draws a sharp class line between So cinlist and capitalist voters. But after they have been elected, it de volves upon them to carry out the in structions embodied for their guidance in the immediate demands. The whole body of Socialist voters cannot take any direct part in the realization of the immediate demands. They must be realized by the representatives

lined in our straight Socialist platform cannot be realized while we are a minority party. They require not only the action of our representatives, but the active participation of the majority of the nation. In this they differ from the immediate demands, which may be enacted into laws without the active participation of the voters. But when we become a majority party, parliament as an Independent law-making body ceases to exist, and the power of legislation passes into the hands of the rank and file of the Socialist majority, who set about inau gurating the Co-operative Common It is clear that this fundamental dif-

ference between the minimum and the maximum program, between the action of the representatives of the party and of the whole party, should be plainly expressed by a separation of one from the other. Nothing should go luto our campaign platforms but the typical Socialist demands. the immediate demands should be pub-lished in the form of a handbook for our representatives, to be used by them in their parliamentarian work, and by our agitators for propaganda purposes. Such a separation in no way interferes with the present-day orate immediate program. And at the same time such a separation of the fundamental platform from the Op-portunist program removes all possi-bility for any election compromises that might endanger our separate existence as a party. It leaves no roon ortunism in election cam for any Op paigns; and that is the only dangerou Opportunism. Opportunism in parlia ment is powerless to hurt the stability of the movement, because the party membership, and in a wider sense the mass of the Socialist voters, have it in their hands to elect candidates that will not compromise, even in parlia ment. And since we have put the prin-ciples of direct legislation in practice in our party affairs the rank and file of the Socialist movement is alone to blame if it places Opportunists into re sponsible positions.

sponsible positions.

The further consequences of the separation of our principles from present day Opportunism are still more significant. This step will make that posnificant. Manifest Manifes nificant. This step will make that pos sible which the "Communist Manifes to" was unable to accomplish. It will make the adoption of a uniform inter-national Socialist program a possi

bility. We are found of boasting of our international character. We proudly point to the fact that the class-coustions workingmen of the world have already solved for themselves what all the sentimental capitalist philosophers were unable to accomplish—the question of international peace. But as yet we have not manifested our international solidarity by anything but international Socialist Bureau. We have neglected to do that by which all parties document their solidarity. We have not demonstrated to the working classes and to the capitalist classes of the world that we are international because we are all standing on a uniform international program. But if we can meet at the same international congress and elect delegates to the We are found of boasting of our in

same international bureau, why not SOCIALISM AND EXPANSION.

which had to be adapted to local confiditions. With the separation of the minimum program from the maximum program there is no longer any reason why we should not adopt the same program in all countries of the globe. I will not urge the adoption of such a program for any Opportunist reasons. I will not polat to the fact that the existence of a multitude of Socialist programs has not only made it possible for the capitalists of one nation to claim that the Socialists of an other nation were not Socialists at all. other nation were not Socialists at all. other nation were not Socialists at all, but also enabled the capitalists of certain nations to play one Socialist party against the other Socialist party of the same country. I will not mention the fact that a uniform program would force the Jauresists in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, the Socialist Lober Party in the the Socialist Labor Party in the United States, to show their true col-ors and to unite with those who are willing to adopt this uniform program or to stay outside and confess that they are either Anarchists or reforms ers. I will not base my appeal for a uniform international program on such and similar reasons. I am content to claim that a uniform program for all claim that a uniform program for all socially parties of the world is a log! But capitalist expansion means not a shall not presume to formulate the increase of the area of and matter-of-course demand.

action of all Revolutionary Socialists in the world is sooner or later indis-persable. Let us furnish to the world the unmistakable proof that we are one and the same International Social-

CHILD LABOR.

(Continued from page 1.)

side of the question, though I know it as well as any of you. I know that the children in Tactories and mills are assailed on every hand by all kinds of temptation, that tend to their degradation and their immorality; that to take them from the factory and give them two years more of education would be a credit to the Commonwealth of the common tendence of the sponsation will be a commonwealth of the common tendence of the sponsation will be a credit to the Commonwealth of the sense to me that a clear distinction.

them from the factory and give them two, years more of education would be a credit, to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and to refuse to do it will be merely postponling an act that should leng ago, have been done and will yet be done; and whose want of enactment is alone sufficient to cause an indignant people to make of your political parties things of the past.

Again I confront you with the fact that almost 15,000 children are needlessly tolling for wages in the mills and factories of Massachusetts, and I demand that you answer why you oppose this bill so that the people of Massachusetts may know why you contenue this crime against society, against the childhood of the world, and against the future clizens of this Republic, Whatever, you may say or do, we are prepared to meet you here or elsewhere, and I you will not listen and where, and If you will not listen and will not act we will appeal from and will not act we will appeal from you to the propie of this state and will meet you face to face in every political eambaigh that shall be waged until the end. I submit the case to you, and if you will not give us justice, I shall appeal to the people; and should they not hearken I appeal from them to that last and suprema tribunal that re-verses many of the decisions of to-day the Future, holding as it does in so. lution this and much more, the Future that will surely recognize the right of society to the ownership and the bene-sits of all the means of production and distribution inasmuch as they are the product of the genius of society, of the invention and experiment, of the thought and the labor of the whole human race; and will, above all, recognize and sacredly guard the right of the child to all his years of childhood.

I'The hid was defeated by a vote of ber might be placed on record for or against the bill. This also was defeated, as a roll call is granted only on the request of 30 members; and only 10 out of 240 supported Carey's request.]

A GOOD SUGGESTION.

A subscriber writes as follows: "Let me compliment you on your splendid May Day issue of The Worker. I think it is the greatest paper published in this country to-day, and think it's a shame that it's not better known. I dare say that a copy of this issue of The Worker placed in the issue of The Worker placed in the hands of any honest man would perforce make a Socialist out of him. My own experience is the proof of it. Two years ago I knew nothing of Socialism, except a hazy idea that it was of utopian character and an opinion of its impracticability as applied to common life. Nor was I an exception in this regard from the average work-er. But fortunately I happened to come across a copy of The Worker and

I have never since been without it.
"Now, I think it would be an excellent thing if all comrades in Greater
New York take at least five copies a week and make a habit of leaving one each morning and evening in the street cars or elevated railroad when street cars or elevated railroad when-coming and going from work. Many-times I have seen when I left my copy of The Worker in the car how the man that found it became absorbed in its pages and when leaving the car care-fully put the paper in his pocket, no doubt in order to read it at leisure at doubt in order to read it at leisure at home. Just think of it! Twenty thous and Socialists in Greater New York and each one distribute five copies of The Worker a week, what an immense force to educate the people in Socialism! Then you would not hear such arguments as I happened to hear not long ago, that the Socialists want to do away with machinery, because it knocks men out of work. In conclusion let me say that in this way you would reach people whom you are never able to reach any other way to teach the principles of Socialism."

—If you have an extra copy of The Worker, don't throw it away, but give it to some one who will read it.

have first of all fit fitternational pro-gram?

The only thing that has prevented the adoption of such a program is pre-cisely the immediate demand tall, which had to be adapted to local con-ditions. With the apparation of the the evolution of Socialism, therefore sary. It may be necessary for some nation or nations to pass through all the stages of human development, but that it is not necessary for all to do so is demonstrated by the fact that backward nations, now coming into line with those more advanced, would not pass through the intervening stages, but would adopt the most fully developed form. In these intervenions developed form. In their imitation of western nations, even in the arts of war, for instance, the Japanese did not first adopt wooden ships, muzzle-loading cannon and flint-lock muskets. They have adopted the most modern forms of arms and ships of war. If it is possible for a nation to come into the present stage of civilization without passing through the intervening stages, it is equally possible for a na-tion to enter on a still higher stage without passing through the present. We may hope therefore, that to many will be spared the horrors and suffer-ings of the capitalist system, and for

I shall not presume to formulate such a program. There is not the extension of the capitalist era. The slightest doubt that our various delegates at the next international content the collapse of capitalism; their extenvention in Amsterdam will easily give since any give it a new lease of life. Use a program that will be acceptable to every sincere and class-conscious socialist. And I am satisfied to leave the collapse of the collapse of capitalism; their extension may give it a new lease of life. Socialist. And I am satisfied to leave the collapse of stelnians in Germany, Guesdists and Jaurèsists in France. Ferrians and Jaurèsists in France. Ferrians and it to the rank and file of all Socialist. It is some of Turatians in Italy. The authors of the Parties whether their Guestases shall the most serious consequences of improvements the first of the most program or not. A united action of all Revolutionary Socialists should uphold the same reason, that the world is sooner or later indistingtion. rights of the so-called subject races, as welli as of the small nationalities, and oppose capitalist expansion in all its forms.—H. Quelch, in the Social Demo-

WORKING PROGRAM FOR ELECTED SOCIALISTS

thing is probably true or a state government.

It would be infinitely better could we be certain that we would not capture any union political division until our forces were much streages than at present and the knowledge of northing much marked the knowledge of northing much marked the property of the point, not all froutdon cares very 1; tie for what we many think advisable. It is absolutely certain that we will capture very many offices, and become a minority party in imany numerical and state governments during the next two years.

Two courses are then open for those

party in many municipal and state governments during the next two yrazes....

Two courses are then often for those elected to office. Either they may sit the wooden men with phonograph attachments, manimously voting no on every-lang that arises, or they may become positive sighting forces for the working classes. The distriction forces for the working classes. The districtive really does not exist, since there is fairly good reason to believe that we shall not cleet hopeters blance and the state of the individual clicical shall be directed and controlled. There is no reason to believe that all such official shall be directed and controlled. There is no reason to believe that all such official shall be directed and controlled. There is no reason to believe that all such officials shall be directed and controlled. There is no reason to helive that all such directions to affect gives any individual more reasonable to affect of the work individual to a subscribe to the document that each in the property of the subject, then such a phrase as that which has been attached to the Chicago platfora, and to one or two others, to the elect that "If anythma are for the classes, it is just the losses one mendant; otherwise, it is just a losses one mendant; otherwise, it is just a losses of the control is that of a committee. My experience in the pury has

hastle nonsense.

One method of control is that of a committee. My experience in the party has not shown mue that non-section to office, carries with it any each wheet as to know, edge of Sectalism, and that there is but very little reason to believe that a committee of three or five will be any better expressionative of the party than the individual who is elected. To give them the mover of coaried is sunity to sure, der the mittee of three or five wall be any better representative of the party than the individual who is elected. To give them the power of control is supply jo surpe der this senialist principle of democracy and standish a miniature oligarchy. The ideal way would be to permit the party as a whilt of decide each question as it arose. Uniquestions which we can be reasonably sure will be up for discussion and decision before will be up for discussion and decision before any legislative body to which we are apt to elect a person. It is possible to trace the opinion of the party in advance on the opinion of the party in the party of the party and the party of the party and the party of social be elected; that the statement should be made in connection with the ismance of the program that it is not a part of Socialian; and that a campaign should not be made hupon the program for the party of social party using our program as fuel for fits campaign machinery.

Chiengo, III.

Chicago, Ill.

WOMEN IN THE PARTY.

To the Editor of the Worker:—I was very much interested in your editorial on "Wo-men in the Party." It was along the right lines. There was one argument, to me a

very strong one, which you cmitted; and, if you will persist use space, I should like to present it.

We know that in the places where the Socialist vote is increasing, the sill perties drop their various issues, and combine to defeat the Socialist ticket. As time goes on and even this comiliantion is not strong the sill of the

FROM IDAHO.

FROM IDANO.

To the Editor of The Worker:—I am prompted by worthy and sacred motives to resent the cruei treatment I am receiving from cortain members of the Socialist. The control of the cruei treatment I am receiving from cortain members of the Socialist. Wrighty, I am charged with the control of March 13, and in the Seattle "Socialist," written by G. W. Wrighey, I am charged with the control of the contro

that according to my teaching the working class and the middle class meat be considered equal, he harmfully and wilfully prevaricates.

Wrigley demands permission in propaganda meetings, in fact, he takes permission, to criticise every word spoken, concluding the propaganda meetings, in fact, he takes permission, to criticise every word spoken, concluding the propaganda meetings, in fact, he takes permission, to criticise every word spoken, concluding the propaganda meetings, in fact, he takes permission, to criticise every word spoken, concluding the propaganda meeting it, leasting an impression with the audience of non-Socialists that the Scialists do not know what they are taiking about. He not only did this while here, but his work in Canada was impaired by this same cause.

But this is not the worst of Wrigler's methods. He owns a typewriter and several extraction of mortoid paper, and when the same cause of the constitution of Wrigier is carrying evil stories of some of our most prominent Socialist workers one of which I know to be shameful and untruthful.

I court a further investigation. I have a right to it. I will not let it go with the statement, "that it is only too true," which is Wilkins' way of disposing of the whole affair.

Wallace, Idaho, April 15.

CONDUCT OF MEETINGS.

To the Editor of The Worker:—The let-ter of Courade Charles Dobba, though treating of his experiences in his present field of action, were of a nature that they can and should be applied wherever So-cialists meet for the purpose of propa-ganda.

can and should be applied wherever Secinitists meet for the purpose of propagnida.

Again and again I have been impressed with the utter disregard of propriety manifested by members of the Socialist Party would have been consideration for speakers would have been consideration for speakers would have been consideration and beneficial. As it is, we cannot some and beneficial has it is, we cannot some and beneficial that the more boorish they conduct thruselves the greater evidence of their "class-consciousness" is given. The term "puntuality," for instance, is apparently lacking in the vacabulary of a large number consciousness' is given. The term "puntuality," for instance, is apparently lacking in the vacabulary of a large number character, is not intended the constitution of this cyranity pure any conduct that they should not be reproved for conduct that is capable of casting reflection upon the membership as being void of any knowledge of good behavior.

ROBERT BANDLOW.

Clereland, O. ROBERT BANDLOW.

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CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Em-ployment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The pioyment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—59 E. 1st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 206 E. S6th St., 7.30 p.m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3300 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1997 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1997 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. V.—3300 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI.—1997 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII.—1432 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every. Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS UNION), meets first Tuesday of the month, 10 a. m., at Labor Lycoum, 64 East 4th street. Socretary, H. Frey 171 East 87th street.

MUSICIANS' CO-OPERATIVE UNION, Local 273, A. L. U., of Hudson and Bergen Counties. Meets every Friday, at 11 a. m., at headquarters, 575 Central avenus, Jet y Cl y, N. J.

LOCAL 476, MACHINE WODD WORKERS AND TURNERS. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joines of America. Meets every Tuesday at Hobenian Hall, 523 E. 73d street, New York Pinancial Secre-tary, Whn. E. P. Schwartz, 8 Mill street, Asioria, L. I. Reconding Secretary, Jos. Noelter, 774 E. 150th street.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets first Sunday of every, month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hall, 233 E. 38th street, New York. All Scandinavians are welcome. Agitation meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Sjoholm, 261 Onderdonk avenue, Brooklyn.

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ar Kangaroos are well NEW YORK. No line drawn on smaller animals,

against 61 given to his opponent.

The Boston Public Library Bulletin for March, 1964, contains a list of 551 works on economics by 384 authors, and can be had for a postage stamp

New York City.

The first gun of the presidential cam

palga will be fired at One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh

and Twenty-fifth street and sevenin avenue at a street meeting to be held Saturday evening, May 7, under the auspices of the Harlem Agitation Committee. J. C. Frost and others will speak. Comrades residing in Harlem are urged to attend and the presence of disengaged compades from others.

of disengaged comrades from other parts of the city will be appreciated

Elsa Barker will speak at the Lib-eral Culture Club, 170 W. Fifty-fourth street, Thursday evening, May 12, on "Individual and Collective Ideals."

Organizer Solomon will refund the

Classen, 50c.; Gustay Lelst, 50c.; H. F. Smith, \$1; C. Treitle, 50c.; Wm. Hertel, 50c.; L. Schurr, \$1.20; 26th A. D.—

John Lentz, \$2.50; Jacob Lentz, \$1.85;

F. Schultz, \$1.70;- Gustay Baur, \$1; 30th A. D.-John Spargo, \$2.50; E.

tamm, 50c.; D. Eschresh, \$1; J. Vogt.

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nig, \$1; A. Lee, \$1; Florence Lee, \$1; E. Chait, \$1; Isaac Sternberg, \$4; H. S. Nathan, \$1; 32-33d A. D.-L. A. Mal-

kiel, \$1: 35th A. D., Br. 1-Chas, E.

Graeb, 50c.; G. D., 75c.; Local Richmond, S. D. P., \$10; W. F. Lillenthal,

\$5; previously acknowledged, \$92.65;

At the next meeting of the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville Comrades Paul and Lentz

will discuss the trust question. The membership is constantly increasing. At the last meeing three members

were elected as an adidtion to the Fi-

nance Committee of the Workingmen's

Educational Association to visit trade unions and ask for aid in the erection of the new Labor Temple which that

organization is to build.

The May Day parade of our East
Side comrades of the United Hebrew
trades later Saturalay evantur, was
sfoned and attacked by a crowd of
rowdies at Second avenue and Sixteenth street. A number were burt,
but after the police had scattered the

but after the police had scattered the roughs and arrested two of them, the parade continued to Union Square, where speeches were made against the

For the first time, since the conven-tion of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association was held in Philadelphia,

the threat of the introduction of the open shop in the clothing industry of the country was carried out last Mon-

day. On that day a notice was posted

in every shop, declaring that according to a resolution passed by the National Association of Clothing Manu-

facturers the open shop would hance

forth be in vogne. At the same time it was stated, that "no change in hours or wages would be made, nor would

there be discrimination against union

the clothing bosses of Chicago, Phila-delphia, Baltimore and Rochester. In the latter city all the organized cloth-

ing cutters have been on strike for the last eight months because the local Clothlers Exchange had refused to meet a committee of the union and dis-

cuss questions with them.

When the convention of the bosses

issued the proclamation relating to the establishment of the open shop, the officers of the United Garment Work-

ers, of whom Henry White of Civic Federation fame is the head, at once

began talking strike. The executive

cessation of work in case the threat of the manufacturers should be carried out, but since then nothing has been

done on the part of the mon. Twice

the official organ of the union contained notices that a conference between the bosses and the representatives of the union would be field, but up to the

present none has been called. Mar-cus M. Marks, the president of the bosses' association, has repeatedly de-nied that they had consented to a con-

ference with the officers of the unior but Henry White still kept on sayin that the conference would be held

"as soon as the members of the com

regarding the open shop, Mr. White denied that this had been the case in

all shops, stating that the notice could only be found in a few. Aske

about the prospects of a strike. White said that none would be ordered as

long as the manufacturers did not dis-criminate against the union employees. The clothing firms of Buffalo have not

joined in the movement for the intro

duction of the open shop. All firms there are using the union label. The New York Garment Workers Joint Council has elected a committee

with instructions to secure Cooper Un ion hall for a mass meeting, in which

the Garment Workers will endeavor

the case in the present controversy with the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers. The meeting is to be held as soon as possible and

will be addressed by Sam Gomper

mittee would come together."

The same action was taken by

CLOTHING INDUSTRY.

organization is to build

total, \$290.75.

high rents.

OPEN SHOP IN

ALL SHOULD GO TO GRAND CENTRAL PALACE.

Democratic P Worker and the "Volks-AT 184 WILD third street and Lexington ave-

By th nue, will not close till May 8. Last Sunday a large crowd assembled there to celebrate May Day, and listened to speeches befitting the occasion by Frederick Krafft in English and Julius Wahlteich in German.

The special cable dispatches in the daily bulletin printed at the linotype exhibit are creating much merriment One dispatch from Berlin announced that Kalser Wilhelm had absolutely refused to appear at Grand Central Palace, and that it was thought his refusal was for political reasons.

PRIMARY AND

Mass Meeting in Cooper Union on May 17-Meeting of the Brooklyn Conference-Progress of the Fund.

FOR THE DAILY.

A monster mass meeting is being arranged by the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association for Thursday evening ,May 17, at Cooper Union in the interest of the Daily Call. The mass meeting will be informed of all the steps so far taken toward publishing the Socialist daily by September 1, 1904, and many important an nouncements will be made from the As speakers for the occasion the following have been invited: George D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, Benjamin Hanford, John Spargo, Courtenay Lemon, Joseph Barondess, Charles Dóbbs, Frederick Krafft, Chas. L. Furman and other well known Socialist orators. Comrades and friends who want to see a successful the meeting as many who are interest ed in our cause as possible, so that this meeting will be a grand turn-out of our forces and a splendid stimulus for those who are working energetically to realize that which seemed im-

A meeting of the Board of Managers will be held on Thursday evening May 12, at which it is expected that plans in regard to running the paper will be submitted by those who have en suggested for the position of managing editor, among whom are Charles Dobbs of "Wilshire's Maga-ziné." Algernon Lee and Courtenay Lemon of The Worker, Joshua Wan-hope of the "Eric People," Fred War-ren of the "Appeal," George Gordon of the City News Association, Nelson of the Philadelphia "North American. Hart of Chicago, and other Socialist

Delegates to the Call Conference of Brooklyn are requested to attend the next meeting on Thursday, May 12, 8 p. m., at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, and turn in subscriptions as far as possible so that a report can be submitted All delegates who have not yet supplied themselves, with subscription books should do so at this meeting

There are still several S. D. P. ference. It is up to the comrades to see that their assembly districts are represented by members who will at-tend the meetings of the Conference. There is but a short time left between now and date of issue, September 1, which means a lot of work, and the Socialists are the ones that will have to do this work. Assembly districts of Brooklyn will therefore see to it thhat they are all represented in this

Brooklyn comrades who are willing to secure subscriptions for the Call please report on May 12, 8 p. m., at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willough-Financial Secretary Gerber acknowl-

edges receipt of the following contri-

Cash donations:-Ed. Schneider, city on, city, 50c.; Elias Ludmerer, city 15c.: Rob Friche, city, \$1: Local Jet Arizona, \$8; S. R. Goetze, city. Chas. Hertle, city, 25c.; C.-en, city, 25c.; A. Hohl, city, 25c.; W. Meler, city, 25c.; J. J. Flick, city, 25c.; Wm. Hertle, city, 25c.; Aug. Dit Fricke, Corona, L. I., \$3; total on cash donations for week, \$15.95; previously

reported, \$3,151.74; total, \$3,167.69.

Paid on pledges: Henry Greene ewark, N. J., \$1; Morris Greene Newark, N. J., \$1; Geo. Riepe, Newark, N. J., \$1; A. Kern, Newark, N. J., \$1; Pintcher, Newark, N. J., 50c.; D. Rubinow, Newark, N. J., \$1; L. Bium, Brooklyn, \$1; W. Goldman, Brooklyn A. Nimkowsky, Brooklyn, 75c M. Polock, Brooklyn, \$1; W. Butscher, Brooklyn, \$3; S. Berkman, \$1; E. Bochme, Brooklyn, \$1; E. A. Swinson, Brooklyn, 50c.; J. Rausch, \$2; Noble Rochlin, Brooklyn, 50c.; Ed. Schmeier, Brooklyn, 25c.; M. Kaplan, Brooklyn, Oglinsky, Brooklyn, 50c.; J Rufka, Paterson, N. J., \$2; M. C. Levine, city, \$1; Schultz, Glendale, L. I., 25c.; Ed. Pranse, Glendale, L. I., \$1; Chas. Zeitelhock, Westfield, N. J., \$1; M. Hillquit, city, \$10; A. Lee, city, \$2 \$40.25; previously reported, \$3,478.20 total, \$3,518.45.

Recapitulation: Income on cash do nations for week, \$15.95; income on pledges for week, \$40.25; previously eported. all sources, \$15,389.93; tota to date, \$15,446.13.

New pledges: Schultz, Glendale, L. , \$3; Ed. Pranse, Glendale, L. I., \$3; Blum. Brooklyn. \$5; previously re-orted, \$8,154.40; total, \$8,165.40.

WARNING TO BAKERS.

use the boss bakers of Roch N. Y., have refused their ployees the demand for the introd tion of daywork in all bakeshops the journeymen of that city have been forced to enter into a strike. Representatives of the Rochester bossess have established an office in New York City, in East Sixth street, where they are trying to hire scaps. The local bakers unions are warning all fellow craftsmen not to apply for work at 525 E. Sixth street, and to keep away from Bochester while the strike is on.

al Exposition for the | Every workingman who appreciates the necessity of maintaining and PUBLISHE Grand Central Palace, at strengthening our press, the organs of the Social Democratic Party and the trade-union movement, in order that they may tell the fruths that other papers, for business reasons, suppress or distort, and to educate the workers and inspire them for the struggle for economic freedom, will do all in his power to make this enterprise a social and financial success.

The attendance has steadily improved, but is not yet satisfactory and all comrades and friends of The Worker should not fall to attend and bring some friends on every one of the remaining evenings of this important affair.

CONVENTION NOTICES.

Primaries of the Social Democratic Party of New York County, for the purpose of electing delegates to the county, congressional, senatorial and assembly district conventions, will be held on Wednesday, May 11, from 7 to 9 p. m., at the following places: First Assembly District—150 Spring street, restaurant.

Second Assembly District-184 William street, newspaper office. Third Assembly District—126 Var c.

street, shoe store. Fourth Assembly District-232 East

Broadway, clubbo Fifth Assembly District-235 West Fourth street, residence of Paul

Sixth Assembly District-64 East Fourth street, hall. Assembly District-201 Seventh

West Fifteenth street.
Eighth Assembly District-65 Rivington street, book store.
Ninth Assembly District-255 West

Twenty-seventh street, plumbing shop.
Tenth Assembly District—60 Second
avenue, residence of Henry L. Slobo-Eleventh Assembly District-413

Ninth avenue, upholstery store.
Twelfth Assembly District—103
Broome street, residence of Dr. Mali-Thirteenth Assembly District-342

West Forty-second street, hall. Fourteenth Assembly District—519 East Thirteenth street, residence of D. Baumert.

Fifteenth Assembly District-408 West Fiftieth street, shoe store.
Sixteenth Assembly District—517 East Fifth street, residence of Sam

Seventeenth Assembly District-559 West Fiftieth street, residence of

Chas. Firmkas. Eighteenth Assembly District-601 East Seventeenth street, shoe store. Nineteenth Assembly District—1924

Broadway, upholstery store. Twentieth Assembly District-303 East Twenty-sixth street, tailor store. Twenty-first Assembly District-827 Columbus avenue, cigar store.
Twenty-second Assembly District
-241 East Forty-second street, club-

Twenty-third Assembly District-Twenty-fourth Assembly District-

350 East Fifty-eighth street, barber Twenty-fifth Assembly District—136 E. Twenty-fourth street, tailor store. Twenty-sixth Assembly District

434 East Seventy-fifth street, residence f Blowsky.* Twenty-seventh Assembly District-

2(i) W. Forty-first street, residence of Chas. Haerdiner. Twenty-eighth Assembly District-

1497 Avenue A. hall. Twenty-ninth Assembly District-983

Sixth avenue, residence of F. Harth: Thirtieth Assembly District—20: East Eighty-sixth street, clubhouse Thirty-first Assembly District-2G1 West One Hundred and Twenty-third

Thirty-second Assembly District-220 East One Hundred and Second street, residence of J. Cohn. Thirty-third Assembly District—121 East One Hundred and Twelfth street,

residence of Dr. Ingerman.

Thirty-fourth Assembly District—
One Hundred and Forty-second street

and Third avenue, Metropolis Hall. Thirty-fifth Assembly District—3300 Third avenue, clubhouse.

unexed Assembly District - 12 Peters Fourth street, Williamsbridge, residence of Chas. Moder. NEW YORK COUNTY CONVEY.

TION.
A convention of the Social Demo Party in the County of New York for the purpose of electing dele-gates to the New York State Conven-tion and transacting such other business as may properly come before the convention, will be held on Saturday May 14, 1904, at 7:30 p. m. at the clul room of the Workingmen's Educational Association, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. The basis of representation to said convention is three delegates from each assembly district.

The dates and places of the con and assembly gressional, senatorial and assembly district conventions will be announce. in The Worker later.

Representation to the various will be as follows: New York County Convention: Three

lelegates from each assembly district Congressional District Convention Five delegates from each assembly district wholly located in one con-gressional district, and three from asembly districts only partly located in the congressional district.

Senatorial District convention: Five from each assembly district. Assembly District Conventions: As many delegates as the assemly distric

Credentials for all these delegate made in duplicate, one to be sent to the Organizer and the other to the Delegate. Credentials must be signed by the chairman and secretary of the primary.

By order of the General Committee

By order of the Party of New York

Social Democratic Party of New York U. SOLOMON. Secretary.

To say that a thing is "un-Ameri-merely means that American Italists don't like it. Nothing

EUGENE V. DEBS ON THE COLORADO OUTRAGES.

The arrest and deportation of Mother Jones and the arrest and imprisonment of Charles H. Moyer, the lion earted president of the Western Fed eration of Miners, are among the latest outrages in the daily budget of crime reported from Colorado.

The crimes of the capitalists and their henchmen under the law and or der administration of their executive itensii multiply so rapidly that it requires a swift pen to keep the record.

And the record must be kept to the minuetest detnii, for when the day of final accounting comes, as come it will as surely as the green earth rolls sur

ward, the capitalist class will settle by the books to the last cry of agony and he last groan of despair wrung from the misery of their crucified and exiled victims.

The midnight assault of the brutal The midnight assault of the crutar soldiery upon Comrade Floaten—than whom a truer comrade does not live—the beastly assult upon his pleading wife; the violent deportation of Guy Miller, president of the Telluride Universidate the leading of the companion of the leading of th on, and his comrades; the lashing of a union man to a telephone pole solely because of his being a union man; the jailing of inoffensive citizens and the outrages upon defenseless females, are all charged up in red letters in the book of remembrance. Governor Peabody and his accessor

fes will answer to the last line of the last indictment drawn by an awaken-ing Justice at the bar of an aroused

vorking class.

The coming of the day of judgment

is slow, but it is sure.

And the memory of the working class is long—they do not forget.

At times the blood boils with indig-

nation, but we must keep cool, keep calm—cool and calm and resolute. The talk about armed attack by the unarmed worker is folly—worse still, it is suicide. The time may come for that, but it

is not now,
That is the program of Peabody and his mercenary hirelings to incite at-tack, that the blood of union men may flow like mountain streams. Have you forgotten how the working

class in Colorado voted but a fev months ago?

Well, that is the way they will shoot

to-day. Should armed collision now ensue in consequence of excited counsels, the brave and brainy union men would pay the forfeit with their lives and the movement in the state would be crushed and paralyzed.

These are the days to preach the

class struggle in Colorado. Every day makes it clearer; every

. AND CONVENTION.

Primaries of the Social Democratic

Party of Kings County to elect dele-gates to the county, congressional, sen-atorial and assembly district conven-

tions, will be held on Friday, May 20

from 7 to 10 p. m., at the following

merhorn street, office of Furman.

street, home of Williams.

street, home of Pattberg.

street, home of Butscher,

27th street, home of Campbell.

teenth street, home of Brash.

ton avenue, home of Hopkins,

more avenue, meeting room,

street, home of Clayton.

street, hall.

venue, hall.

1st Assembly District-121 Scher-

2d Assembly District-228 Duffield

3d Assembly District-208 Columbia

4th Assembly District-64 Mortor

5th Assembly District-214 Hooper

6th Assembly District-30 Sumne

7th Assembly District-8646 Bay

8th Assembly District-556 Baltic street, home of Kennell.

9th Assembly District-131 Imlay

street, meeting room, 10th Assembly District—107 Vander-

bilt avenue, home of Bychower. 11th Assembly District-803 Union

street, home of Fraser. 12th Assembly District—303a Six-

13th Assembly District-316 Eckford

street, home of Mueller. 14th Assembly District—310 Huron

15th Assembly District—187 Mont-ose avenue, meeting room. 16th Assembly District—715 Lexing-

17th Assembly District—261 Munroe street, home of Holmes. 18th Assembly District—12 E. Sev-

enth street, Windsor Terrace, home of

19th Assembly District-949-955 Willoughby avenue, meeting room.
burg avenue, meeting room.
21st Assembly District—675 Glen

KINGS COUNTY CONVENTION:

A convention of the Social Demo-cratic Party of Kings County for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention, to nominate candi-

dates for offices to be voted for at the

ensuing election and to transact such other matters as may come before it, will be held on Saturday, May 21, at

8 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue, in the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

By order of the County Committee

The locals of this city belonging to the Amalgamated Glass Workers In-

ternational Association of America ar

at present preparing for a hard battle against the open shop, which accord-ing to Comrade August Dennier, the

secretary of Local 34, has been intro-duced by about twenty firms in Nove

secretary of Local 34, has been intro-duced by about twenty firms in New York. About 150 New York members of the Glass Workers organization have been blacklisted by the local bosses and it is primarily in the interest of these members that the fight has to be waged. The Glass Workers will solicit the aid of the organized cabinet makers in their attents to each or-

solicit the aid of the organized cabinet makers in their attempt to again organize the shops. Comrade Gustaye Theimer has been appointed a Generai Organizer for the Ampigamated Glass Workers' International Association, and he is now touring in the interest of his organization through the Eastern states. Upon his arrival in New York, he will next go to the New York, he will next go to the New York and states, and then organize his fellow craftsmen in the South.

GLASS WORKERS FIGHTING

Kings County.

Social Democratic Party of

J. GERBER.

THE OPEN SHOP

KINGS COUNTY PRIMARIES

outrage confirms and emphasizes it ommanding truth.

The real danger comes with the cry

"bury Peabody under an avalanche of votes."
The unthinking will rush from the frying pan into the fire.

frying pan into the fire.

In their eagerness to bury Peabody they will forget Peabody ism.

To bury Peabody will be time wasted if capitalism, of which he is but

the spawn, is or cricoked.

The Democratic party will freely profer its services in the burying of Peabody and passionately proclaim its sympathy and friendship.

Trust it no more than you would the Remaillean news.

the Republican party. The only difference from the work-ingman's point of view is that one is run in the interest of a small number of large exploiters and the other in the interest of a large number of small

They are both against the working

The Republican Peabody will be duplicated, if the workers so will it at the polls, by a Democratic Nobody. The capitalist class will rule, as be fore, and bull pens will do business at the old stands.

The Socialist Party is the party to support, the working class party, the deadly and uncompromising foe of capitalism and wage slavery.

Arouse, ye workingmen! Open your eyes and see the class

Join and support the only party that stands squarely upon the class strug-gle as the basis of its revolutionary The Republican, Democratic and Populist parties are all capitalist par-

ties, all for wage slavery, all against the working class,

Mother Jones in exile, Charles Moy-r, your brave leader, in jail! Have you a drop of red blood in your Has your manhood rotted into cow-

wake up and take your place in the class struggle! For the desecration of the flag your leader is in jall.

What flag? The flag of the capitalist class-the flag that floats above the bull pens of Colorado. The wholesome truths he stamped

upon its stripes are your shame and Rally to the red standard of Inter national Socialism, the symbol of pro-letarian revolt, and the workers of Colorado and all' the world shall yet

*********************** PARTY NEWS.

One hundred and fifty delegates were present at the state convention of the Socialist Party of Illinois, which of the Socialist Party of Illinois, which was held in Peoria, on April 17. The following ticket was nominated: For Governor, John Collins, Chicago; Lieu-tenant-Governor, James H. Brower, Elgin; State Trensurer, A. S. Tibbits of Rockford; State Secretary, Peyton Boswell of Springfield; Attorney-General, Samuel Block of Peoria; State Auditor, Albert Eisemann of Chicago; School Trustees, Mrs. Gertrade Bres-lau Hunt, Mrs. May Wood Simons and W. S. Dalion, all of Chicago. A full list of presidential electors was also

Gaylord Wilshire will meet John T. White of Chicago, a prominent Single Tax advocate, in debate at Bushnell Hall, Ferry street New Haven, Thursday evening, May 12. The debate was arranged by Rev. Alexander Irvine of the People's Church. An admission fee of 15 cents will be charged.

Local Hartford will give an enter tainment and dance on May 17 at their rooms, 284 Asylum street, C. F. Woods and S. A. Morse have been elected delegates to the Connecticut state convention to be held in Waterbury on

"In the death of Comrade G. Meinert, which occurred on April 10, Local Toedo lost one of its most earnest and active workers, and the movement in America, and particularly in Ohlo, one of the Socialists of the kind the movement needs so many of at present to keep it clear from the influence of those self-seekers who are the menace to the party to-day. But few understand as thoroughly as did Comrade Meinert the teachings of Marx and Engels. His clearness and judgment Engels. His clearness and judgment will be long missed in the councils of Local Toledo. His purse was always open to the calls of the cause. The clang of the chains of wage-slavery, the sobs and groups of the victims of capitalism in sweatshop mill and mine ever rang in his ears. His every thought was for their granelination. thought was for their emancipation. We who knew him best and loved him most shall miss his esquest face and warm hand clasp when we meet. But his influence will ever remain with us and the memory of his unselfishness and devotion to our cause, his noble character and pure life shall stimulate us to renewed activity. By his reques his body was cremated and six of his comrades acted as pall-bearers," writes Comrade Keogh, Local Toledo.

Realizing that every Socialist should ave the proceedings of the national convention in permanent and conven ient form for preservation and refer-ence, the publishers of the "Interna-tional Socialist Review" have arranged to make their May issue a spe-cial convention number, containing a very full summary of the work of the convention. While no attempt will be convention. While no attempt will be made to give a stenographic report, all the principal debates will be summarized and all important resolutions or measures introduced will be published. This will include the platform and constitution and all other matters of permanent interest, with the votes cast. As it is probable that several matters will be sent out to a referendum vote at once, and as it is certain dum vote at once, and as it is certain that much of the work of the convention will be the subject of lively discussion for some time, such a work of reference will be almost a necessity to every party member who desires to take an intelligent part in these discussions.

the London Trades Council by 77 votes MR. MELLEN IS WORRIED.

By One of His Wage-Slaves.

It is the prevailing opinion that the capitalist class, as a class, has but little knowledge of Socialism; that the opinion is erroneous one need but read he speeches recently delivered Charles L. Mellen, president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Rallroad, before the business men of New Haven and the Workingmen's Free Reading Room Association of

Were the speeches of Mr. Mellen exeptional the capitalist as a rule could ot be charged with an understanding of Socialism. Several times of lat captains of industry have let words drop showing their familiarity with the subject. Unquestionably they have undertaken the study of the philos phy that they may become more intel-ligent combatants.

money to those organizations which made contributions to the fund for the proposed May Day Parade, which was not held. In New Haven, speaking of the growing discontent at the corporate management of railroads, Mr. Mellen claimed it could only be "allayed by Further contributions to the fund for defraying the expenses of the delegates to the national convention were received as follows: 6-10th A. publicity," and if "the public was not pacified, the people who create the values will take the railroads and run D.—Aug. Waldinger, \$1; F. Gund-lach, 70c.; George D, Herron, \$100; H. L. Slobodin, \$3; L. \$chuster, \$2; L. L. M., 40c.; 7-9-25th them under government control." In Hartford, he said, "given all you hot-A. D.—Chas. Wilke, \$2.50; U. Solomon, \$1; J. Paulson, \$1; H. Dulat, 25c.; 16th A. D.—Sidney Glassner, 50c.; 19th A. D.—E. B. Abbott, \$1; 22d A. D.—Carl mploy you; corporations must be run by the government."

Again, in his Hartford address, he said: "The hot-head must be retired, or IN THE CONTEST WHICH WE WILL INVOLVE YOU, you will go down in defeat. Education will outweigh numbers and brawn. The spectacled student is to be the general of future armies. Captains of industry future armies. Captains of industry may not always be those who have worked with their hands."

These remarks are most significant and evidence that in anticipating the class struggle his class will precipitate it, and that they will endeavor to edu-cate the "spectacled students" to take the places of "numbers and brawn."

The following quotation from his Hartford speech proves that the gen-tleman is alarmed at the situation, "No man is more worried over the

endency of modern business development than myself. I regret the pass ing of the small proprietor, the bank-er, the merchant, the small manufacturer, the man who worked in his shop with his own hands and whose em-ployees were as welcome at his own table as the best in the world. I believe the progress of our country. Its prominence in the world's affairs has been largely due to him. It is with apprehension I see him disappear and apprehension I see him disappear and become a part of the modern industrial machinery, but shall I struggle against the inevitable, or adjust myself to the new conditions and perhaps help shape and influence them for the better?"

Mr. Mellen is not the only industrial baron worried at "the tendency modern business development," and viewing with apprehension further consolidation of industries. Having set the ball rolling they are powerless to prevent its rolling onward to the great Co-operative Commonwealth, and that they cannot see the inevitability of Socialism seems beyond the compre-hension of man. Surely they must know the prolongation of the conflict bodes but ill to them, and that in the ranks of "numbers and brawn" are minds just as bright and active as the "spectacled student."

LABOR ENEMIES AND

LABOR LEADERS TOGETHER What Secretary Ralph M. Easley of the local branch of the National Civic Federation calls an "important" ing will be held by that body in this city on May 7 at the rooms of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation. At this ses-sion a discussion of trade agreements will take place and Join Mitchell of the United Mine Worker and Francis L. Robbins, the President of the Pittsburg Coal Company, are booked to speak on the subject. It is said by Mr. Easley that the two gen tlemen named are well versed on the subject, inasmuch as they were justru-mental in bringing about the signing of a two years contract between the bituminous miners and their employers at a reduced wage scale. "If Messrs. Mitchell and Robbins had not bee such staunch supporters of the Civic Federation and its aims," Mr. Easley said, when he told the reporters of th coming meeting, "a strike of 300,000 miners in the bituminous regions would undoubtedly fave occurred."
The members of the Civic Federation at this meeting will discuss the ques-tion: * "What is arbitrable?" and "Should every point at issue be arbi-trated?" Gompers and other labor leaders are expected to attend the meeting, and they will peaceably be sitting next to Charles L. Eidlitz, the "good friend" of the building trades employees, and Marcas M. Marks, the head of the Clothers Association, who ent is trying to enforce the

PILITICIANS AND POLICE VS. STRIKING CAFPENTERS

For several weeks a strike of the building trades employed at Dream-land and Wonderland Park, Coney Island, has been in progress and de-spite all efforts on the part of the workers to bring about recognition of organized labor the owners of this park, who play a prominent part in politics, have absolutely ignored the demands of the union men. A large number of non-union men are still working at the buildings of this en working at the buildings of this en-terprise and the carpenters have been trying very hard to get them to join the ranks of the strikers. For that purpose a leaflet was issued last week and this, together with another, telling organized labor that Dreamland Park has been built by non-union labor and that the owners of the park, ex-Sena-tor Wm. H. Reynolds, Senator Pat Me-Carren, Tim Sullivan and others are enemies of the working class, was to No sooner were these leaflets given

and others. We suppose Gompers will try to show, as usual, that the open shop is a had thing for the bosses and that the union is for their benefit. out than a squad of policemen in command of the captain of the Coney Isl and Precinct appeared on the scene and stopped further distribution of all —Parry may perhaps be able to convince some of his fellow robbers that the labor vote can never amount to anything, but he couldn't drive it into Kaiser Wilhelm's head in a thou-sand years.—Eric People, printed matter. The carpenters and representatives of the United Board of Building Trades of New York and Vicinity were told that they would be

SOMETHING NEW AND INTERESTING!

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FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LABOR PRESS. APRIL 23 TO MAY 8, 1904,

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ARTISTS OF ALL NATIONS!

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Do you what to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. One way to do it is to get a good standard book and read it carefully, and then another and another, setting saide some certain time each week, be it only in the property of th

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tific.

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38. Marx—Capital.

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19 Lafargue—The Evolution of Property 40. International Socialist Review, Vol. III, 1902-1903.

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to the hendquarters of the strikers and I wage scale and regulations of the apcompelled the owner of the building prentice system. When the demands to take down a sign announcing that were submitted to the individual bossthe carpenters headquarters were sit-uated there. Secretary Dan Feather-stone of the New York District Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters contends that the police were acting under orders received by the above named politicians, who would not be in office without the votes of the work-

MAKERS STRIKE. About 5,000 carriage and wagon makers were forced to strike last Monday in New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City and Newark in order to fight the bosses' association, which is affiliated with David M. Parry's organizations. the National Manufacturers' Associa-tion and Citizens' Industrial Alliance, Parry, the great unionhater himself, was present at one of the recent meetwas present at osses and urged them to large of the bosses and urged them to take up the fight against the union. Let order to encourage the bosses he offered them assistance and promised that he National Association, which had be next fall between Republicans and Democratz, in the districts where Socialism isn't strong. Where it is, they levied an assessment for that purpose, would return to them 45 per cent, of all losses they might sustain while fighting their organized employees. During the last week of April the local

sit es they stick to the orders of Parry and his organization and positively re-fused to recognize the union by signing the agreement. They threatened that the open shop would follow if the unions dared to order a strike at the present time. For some time business has ben brisk in the wagon trade and the bosses feared the strike. When the agreement of the union was not signed on Monday morning none of the men started to work. A meeting held on Sunday had ordered that this step should be taken. Over 5,000 men kept away from the shops, save the pickets who did excellent work. On Monday night at a meeting attended by more than 3,000 strikers the executive committee of the unions could already report that of the 300 members of the bosses' association 37 had signed the contract. The strikers assemble every day at their headquarters. Bohemian National Hall in East Seventy-third

state government of Colorado has "be the laughing stock of the coun

ing class.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON

unions of the carriage and wagon in-dustry presented to their employers an agreement for the coming year, con-taining provisions for the abolition of piece work, the introduction of a

will unite.-Eric People. - Gompers has discovered that the

dustry presented to their employers an agreement for the coming year, containing provisions for the abolition of piece work, the introduction of a working week of 51 hours, an uniform