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NEBRASKA CONVENTION.

Position of Local Omaha Is Endorsed.

B. H. Vall of Omaha Heads the Ticket-Platform on Old Lines Adopted and Protest Made Against New National

OMAHA, Neb., July 16 .- Our state convention held in this city on July 4 was attended by thirty-four delegates representing Omaha, South Omaha, Blair, North Platte, Humboldt, Le Roy, Douglas, and Lincoln. L. L. Mc-livaine and John Huba, both of Omaha, were chairman and secretary, Roy, Douglas, and Lin respectively.

While the committees were at work

the convention listened to addresses by State Secretary Roe, T. Carroll of Hastings, and Mrs. Anna Ferry Smith. State Platform.

The platform reported by the com-

We, the Socialist Party of Nebraska, convention assembled, reaffirm our adherence to the principles of international Socialism and declare our ain to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party with the object of conquering the powers of govern-ment and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of pro-duction and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

ownership by the entire people.
"Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual workers. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the work-ers. This ownership enables the capi-talists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

"Private ownership of the means of oduction and distribution is responsi-e for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and mis-ery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competi-aion. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. Possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists control of gov-ernment, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellec-tual, physical, and social inferiority, subservience, and virtua

economic interest of the capi talist class dominates our entire socia system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit; wars are fomented between nations, ndiscriminate slaughter is encourage and the descriction of the capitalist may extend their commercial domina-tion abroad and enhance their suprem-

But the same economic caus which developed capitalism are lead-ing to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. The active force in bringing about this new and higher or-der of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in he upholding of the system of private bwnership of the instruments of

"The Democratic, Republican, the geois public-ownership parties, all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production

e alike political representatives of e capitalist class.
"The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle agains the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties by the propertied classes.'

Colorado Resolutions.

Resolutions were also adopted pointing ist society, predicting that they will prove to be but the prelude to a general conflict between the organized capitalists and the organized workers, warning all workingmen of the dan-ger of allowing themselves to be divided by the ruses of the ruling class, and calling upon them "to join the So-cialist Party, to unite with us at the ballot-box, that Capital and its institutions may be swept from the earth and the Co-operative Commonwealth estab-lished throughout the world."

Local Omaha Endorsed.

On motion of Chas. P. Deutzmann the following resolution was carried: "Whereas The late national conven-tion which assembled at Chicago has repudiated the materialistic conception of history by the adoption of the Chi-

"Whereas, We know that 'the ideas of every age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class'; therefore be it "Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska, in state convention assembled, protest against the adop-tion of the Chicago platform and endorse the position of Local Omaha.

Nominations Made.

In the evening session the conven-tion proceeded to nominations, choos-ing the following candidates:

For Presidential Electors—L. V.

Humphrey of Atkinson, J. J. Herma: of Grand Island, L. Westgate of Lin-coln, J. A. Jacobson of South Omaha, L. De Vore of Laurel, D. C. Onstatt of Gering, Henry Lamplough of North Platte.

For Lieutenant-Governor, T. Carroll

For Auditor, T. P. Lippencott of For Secretary of State, Wm. M. Parcel of North Platte.

For Attorney-General, L. L. McIl-aine of Omaha. For Commissioner of Public Lands and Buildings, A. D. Pough of Grand

For Superintendent of Public In-struction, Mary Pierce Roe of Omana.

A MEMORABLE TRIAL

Serman Government Acting as Agus for Russian Autooracy, Prosecutor Social Democrats for Sending Literature to Russia - Defense Expose Frauds of Prosecution-Government Really on Trial.

A trial has been begun in the Prus-dan courts which bids fair to assume a historic importance comparable with that of the Dreyfus case in France. At the request of the Russian gov-ernment, the government of Prussia has undertaken the prosecution of sev-

en Social Democrat many into Russin revolutionary liters ture inciting to assassination. The trial began at Königsberg on July 12 and is attracting so much interest that all the German newspapers are obliged to give extensive reports. --

William Liebknecht, a son of the great Social Democratic leader whose leath we mourned three years ago, is the leading counsel for the defense. He has already scored some good points. In spite of the evident partiality of the presiding judge, who repeatedly came to the aid of the prosecution, Liebkpecht was able clearly to im-peach the government for having in-troduced garbled translations in evidence and for having suppressed othe evidence in its possession that v have tended to weaken its case.

Some of the pamphlets in question are alleged to have been printed in New York and sent to Germany, there to be conveyed over the border and distributed in Russia by secret agents. Last Saturday the Russian Consul-General, Von Wymodze, was called as a witness for the prosecution. He stated that the police had brought him ome twenty-five namphlets which they had seized and asked him to examine them. He put in evidence only one, however, indicating the objection able passages. Liebknecht at once challenged him to verify the quota-tions which the government had made— among others a sentence advising the assassination of Nicholas II. Von Wymodze had to admit that the sen tence was not to be found, but explained the error by saying that his

translation was very hurriedly made Dr. Ballod, a professor in the University of Berlin, to whom the court had submitted the pamphlets for examination, testified that he found nothing in them to justify the accusations The pamphlets did not advise ination, but, on the contrary, ex pressed disapproval of Terrorism as a method of combat against the Russian

The counsel for the defense also im peached the accuracy of the transla-tion of the Russian penal laws made by the Russian agents and submitted to the court, showing that they had to the court, showing that they had omitted certain paragraphs that did not suit the purposes of the prosecu

The Prussian police authorities re fused to produce certain papers called for in connection with the seizure of Russian revolutionary literature and refused to allow the detectives engagretused to allow the detectives engag-ed in the seizure to be put on the wit-ness stand. This, the counsel for the defense claimed, tended to show that the Prussian government, in its eagerness to aid the government of Russia, was using unlawful and unwarrantable methods.

The presiding judge several time interrupted the Social Democratic at-torneys, forbade them to pursue their course of impeaching the prosecution, excused the Russian agents for the in-accuracies of their translations, and even so far forgot his dignity as to declare that it was a principle of So-cial Democracy not to tell the truth— an insult which the counsel for the ac-cused vigorously resented.

The activity of the Prussian police in interrupting the transportation of Socialist literature to Russia as well as in arresting Russian refugees and returning them over the frontier to the Tsar's police has been made the subject of lively debates both in the Prussian Diet or parliament and in the German Reichstag. The Kaiser's re-cent message of benediction to a Rus-sian regiment bound for the Far East has added to the popular feeling

against the government.

It seems likely that, whatever the court at Königsberg may decide, the real effect will be to put the government on trial at the bar of public opin ion and to secure a verdict against the Romanoff-Hohenzollern combination and the powers of capitalism, militar-ism, and clericalism backing it.

AN INTERNATIONAL

ARTI-MILITARIST UNION. From June 26 to 28 an International

Anti-Militarist Congress was held at Amsterdam, organized by Domeia Nieuwenhuis and his French anarchist friends. The congress dealy chiefly with the question of advancing the anwith the question of advancing the anti-militarist idea in and by the trade unions, as is the case in some French trade unions. Delegates from France, Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, and Austria were present. The next congress will be held at Oxford in 1905. Steps were taken to establish an International Anti-Militarist Union with Domela Nieuwenhuis as general secretary.

—No one can contemplate the pres-ent condition of the masses of the peo-ple without desiring something like a revelution for the better.—Sir R. Giffen, Essays in Finance.

FLORIDA IN LINE.

Socialist State Convention Held at Orlando.

Full Electoral, Congressional, and State Ticket Nominated and Much Other Work Done - Florida Will Contribute Well to Socialist Gains.

ORLANDO, Fla., July 15.-A state onvention of the Socialist Party was seld here on the Fourth. It was an entirely harmonious and very practica working body. There were no speech nating caudidates or discussing resolu tions were brief and to the point. The convention thereby was enabled to do as much in one day as ordinary political conventions do in three.

State Organizer Healey of Longowod was temporary chairman; H.W. Great-ham, permanent chairman; M. F. Zel-ler, secretary; H. E. McMillan, assist-

ant, all of Orlando.

A new constitution for the state or A new constitution for the state ganization of the party was adopted. Resolutions empowering the State Committee to fill any vacancies on the ticket which may occur, in regard to excessive fees attached to some offices, and expressing the convention's indignation at the outrages perpetrated in Colorado, were adopted, as was also a resolution commending the "Florida Socialist," and expressing confidence in its publishers, John T. Wilford and

Stear Edgar of Jacksonville.

The ticket nominated is as follows:
Presidential Electors—J. J. Ingraham, Key West, and E. D. Barker Manatee, at large; John M. Stanley, Ocala; M. F. Zeller, Orlando, and W. H. Harp of the Milton local.

For Congressman, First District, Z. A. Middlebrooks, Tampa; Second, W. B. Wood, Jacksonville; Third, George R. Smith, Pensacola. For Governor, W. R. Healey of Long-

vood. For Secretary of State, J. D. Parrott, Orange Park. For Attorney-General, William C.

For Comptroller, Emil Broberg, Man-For State Treasurer, M. C. Dwight

Green, Orlando

Wulfert.
For Superintendent of Public instruction, R. E. Resser, West Palm Beach. For Commissioner of Agriculture, S.

A. Pettit, Marco.
For Railroad Commissioner, A. C. Sill, St. Petersburg.
Four years ago this state cast 603 votes for Debs and Harriman, the Socialist national candidates. If this is not doubled or trebled in 1904 many Socialists will be much surprised.

RESULT OF THE FRENCH

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. Even the French Socialist papers gree that it is almost impossible to ecide exactly what has been the effect of the recent French elections or the strength of the Socialists in muni-cipalities. At first the election was halled as a defeat to the Socialists, since Lille and Montlucon were lost to the party after having been held for several years. Nevertheless, when the elections as a whole are considered it s a conclusion of Louis Dubreuilh in "Le Mouvement Socialiste" 'that the party as a whole has gained, since it controls more municipalities than ever before and has largely invaded new territory. Its defeat in the places named above was due to the fact that for the first time the Liberals refused all support to the Socialist ticket, so that the vote as it now stands is a measure of the clear Socialist strength. —International Socialist Review.

PARRYISM IN GERMANY.

That the fear of German Social Democracy is steadily increasing in mong the ruling classes is evidenced by the recent establishment of an "Imperial Union Agai nst Social Des racy." The founders of this organiza-tion talk very much like the Citizens Allfance and Employers' Association crowd in America. The capitalist pa-pers, however, seem to think that much will come from it. The organization claims to have an ince 50,000 marks a year, of which 18,000 marks only comes from the memberships, the rest coming from some unknown individual. "Yorwirts" remarks that the working class will de-rive new courage and new villingness to fight from the appearance of this new opponent.-International Socialist Review.

THE SUFFRAGE FIGHT IN SWEDEN.

The Swedish parliament has once adjourned without granting uni versal suffrage. It will be remem that nearly two years ago there was a great general strike in Sweden, lasting for three days, at the close of which the laborers were given assurance that the next session of parliament would grant them universal suffrage. How-eyer, the proposition was this time defeated by a very close vote of 116 to 108, which would indicate that the day of victory was not far distant.

JEWELRY WORKERS ELECT OFFICERS The International Jewelry Workers The International Jewelry Workers' Union, before adjourning to meet next year at Newark, N. J., elected these general officers: President, George E. Brady of Providence; vice-presidents, R. J. Peterson, Buffalo; H. Kneop, Brooklyn; J. A. Larson, Chicago; C. Dawson, Toronto; secretary, William Schade, Philadelphia; treasurer, R. Schuler, Newark,

—The elections to the Legislative Assembly of Western Australia have resulted in the return of 22 Labor can-didates, 18 Ministerialists, and 8 Inde-

DELAWARE NOMINATES.

Taken Good Root There.

State Convention Held at Wilmington Puts a Ticket in the Field and Heartily Endorses National Platform and Candidates-Gustava Reineke Heads the Ticket.

WILMINGTON, Del., July 11.—The state convention of the Socialist Party was held here yesterday. Gustave Rejneke and Wm. R. Lynch presided, with B. Hohlfeld and Ella Reeve

Cohen as secretaries.

The national platform adopted at Chicago was adopted as the state platform, and the nomination of Debs and Hanford was most enthusiastically endorsed. The following state nomina-

tions were made;
For Presidential Electors—Max Goetz, James R. Mailory and B. Hohf-

For Governor, Gustave Reineke, For Lieutenant-Governor, John P. Edwards. For Attorney-General, William R.

For Congressman, Paul Scheuler. A committee was elected to fill va-cancies on the ticket.

The following resolution was adopt-ed with apphause:

"Resolved. That the Socialists of

Delaware, in convention assembled, protest vigorously against the outrages perpetrated against the working-class in Colorado by the government, the mine owners, and the Citizens' Al-

llance of that state; and
"We call attention to the fact that as long as private ownership of land, machinery, and all means of produc-tion and transportation exists, just so long will our class be outraged and ex-ploited, not only in the state of Colerado, but in every state of the Union.
"We therefore earnestly urge that
every citizen should record his protest
against the present system of the bal-

J. B. Leeds, a member of the New J. B. Leeds, a member of the New Jersey State Committee and editor of the Burlington "Times," addressed the convention, besides speaking at a large open-air meeting in protest against the Colorado atrocties.

The delegates went home convinced that at last Socialism has taken good

root in this little state and is going to grow well. E. It. C.

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AFRAID TO STRIKE.

A correspondent of one of the London newspapers gives an account of a remarkable Socialist demonstration, which occurred a week or two ago in Warsaw. About a thousand men ple think Old Glory waves over a free marched in phocession through the people. Think of the bull pen, with streets carrying red flags with the instruction "War against War" on one floors, no blankets, no ventilation with scription "War against War on one side and "Down with Tsarism" on the other. Much to the astonishment of the bystanders, the policemen and door porters along the route of the parade not only made no attempt to interfere with it, but moved out of its way, while some of them even took off their caps, whereas on former occadons they have been very active in preventing such demonstrations. Some of the shopkeepers put up their shut-ters but perfect order was maintained by the workmen who formed the pro-

The failure of the authorities to make this the occasion for a bloody massacre is evidence of the government's fear of popular discontent.

ILLUSORY "REFORMS."

The "reform decrees," which the Russian Tsar issues every little while in spite of the protestations of all his agents that everything is lovely and ds reforming in his domin ons-and which certain sections of the capitalist press make so much of, are just about as illusory as the voluntary beneficences of the Carnegie Company. beneficences of the Carnegie Company, the Dayton Cash Register Company, the Dayton Cash Register Company, the Smelter Trust, and other capitalist concerns in this country. Two or three weeks ago it was announced that a reform decree from St. Fetereburg had abolished the system of trying and condemning political offenders by "administrative process"—that is, by special tribunals under the direct control of the government. This week comes a dispatch stating that "there is a reservation in 'exceptional cases." The government will decide which cases are "exceptional." No despot will—no despot can—grant justice to his subjects. Justice must be established by the overthrow of the despot lished by the overthrow of the despot be he a political or an industrial 1 2 2 2 2

GOT WHAT WAS COMING TO THEM.

The city council of Kansas City, Mo. has repealed the ordinance requiring the union label on all city printing. The mayor of that city, in his anxiety to girlke a blow at union labor, did not wait for the repeal ordinance to take the regular course and be brought to him, as is customary, but went to the speaker's chair and signed the dociment immediately after its passage.-Typographical Journal.

At the last city election the great ma-jority of the workingmen of Kansas City voted to continue old-party rule. Now they have "got what is coming to them" in the way of municipal action tending to reduce their wages.

—Sell Socialist pamphlets at your street meetings. Try a hundred of Hanford's story of the Colorado atrike. They will cost you \$2.50 and it's a poor local that can't dispose of at least one hundred. Socialist Liferature Co., 154 William street, New York.

MORE OUTRAGES IN COLORADO.

Socialism Has at Last Capitalist Ku-Klux Klan Departs Mere Miners.

> Personally Objectionable" Is a Sufficient Resson for Bunishment-Milltary Authorities Look Calmly On or Even Join in Lawless Acts - Shock ing Treatment of Bull-Pen Prisoners

The work of capitalist anarchy in the strike districts of Colorado still continues under the sanction of the Governor and his militia, as shown by the two following dispatches from the

Citizens' Ku Klux.

DEPORTATIONS CONTINUE. CRIPPLE CREEK, Colo., July 12 .-Deportations continue to be made by the military authorities. Eleven Ital-iaus and Austrians, arrested soon after their arrival at Victor, were sent away on the next train. State Boiler Inspector Taylor was arrested when coming into the district over the Short Line Railway. He was released after he was brought to the Mine Owners' Association and had explained his official business.-New York Times.

"PERSONALLY OBJECTION-

Reason Given for a Cripple Creek Deportation. CRIPPLE CREEK, Colo., July 14.-H. J. Richmond, correspondent in this city of the Victor "Record," was de-ported to day by the Citizens' Vigil-vance Committee. He has a wife and two children here. The committee has announced that Richmond was not driven out because of his connection with the Victor paper, but because he was personally object York Evening Post.

Horrors of the Bull Pen. In the "Appeal to Reason" of July 9,

Henry O. Morris writes as follows from his observation of affairs in Colo-"The latest move of the Citizens' Alliance and the so-called soldiers of Cripple Creek is to refuse to allow any

crippie Creek is to reruse to minow any money or food to be sent to union men's families except through the hands of Sherman Bell. This would mean the theft of the money and supplies. Is it not a move worthy of Weyness. "The bull pen in Cripple Creek, where

the strikers are confined, is a hole about 80 feet long and 30 feet wide. Into this went the prisoners, men and women, some with babies in their arms. There are neither closets or One corner of the room had

"Think of it, ye cultured capitalists, ye horny-handed workers, does the horrible picture please you? Some peo ple think Old Glory waves over a free floors, no blankets, he ventilation with human excrement in the corners, for the demands of nature must be obey-ed; the doors guarded by brutal jailbirds in khaki or army blue; food the refuse of cheap restaurants carried in-side in tubs. Shades of Andersonville and Libby prisons! Women, my fel-low-Americans, cultured ladles, tiny infants, thrust into this noisome, reek-ing hell-hole with the male prisoners. One little woman said to me: 'But you know, sir, we felt so much safer in there with the miners than with the citizens.' The miners asked for some blankets to partition off a space in one corner for the women. This was the reply of Major Thomas McClelland: Let the damned sluts lie with the men, and a just God did not strike the

infamous blackguard dead!
"Denver and Pueblo are full of refu-

STILL PETITIONING.

Learned, It Seems, That It Is Better to Beg for Favors,

A dispatch from Wilkesbarre, Pa., tells us that the convention of District No. 1 of the United Mine Workers donated \$500 to the Western Federation of Miners to help them carry on their fight in Colorado and then proceeded to adopt a resolution to petition the next Fennsylvania legislature to pass an eight-hour law for miners and a mw compelling the coal companies to weigh the coal.

The donation to the W. F. of M.

shows the right spirit so far as the sol darity of lator is concerned. But the begging resolution that followed it is almost discouraging as showing a lack of the right spirit of self-reliance. The political party in power in Pennsylvania is the same that is in power in Colorado. Do the Pennsylvania miners really expect that they will get by begging from Republican politicians what their Colorado brothers are so persecuted for insisting on? Such petipersecuted for insisting on? Such petitioning is worse than fruitless, for it makes the politicians despise the timid and gullible workers. Five thousand additional-Socialist votes this year in the Wilkesbarre district would do more for the advancement of Labor's cause in Pennsylvania and in Colorado than even the most generous donations that any union can give to another. that any union can give to another.

—The Western Federation of Min-ers has again declared for Socialism; it would be better if the membership of laboring wage slaves would vote the Socialist ticket.—Montana News.

Secretary Shaw says that high prices are a sign of prosperity, and the Beef Trust has promptly responded by giving the prosperity sign.—Washing-ten Post.

A BODY-BLOW AT UNIONISM.

Milwaukee Judge Nullifies Union Shop Contracts.

On the Ground of Interference with "Right of Free Contract," the Court Rules that Employers' Agreement to Run Union Shop Is Unconstitutional and Vold.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., July 13 .- Contracts made by incorporated labor un-ions with manufacturers prohibiting the employment of non-union workmen are void, according to a de announced by Judge Ludwig in the Circuit Court to-day. It is the first rul-ing had upon the question in Wiscon-sin, and it sustained by the Supreme Court will be of far-reaching import-

The decision was given in the suit brought by the Milwaukee Custom Tailors' Union against a local concern which made an agreement with the tailors to employ none but union workmen. A temporary injunction was obtained, but this Judge Ludwig

rules was improperly issued.

After the injunction was issued, the union instituted proceedings to have the company punished for contempt for the alleged failure to comply with the terms of the injunction. The mo-tion to punish was denied and the infunction set aside.

"Class Discrimination."

The decision goes further than the contract between the unions and the manufacturers, holding also that con-tracts requiring the employment of none but union labor are void. The court says it is class discrim The court in its opinion said:

"This agreement strikes at the right contract and provides that complainant shall employ none but members of the several unions, thus dis criminating in favor of one class of men and excluding all others. There-fore, the prohibition contained in the contract strikes at the right of contract, both on the part of the laborer and the employer. The agreements in question would tend to create a monoply in favor of the members of the different un.ons to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions and are in this respect unlawful. Con-tracts tending to create a monopoly are vold."

The plea that union-shop agre-neau "class discrimination" is amusing, especially when taken in con junction with the decision of anothe employers have an absolute co tional right to exchange lists of men whom they consider conoxious and agree not to employ—that is, to main-tain a blacklist.

An Epoch-Making Decision. It is doubtful if any court decision wer rendered in the United States has been so full of menace to the labor organizations as this. Even the recent ecisions that unions may be sued for damages on account of loss caused to the employer by a peaceful strike or boycott, dangerous as they are, do not compare with this, which strikes at a fundamental principle of trade union-ism—the principle that workingmen have a right to agree in deciding with whom and under what conditions they will work and to enter into "collec-tive bargains" regulating such condi-

The Open-Shop Campaign.

Judge Ludwig's decision—in line, as it is, with others given in Boston and in Chicago a few days before—is a part of the op ountry have undertaken and are so energetically carrying on, and of which President Roosevelt's action in

talist interests as the Republican, there can be no doubt that this ag-gressive campaign against trade unionism will be pushed unrelentingly to an issue—unless, indeed, the workers awake in time and poll this fall such a heavy vote for Socialism against both old parties as will serve to warn the capitalists and cause them to offe

BOSSES FREE TO BREAK CONTRACTS.

Boston Judge Rules That Employer: Cannot Be Bound by Agreements Made with Unions

has received in a very long time was the decision of Judge Hardy at Boston last week, when he declared that an last week, when he declared that an employer was not responsible for the agreement he had signed and that the agreement itself was unconstitutional. Trade unions have received so many solar plexus punches lately that something new from a judge is not at all surprising. The issue is plain. The only avenue of escape from the tyrannies of capitalism is through the ballot box while the working class still has it. After a few more years of bushwhacking most of the wage slaves will learn this.—Cleveland Citizen.

DIRECT EMPLOMENT

Not Build Its Own Sewers, But Give

The Illinois Supreme Court has made another decision that is meant to legal-lise the wage-slave system. The court declared that the Chicago city admin-istration had no right to take a con-

THE MEANING OF THE MEAT STRIKE.

There seems little prospect, as we | Trust's sense of justice or of humanwrite, of an early settlement of the eat workers' strike. Just as in so ion has offered to submit its demands to arbitration, if the employers would igree, pending decision, to take the strikers back without discrimination. So far the offer has been rejected by the Meat Trust. "We have nothing to arbitrate," say the masters of the people's food, the masters of the people's

the strikers to offer arbitration. Experience shows that the bishops, col- will not hurt the Meat Trust much, lege professors, retired capitalists, and either. old-party politicians who generally serve as arbitrators are very skilful in giving sweet phrases to the workers and giving all practical advantage to the bosses. It may not be wise; but the least that can be said is that the ! They may eat of the best and "the strikers have shown a sense of their social responsibility, a sympathy with and consideration for the other people who suffer from the conflict, which ought to be recognized and rewarded by a hearty general approval of their

The Meat Trust cares nothing for "the public." Its subsidized newspapers shed crocodile tears over the public's sufferings and curse the strikers for putting up the price of meat. But everyone knows that the price of meat has been going up for many months past, when there was no strike, when there was no justification for raising prices-nothing but the Trust's POW-ER to advance them at its own arbi trary will and for its own sordid profit. In that word "power" lies the secret

of the whole affair. A practical monopoly exists. It is not an artificial or accidental monopoly. It has grown up, naturally and inevitably, as a part of the capitalist system. Under modern conditions and methods of industry, under the private ownership, profit-and-wage system, competition leads to monopoly as naturally as the boy grows to be a man. The same process is going on in all industries and in all countries-rapidly here and slowly there, but surely everywhere.

A few big capitalists dominate the cattle-raising industry. A few big capitalists dominate the slaughtering and packing industry. A few big capitalists dominate the transportation and marketing of cattle and of meat. These little groups of big capitalists overlap and co-operate with each other. They find combination cheaper than competi tion, and no law can make them compete. Their combination gives them power to dictate terms to such small capitalists as may still survive in this industrial field and to drive them out of business if they interfere with the

Trust's plans. Cattle cannot-be raised and trans ported and slaughtered and meat packed and carried and brought to the con-

sumer except by human labor. On the other hand, men who kno how to do this work and are willing to do it, cannot do it without having access to the land and the railroads and the stockyards and packing-houses and other means of production which that little group of big capitalists control.

So the workers who produce the food the Miller case was the opening gun.

With the Democratic party now as

permission to work. permission to work.

these capitalists for their supply of food.

And yet these capitalists do nothing o produce meat-they simply OWN the means of production and control THE MEAT-WORKERS' JOBS and control THE PEOPLE'S FOOD-SUP-

What are we to do? It is idle to appeal to the Meat be a vote for freedom and peace.

One of the most important items in he Socialist municipal program is the bolition of the contract system for

public work and the substitution of direct employment by the city, with union rates of pay, hours, and other conditions. This is a demand which every workingman must see to be reasonable and desirable. The decision sonable and desirable. The decision above reported shows that in order to put into effect even so moderate a re-form it is necessary to elect Socialist judges as well as Socialist legislative and executive officers.

PLEASES PARRY.

As might be expected, the trade union haters are delighted with the decision of the Court of Appeals in Illinois aimed against the so-called closed shop. They are now declaring that the union shop is a criminal conspiracy, and that all contracts providing for the employment of union members only are null and void. It is true that the court's decision strongly tends to confirm that claim. The Illinois court holds that:

"The agreements in question would, if executed, tend to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the differ-

ity. STOCKS AND BONDS HAVE NO CONSCIENCES. Even men who many other cases in the past, the un- are personally honest and kind, if they are stockholders and bondholders, find it impossible, as stockholders and bondholders, to avoid being dishonest and cruel.

What, then, are we to do?

We are advised to abstain from meat till the strike is over. This may be all very well, in a way. It will do most of us no harm to keep Lent for a few weeks in July and August. It may be good for our health. But it

The Meat Trust can afford to wait It has millions in reserve. The Armours and Cudahys and Swifts and Hammonds will not go hungry, even though beef goes to a dollar a pound. people may cat grass."

The Meat Trust can afford to have its stock spoil on its hands. Capitalists have often wilfully destroyed large quantities of food, while thousands of people were going hungry, in order to 'relieve the market" and keep prices high. Resides if the Meat Trust finds it necessary, perhaps the government will get up a war and buy mouldy pork and embalmed beef for its gallage

soldier boys, as it did six years ago. We cannot starve out the Meat Trust, The Meat Trust can starve us out, if it pleases, and make profit thereby-if it pleases, and IF WE LET IT, if we still hold to our superstitious regard for the sacredness of capitalist property-rights.

We do not know, we cannot guess, what will be the immediate outcome of this strike. We hope that the strikers will be strong and resolute enough and well enough supported, financially as well as morally, by other workers and sympathizers, to win some concessions, some amelioration of the horrible tyranny under which they have been suffering.

We HOPE this, But we KNOW that no mere strike can settle the que tion. We know that, SO LONG AS THE MEANS OF PRODUCING THE PEOPLE'S FOOD ARE LEFT IN PRIVATE HANDS, to be control on business principles, so long the owners and masters will be able to TYRANNIZE OVER AND EXPLOIT THEIR EMPLOYEES who do all the work and to EXTORT EXORBITANT PRICES from all the people who must buy what these workers produce. They will be able to do this-and THEY WILL NOT FAIL TO USE THEIR POWER. And there will continue to be strikes and lockous and blacklists and artificial famines and riots and general suffering and "business pros-

perity." There is only one way to peace. There is only one way to free There is only one way to security and

NO QUESTION IS EVER SET-TLED TILL IT IS SETTLED RIGHT. "You take my house when you do

take the prop that holds my house,"

says Shakespeare; "you take my life

plenty.

when you do take the means by which I live." If we are not to continue at the merple as a whole must own and control for its own service the means by which collective labor produces the

things to satisfy the common needs, That is Socialism. We cannot get if by fasting. We cannot get it by striking. We can get it by voting.

A vote for Roosevelt or for Parket next November will be a vote for the Famine Ring A vote for Debs and Hanford, for the Socialist Party, will be a vote for freedom and peace and

ract from a sewer builder and do the , men not members of such unions, and work itself, and that the building of sewers must be done under the contracts tending to create a monopoly are void." It is useless to argue with a court

after a decision has been rendered.

The only thing that remains to be done
is to go to the ballot box and revers the decision, as well as to elect men who will enact favorable laws. If this decision is allowed to stand in Illinois it will be copied in other states. It will also give the damage sait industry an added it petus, and who knows but the bull pen will follow. These are some of the fruits of workingmen being party slaves on election day. It is easy to shout for pet capitalistic poli-ticians, but the day of settlement is bound to come sooner or later.-Cleve

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION IN ITALY.

land Citizen.

In the Italian city of Parma the whole bakery trade has passed into the hands of a co-operative society organized under Socialist leadership. Nightwork is absolutely forbidden, all baking being done between 5 a.m. and 5 p.m. The bakers find the new conditions much more healthful and please. ditions much more healthful and pleas ant, while all the people get cleaner

From Aug. 21 until Aug. 28 the International Congress of Tobacco Workers will be held at Amsterdam.

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the state of New York, on account of in provisions of the election laws, the list Farty is officially recognized under same of Social Democratic Party, and ablem is the Arm and Torch, as shown

6 Socialist Party for Social Democratic 7 In New Yorky should not be confused the so-called Socialist Labor Party, latter is a small, ring-ruled, moribund mixation which bitterly opposes the contons and Carries on an abusive cam-i of slander against the real Socialist ment, which supports the trade unions. THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic rty of New York) has passed through its could general election. Its growing power indicated and its speedy victory for-ation of the great increase of its vote shown in these figures:



PRESIDENTIAL TICKET. FOR PRESIDENT-EUGENE V. DEBS. OF INDIANA. FOR VICE-PRESIDENT-BENJAMIN HANFORD,

OF NEW YORK. NEW YORK STATE TICKET. FOR GOVERNOR-THOS. PENDERGAST, OF WATERTOWN FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR-

CHARLES R. BACH.

OF ROCHESTER. eccetary of State -E. J. SOUIRES of Jamestown. For State Treasurer-EMIL NEPPEI of New York.

For Attorney-General-LEON A. MALKIEL of New York. For State Comptroller-W. W.-PASSAGE of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor-S. B. HARLY of Buffalo.

For Associate Judge of the Court of WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

So, after all, President Roosevelt did they had been properly snubbed and "taught to know their place," given to anderstand that workingmen must humbly ask for audience and await His Excellency's good pleasure, no matter how important their business, and that it is only Wall Street bankers and big corruptionists like Platt and Addicks that have the right of entry.' It is a pity that the miners did not stand enough on their dignity to refuse to go again to Oyster Bay under such humiliating conditions. It would have done much to increase the President's respect for them had they taken such a course. But let us hope that at least some, if not all, of the miners have learned something from the experi-

CHEAP-JOHN METHODS OF "BEN-EVOLENT FEUDALISM."

The American Smelting and Refining Company has distributed among its employees dividends to the amount of \$90,000. This action is being heralded as a striking example of capitalist generosity, a proof-that there is no class struggle, a demonstration of the loving interest which Big Bother Capital takes in the welfare of Liffle Brother Labor. .

This transaction is worth looking into. The distribution is made in accordance with an announcement of the company that, after providing for indepreciation and improvements, to the amount of \$7,500,000, it would divide among its "fatthful" employees 22% per cent, of its remaining current surplus, provided such amount should not

Ninety thousand deliers is 22% per cent. of \$400,000. Thus it appears that

this trust "made" during the year the sum of \$7,900,000-that is to say, its employees made this much for it-and it spends \$7,500,000 in interest and dividends to its non-producing bondholders and stockholders, in making good the wear and tear of its plant, and in adding to the value of its properties; then it keeps out \$310,000 more; then it generously gives \$90,000, or a trifle over one cent in the dollar, back o the men whose labor of hand and brain produced it all.

Each of the ten thousand workers get an average of \$9 added to his poor yearly wages, while each of the two or three hundred owners pockets thousands of dollars as a reward for hav ing allowed these men to work. ---

This is "benevolent feudalism." The workers are expected to be grateful for this infinitesimal gift-and the worst of it is that some of them will be grateful. They are expected to be 'loyal" to the Smelting Trust for the sake of this beggarly \$9-not to strike, under any provocation, not to agitate membership of the Socialist Party against abuses, to work a little harder and faster than ever before, to "be content in the station in which it has this special case is relatively unimpleased God to assign them" and in which it pleases the Guggenheims to keep them forever and ever, amen!

This profit-sharing scheme is about the shrewdest and most dangerous nethod the profit-takers have ever de vised for keeping the workers at their mercy. But even this will not avail them. Some of the workers will be deceived by it, but not all-and ever fewer and fewer. For even workingmen can do simple sums in addition and subtraction, multiplication and division, and if one employee in a hundred figures the thing out and sees the meaning of the scheme, he is likely to keep everlastingly at it till he makes nost of the other ninety-nine wake up. They will see that, if they are entitled to anything, they are entitled, not to 221/2 per cent, of a pattry remainder out of the surplus of their own labor but to 100 per cent, of the whole. And they will know how to get it, too.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

If we could have directed the cours of the capitalist organizations, of the Republican and Democratic parties. and of the national and state governments, in their legislative, judicial and executive branches, during recent months, we could not have planned anything better calculated to create an unparalleled opportunity for the So cialist Party than the course which, of their own will or under the pressure of economic necessity, they have actu-

Everywhere are to be found work ingmen and others who have been lifelong Republicans, but who, within the last six months, have become utterly disgusted with their party by the conduct of Roosevelt, of Peabody, and others of its leaders. Everywhere are to be found men, heretofore stalwart Democrats, who are now completely disillusioned by the actions of the con vention at St. Louis. Everywhere are to be found men, formerly unwilling to listen to Socialist, argument, who have begun to learn their lesson from the Employers' Associations, the Citizens' Alliances, the anti-labor court decisions, the farcical pretense of antitrust suits, the lockouts and blacklists, the increase of the army of the unemployed, the wholesale reduction of wages, the steady advance of the cost of living, the impudent lies of the capitalist press, and the truckling sophistry of bishops and college presidents.

This year of 1904 will be reckoued in history as a most eventful year in the | tion; and then, tardily and indirectly, history of the United States and a Socialist movement. Never before have to the effect that they had any knowlcommitted so many blunders along with so many crimes and done so much to prepare the way for our agitation. Nor can we expect that such an exceptional opportunity will again present itself, at least for many years to come.

The land is full of seething discontent. The fermentation of new ideas is going on all around us. It is for us to enlighten that discontent and or ganize it, that it be not wasted in mere confused and negative protest. It is for us to clarify and unify those in choate new ideas that are springing up and direct them to constructive action

Shall we rise to the occasion? If w do not, if we lazily trust to "evolu tion" to do our work. If we fall short of the demand that the times make then we may expect to see others com to the front and take our place, to do the work that we ought to have done and perhaps waste much time and en ergy and cause much disorder and suf fering because they lack the experi ence and discipline that we have

The next three mouths should be time of strenuous and thoughtful ac tivity for every Socialist. The fields are indeed ripe for the reaping, and they are great fields, and the reapers are few. We cannot spare a man. We cannot afford to lose a day. We mus work, ere it be too late.

By the holding of public meetings by personal converse in the shop, by discussion in the union, by forcing the attention of the public press, but above all by the distribution of Socialist pa-pers and paniphlets and leaflets at

whenever opportunity presents, oust bring the clear message of So cialism to all the people in this most critical campaign.

Let us not waste time in gu whether we shall get 500,000 votes, or a million, or more. Let us resolve to get all that can be honestly got-not votes for Debs and Hanford merely, but intelligent votes for Socialism. The result will come, if we do the work. But we ought to do more work in this campaign than in any four campaigns of the past.

THE APPEAL TO SUSPICION.

We said last week that we should soon take occasion to present our views on the question of methods to be used in party controversies, as suggested by our recent criticism of the methods acactually employed by the Eric "People." Now is as good a time as any. We have reason to believe that the readers of The Worker-and they are very truly representative of the active throughout the country-have approved our course in this special case. But portant, unless the right lesson is drawn from it for our guidance in the many similar cases that will arise in future. We therefore ask that all our readers will note that we are trying to discuss this as an illustrative case only, to discuss it without animus, in effect to discuss, not this case, but a question of method involved in it which is so important that it really becomes a question of principle. Here, then, are the facts in the case:

A party paper, edited with such ability as to give it a high standing and great influence within the party, uses its editorial column to state that hints and rumors are affoat to the effect that the new platform was "railroaded" through the national convention, and that the committee "deliberately held back" its report to a late day in order so to "railroad" it; that the platform committee's report was not submitted in print; and that "enough has been disclosed to warrant the belief that all was not fair and above board." Believing, upon good information, that such hints and rumors are false, even if not maliclously intended, and noting that the only thing "disclosed," the only definite statement offered in evidence-namely, the statement that the platform committee did not report in print-is an erroneous statement, and considering that at least six of the comrades who composed the platform committee, and who are alleged to have deliberately held back their report in order to "railroad" it, are now holding honorable and representative positions in the gift of the party (two an national candidates, one as National Secretary, one as Secretary to the International Bureau, and two as editors of party papers), and considering that such an accusation, if well founded, would prove them to be unworthy of such confidence, and, if not well founded, would do injustice to them and to the party which they represent-upon these considerations we called for a prompt and clear and full presentation of the evidence which our colleague alleged to have been "disclosed," and for the publication of the names of the men from whom he had got his information. The answer, so far as concerns that paper, has been-silence. Personally, the editor has justified himself by arguing that it was a fact that such rumors were current, and that he had a right, as editor, to report this fact; that he was partly convinced of their truth and had therefore a right to give them a partial editorial sauche has furnished us statements of al most critical year in the annals of the leged fact from three witnesses, not such opportunities been presented to edge of a deliberate holding back of

> the method of attack adopted by the paper in question.
>
> The injustice done to Comrades Debs, Hanford, Mailly and the others, is a minor matter. They can take care of themselves. Their records are open. And their reputations are no dearer to us than that of any comrade of the rank and file. The immediate injury lone to the party by the publication of such rumors in campaign times is a minor matter. If there is anything wrong in the party. The Worker wishe to have it exposed, even though it be a fortnight before election. The scaring away of timid voters does not bother us. We value the publicity which is essential to democratic party government much above a few thousand votes this way or that. No. it ir not of such injuries as this that we complain, but of the injury done to the spirit of democracy within our movement by the precedent set of appealing to suspicion instead of appealing to calm judgment. That is the only point worth considering.

report was not printed (that statement

had been completely disproved), but to

the effect that they had not had a fair

opportunity to discuss the platform

hen reported. We cheerfully printed

those statements. But we did not and

do not believe that they at all justify

We have spoken of the publicity which is essential to democratic god The Worker has always stood for such publicity-sometimes is discreetly and too hotly, perhaps. But the sort of publicity that serves the purposes of democracy is not a pubfacts, attested by men whose identity am as good as you." It means: All is revealed to the party, so that it can of us are better and wiser and mor weigh their reputation for veracity and important than any of us. But in or for good judgment in forming its opin- der that this may be true; lu orde

If John Smith sees Thomas Jone

pick a man's pocket, it is not only John Smith's right, but it is his duty. to inform the victim and the police. But if John Smith gets up in a public place and says, or goes into an editor lal office and writes, "It is rumored that Thomas Jones is a thief, an enough has been disclosed to warrant the belief that he is no better than he should be," and if he falls to support this accusation with reasonably credible and pertinent evidence, ther Thomas Jones very rightly has an ac tion against him for damages; and, what is more to the point, the people have an action against them for crime in that he abused that freedom of speech and press which the people have to some extent established, that he perverted it from its right function of disseminating useful truth, that he so used it as to introduce baseless suspicions and fruitless dissensions into that society which he ought rather to help guide in the ways of judgment and harmony.

Mark Twain tells us very amusingly, but also with almost complete historiical accuracy, of the method of trial and rule of evidence followed in trials for treason in medieval Venice. The accused, he says, was brought before the Council of Three and examined; if the Three found any evidence against him, they had him tied up in a sack and dropped into the Grand Canal; if they did not find any evidence against him, they said to themselves, "This man is evidently a very shrewd and dangerous conspirator, for he has concealed all the evidence"-and they has him tied up in a sack and dropped into the Grand Canal, Now in Venice there was a sort of public letter-box called "the Lion's Mouth," to which anyone might go at night and drop in an un signed note accusing another of trea son, with the assurance that the man he accused would be arrested and tried by the Three. The cruelly unjust trial was the legitimate and inevitable re sult of the method of anonymous and indefinite actusation, appealing to sus

picion, not to judgment. In certain parts of the South it has happened again and again that some idle mischief-maker starts a story that a white woman had been insulted by negro. Very soon, in passing from mouth to mouth, the story would grow to an aflegation that such-and-such negro had committeed a criminal assault upon such-and-such a white woman. Then the crowd would star out and catch that negro-or some oth er, if he could not be found (for suspicion, once aroused, will seize upon any victim)-burn him alive and carry away pieces of his bones as trophie of "speedy justice." And then, when all had cooled down, it would be found that no rape had been committed, that no insult had been offered, even, that the whole horrible affair had been an example of the demoralizing influence of the substitution of suspicion for

We might multiply instances, it necessary. We might tell of the "delators" of ancient Rome or of the witchcraft trials of Salem or of the denunciations of 1793. Or we might ask the reader to recall his observa tions of the sufferings of innocent women whose reputations have been blasted by the mere nods and winks and sinister smiles of prurient scandal-mongers-had they spoken plainly their victim could have defended herself; but who can challenge and refute g gossip's vaguely slanderous hints?

We espect afford to countenance such methods of accusation within the Socialist Party. We cannot afford to permit the formation of an atmospher of suspicion-a fog of doubt and fear in which every stock or stone becomes a giant and every shadow a goblin. W want daylight and fresh air.

The Worker stands for publicity yes. The Worker maintains that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, of self-government-yes. But between vigliance and suspiciousness, between the sane watchfulness of the brave and bonest man who falls not to see what is and fears not to tell what he see and the hysterical apprehensiveness of the panic-stricken weakling who expects to meet ghosts and so is ever ready with ghost stories between these there is a difference as wide a that between Raphael and Mechisto-

We are no hero-worshippers; there is none whom we deem incapable of error or even of crime; we do not believ in angels nor in devils. We are no sentimentalists; party controversies have no terrors for us, provided they be rightly conducted. We stand for the most part in places that no man the right of every Socialist to thinks fit for his horse; are separated differ with even the party's chosen representatives on questions of prinhe ought in duty to leave the party. and his right freely and frankly to express lds differing opinion within th bornes of parliamentary decency. We stand for the right of the obscures party member to accuse the most em nent, if he has knowledge of that emi nent comrade baying done wrong, and to have his statement of fact fairly sist that every accusation must be oude-in such form that it can be

that the "all" may be an organic body superior to the best of its members not a mob, baser than the basest--h order, that is, that democracy may persist and not degenerate through at archy into oligarchy-it is necessar that we should always most scrupu lously observe and enforce certain re straints—one of the most important of which is that one has no right to speak III of another without bringing plain and sufficient evidence, nor ever

sufficient evidence before him.

Vigilance and publicity are safe guards of democracy. But the vigil ance must be same and the publicity honest, else they do not deserve those good names, else they become source of intrigue and corruption.

to believe ill without having plain and

Only so much need be added: If this true and important for every com rade, it is doubly true and imperativ for party officers and especially editors, whose lightest words inevitably carry weight.

NOTE. COMMENT. AND ANSWER

The Los Angeles "Socialist" says Comrade George B. Benham, the known author and publisher and sec retary of the State Federation of La bor, has announced that he is a candi date for the union labor nomination for Congress, to succeed Livernash. I is now about two years since Comrade Benham_withdrew from the Socialis Party to devote all of his energy to working in the ranks of organized is bor, in which his success has been phe nomenal. His chances of election ar considered to be good, although with out a great party pledged to the over throw of capitalism benind him, his success will have but little significance to the Socialist, nor can be expect any support from our comrades." This seems a rather mild repudiation; and why does our California contemporary sist in calling this renegade

We observe, and with pleasure, that

the Chicago "Socialist" has discontinued its "clubbing rate" of 25 cents : year and established 50 cents a year a the uniform rate for all subscriptions whether taken singly or in clubs. Thi was absolutely the right thing to do To take subscriptions at 25 cents a year was to incur an obligation that could not be fulfilled except by so reducing the quality of the paper as to render it practically useless to the party—and even so, the chances are that heavy deficits would have to b borne by devoted comrades in order to sible honestly to sell goods below cost and anyone who knows the facts will and anyone who knows the testify that 25 cents a year does not properly provide for the cost of publication of a weekly paper of even halfway satisfactory size and quality. The party will be a great deal better served if we have but a half-dozen good weeklies, self-supporting and grow than if we have half a hundred po edited and poorly printed papers, each struggling for an existence and con stantly "schnorring" in order to cover deficits. The capitalists know that competition is a bad thing—except for the other fellow. Socialists, in con ducting their business enterprises should not fail to recognize so obviou a truth.

One of our Socialist papers in the West quotes from "the Frenchman, La Salle." Of course, our colleagumeans Ferdinand Lassalle, who wa German Jew. It is evident that he gets the quotation at second hand-or third or hundredth hand, for that matit is not all right that a Socialist paper should be edited by a comrade who knows so little of the history of ou can make such a mistake as this.

The passage which our contempo been used in The Worker more than once, but we have no hesitation about giving it again. Lassalle says:
"The social revolution is bound to

come. It may come in full panoply blessings of peace, provided the people have the wisdom to take it by the hand and introduce it betimes; or it may break in upon us unexpectedly amidst all the convulsions of violence in iron sandals. Conie it must, in on vay or the other. When I withdraw myself from the turmoil of the day and dive into history I hear distinctly its approaching tread."

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

me, at least, it would be d to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry 90 per cent, of the actual producer of wealth have no home that they can as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that he most part is places that he mo thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitu-tion that a mouth of bad trade, sick-ness or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauper-ism. . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country.—Frederic Harrison, p. 429. Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1886.

THE CURSE OF EXCLUSIVENESS.

As long as our civilization is esse As long as our civingation is essentially one of property, of feuces, of exclusiveness, it will be mecked by delusions. Our riches will leave us sick; there will be bitterness in our laughter, and our wine will burn our mouth. Only that good profits which we can inste with all doors open and which serves all mess. Exacran.

COMMERCIALISM AND THE DRAMA.

An Address Delivered by Courtenay Lemon at the First Meeting of the Progressive Stage,

[A speech delivered on June 30 at the first public meeting of the Pro-ressive Stage, a society organized for to establish a different and better the first public meeting of the Pro-gressive Stage, a society organized for the purpose of interesting the masses in the teachings and the art of the great dramatists by producing modern social dramas of progressive tenden-cies, as well as the older classic dramas neglected by the commercial stage, and by holding lectures and discussions on these dramatists and thei works. For further information in regard to this society address Julius Hopp, 203 E. One Hundred and Fourteenth street, New York City.]

The subject which has brought us together to-night presents itself to me in the form of three questions. We must consider: First, what are the fruits, shortcoming and evils of the American stage as it is; second, what is the cause of these; third, how can a stage with a nobler standard of art and a higher mission be created? In short, we have to consider the condition, the cause and the remedy. discussion of or tinkering with the superficial aspects of the problem will avail; only by digging down deep to the roots of the trouble can the trutl be reached.

In too many of the dramas produced on the American stage to-day super-ficiality, inanity and futility prevail passing diversion and cynical wit is usually the best that they can give. Such a stage has no light to throw on the great issues which confront civilization. It does not deal with the grea social problems which press upon the race. It amuses, sometimes, but does not inspire nor instruct. Having no vital connection with life, it is divorced from true art and offers mere ly ephemeral or abandoned amuse ent, thus descending to the function -so necessary and valuable in its place—which is better, more frankly, and more fittingly performed by the music hall and the vaudeville show. Such a stage, irrelevant to all the great realities of life, cannot be vital-ized by the real art which gives the ower of bestowing a deeper enjoy ent and a higher and more lasting pleasure to the plays of dramatist who take their art seriously.

At present all our theatres are own ed by capitalists-who care only for profit; and are patronized chiefly by a parasitic class of idle rich in search for such forms of amusement as de not involve thinking—a labor which like all other labor, is highly distaste

ful to them. The poorly paid school teacher, the poet who fights with the magazine editors for a scanty living, the writer who sticks to his ideals and lives on little rather than turn to literary back work and live well, the struggling artist-all these educated and intelle tual people—and, more important, all the wage-workers, who need the edu-cation and inspiration that the right kind of a stage could help to give them, cannot afford to go to the the-atre, with its high prices, very often, and cannot afford to sit in the good seats when they do go. So it comes about that the stage nowadays is run nostly in accordance with the tastes and wishes of the class of men who after dining in leisurely luxury, yawn over the cordials and languidly discuss whether to go to Canfield's, or to the club, or for an automobile spin, or to the theatre, and if the latter, to -and who then come in to wards the end of the first act. It is this class of men, and especially their still more idle wives and daughtera, who patronize all the plays and who pay for the most expensive seats, and who by their "first night" approva or apathy more or less determine the fate of a production.

As all our theatres, like our indus ries, are privately owned and man aged solely for profit, plays are pro-duced on just the same commercial principles as shoes are manufactured or wheat or potatoes are sold. Art is a mere commodity and the fate of art and artists is determined by the boxoffice and the bookkeeper's ledger. If the state of public taste is low, managers and theatrical capitalists will ounder to it for profit; it is not their elevating the public taste.

is business," art be damned! Art is a commodity. Art is patron ized and prostituted. Art does not of the people; it is supposed to be the luxury of a leisure class, and becomes either the plaything or the servile tool of that class. And it is for this reason that there is so much counterfeit art for art cannot be a commodity, a play thing, or a servant of privilege and remain art.

The same thing is wrong with the

the fing that is wrong with all art, and the fing that is wrong with all art is the same thing that is wrong with our entire social life. The same fundamental cause that keeps art off the stage and puts fake on the boards gives us the frightful, popular, hys-terical—I mean historical—novel in in poetry, hypocrisy in religion, cor-ruption in politics, adultocation ruption in politics, adulteration in commerce, and robbery in 'industry; and that cause is production for pri-rate profit instead of for human welfare. The very same thing that made firetrap of the Iroquois Theatre in Chicago, resulting in awful loss of lifethat is, the necessities of profit-mak-ing—was the thing which kept all real art off its stage. The same thing that caused the fearful loss of life on the burning steamer General Slocum, say ing of expense for the sake of profit the same thing that caused the death dealing collapse of the flinsily built Darlington Hotel, the same thing that causes all strikes, the same thing that sacrifices thousands of little child tollers and weak women on the insatial altar of profit, enervates and perverts altar of profit, enevates and perverts alt art and gags the college professor and muzzles the editor and sets the painter who might do great work to making advertising pletures or peinting the pitiful portrait of a dys-peptic millionaire. And that thing is the fundamental injustice in which our life is based—the fact that one class care all wealth and the sources. class owns all wealth and the sources of wealth and lives off the labor of the class which owns nothing, although producing all.

Since all that is wrong with the

stage it is necessary to eliminate the profit basis and to appeal to and reach the other class. And these are the purposes of this society. It is our object to produce dramas of artistic and educational value in order to awaken progressive ideas and appreciation of art in the minds of the masses, and in order to achieve this purpose a low and uniform price of admission will be charged and the seats will be demo cratically distributed on the principle of "first coming first served." making will be eliminated, as far as the society is concerned, and all the funds of the organization will be appiled to the production of more dramas and the carrying on of the work This movement will grow out of the people themselves and will rely upon the co-operative support of the masses, not upon the philanthropy of patrons. Some say that the drama could be

saved from degradation if some millionaire could be persuaded to en-dow an art theatre with part of the money wrung from the producers of wealth—a theatre endowed like Rocke feller's oil-soaked university or Carne gle's blood-stained libraries. Now, the books in Mr. Carnegie's hibraries may be impartially selected at present, but as the industrial conflict grows more intense and the working people begin to awake to a sense of their rights and wrongs no one would be surprised if Mr. Carnegie drew up an index expurgatorius ruling out all radical and revolutionary books on the labor ques-tion. In Mr. Rockefeller's Chicago University any professor who makes a radical utterance on social problems soon finds himself out of a job; during the last ten years one educator after another has been discharged, there and elsewhere, for daring to say anything which might displease the millionaire endowers. The church or the univerendowers. sity must strictly conform to the ideas and interests of those who supply it with funds. And if an art theatre were endowed by a millionaire patron it is reasonable to suppose that the same rule would prevail the stage is now indirectly and subtly controlled by the likes and dislikes of the wealthy that the industrial prob-lem is ruled off. The rottenness of so-clety is vividly exposed in the epigrams in society plays and in the jokes of the music halls, it is true; this permitted because the "smart set" cynical and these people like to laugh at jokes about themselves—it makes them feel important. The cyni-cal wit of the up-to-date stage ought to cause a revolution-not because it is bad wit but because it so expo the rottenness of society—but it does not, because it does not go down to

the roots of things and show the cause of conditions as they are. So this mere cynicism is permitted, cutting sar-casms on existing society are allowed as long as they are merely cynical and do not reach the cause of existing evils. But dramas like Ibsen's "Pillars of Society" or his "Enemy of the Peo-ple" or Hamptmann's "Weavers" or Shaw's "Widower's Houses" are al-most never produced because their, revelations threaten the interests of the rich. The "upper classes" will tolerate the production of plays on the ex problem, to be sure—they have plenty of time for that problem and are much occupied in experimenting with it—but any vital reference to the industrial problem, which includes the sex problem, is distasteful and repugnant to them because the general dis-covery of the truth about it would destroy their power and privilege. Now, the millionaire patron would simply concentrate and focus the interested prejudice and caution of this class, to which he belongs. He might be very willing to have the plays of the im mortal but theatre-neglected Shake-speare staged because Shakespeare does not deal with modern problems or issues, Shakespeare is "safe"; he might possibly be willing to have sex problems plays produced also; but he would not stand for the great modern dramas which throw some revealing light on social injustice and have some hope and hints for emancipation in them. To go back to Shakespeare for a moment, there are two concentions of the character of Shylock tray him as a miserable usurer, a degraded interest-squeezer. Now, if professors are thrown out of universi or any public utterance which in the least displeases the profit makers who endow the universities, how do we know that a banker patron or a retired maire living on interest would not tischarge any actor who portrayed Shylock as an unprincipled usurer simply because the old money-maker wanted his interest. This may be a far-fetched supposition, but it will serve to illustrate a principle which would inevitably operate in some other way just as ridiculous and just as de-

tructive of the liberty of art. The patron kills but the people save. Only a stage founded, supported and controlled by the people themselves vill produce, not only Shakespeare's immortal works of art, not only plays handling the subsidiary social prob-lems, but also those drawns which deaf with the economic problems upon

the solution of which depends the progress or destruction of society. In passing, I wish to express the belief that one incidental trouble with the stage is the exalting of the actor over the drama. The actor should receive appreciative and generous credit for excellence in his difficult art; but, much more than emotional mechanics who reproduce that which the dramatist has created. The lack of vital dra as compared to the dramatist. Surely the content of a drama is more fundaof any one who takes part in carrying it out, no inatter how good and faithful a servant of the dramatist he may be. Therefore the dramatist is undoubtedly the supreme creative gentus of the stage. A poor drama cannot be redeemed by the best of acting, but a good drama can be enjoyed if only read. But while restoring the dramatist to his rightfully pre-eminent position, the new stage will smalle the

earnest actor to play great and vital parts and give him opportunity for the noble exercise of his art by putting him to the highest use, untained by

the demands of commercialism.

In conclusion, I wish to say something about the fear expressed by some that this movement will be too exclusively dominated by Socialist propaganda to be a success. There are many Socialists here to-night. The purposes of the Progressive Stage will be brought to the attention of the Socialist organization in this city and I have no doubt that it will receive the hearty support and co-operation of many Socialists; it has been so in Europe, where similar movements have been made successful only by the co-operation of the working class organi-zations. But it does not at all follow from this that non-Socialists will be excluded or subdued or that the movement can take the form of a direct po-litical propaganda which would repulse those who are not yet ready to accept the principles of Socialism. By its nature this dramatic movement appeals to all who are interested in art and progressive thought, regardless of their varying affiliations to different schools of thought. By its nature the drama cannot serve as the instrument of any definite solution of the social problem. The purpose of the social drama can only be critical and iconoclastic; it can expose things as they are and show the cause of evil condi-tions, but its inherent limitations are such that it cannot propose a definite change or prove a particular principle of social evolution—that must be left for the economist and the political agitator. In dissatisfaction with existing conditions all people of progressive thought and all great artists are agreed. The drama therefore—which only exposes the true inwardness of existing society—is neutral ground for progressive and radical thinkers of all schools or no school. Some of the greatest modern dramatists and writ ers are Socialists and some are claimed by the Anarchists, whose principles are absolutely opposite to those of So-cialists in everything but discontent with existing conditions. But all the great dramatists and authors of recent years, such as Ibsen, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Zola, Tolstoi, Bjornsen, Gorki, etc., are revolutionary. The Anarchists claim Ibsen; the ending of "The Pillars of Society" is opposite to what Socialist philosophy leads us to expect, but every Socialist in the Progressive Stage will be willing and cager to have this play produced for the light it throws on existing society.

In discontent, at least, all thinking people agree, although in regard to the laws of social evolution or the future of society we differ. This move ment should therefore appeal to all in telligent working people, to all progressive thinkers, to all who do not entirely approve of things as they are, as well as to all who wish art to be freed from commercialism.

FRANCO-ITALIAN

LABOR TREATY. A treaty so far unique in diplomatic history has been entered into between

France and Italy this year. Treaties for the protection of property interests and the guaranty of commercial privileges are common, but this is a treaty for the protection and advancement of the interests of the wage-workers in the two countries. At least, this is its ostensible purpose, and it will probably be served to a considerable

There are some 10,000 French workingmen employed in Italy and over 200,000 Italian workingmen employed in France. By the new treaty each nation agrees to give to the working-men of the other nation rights under the labor laws equal to those of natives. The workingmen's savings banks of the two countries will each honor the pass-books of the other's depositors. Any accident indemnities or pen sions which may become due to an Italian laborer while in France will be paid to him just the same when he returns to his native land, or, in the case of death by accident, to his heirs in Italy, Italy assuming the same obli-gations in regard to French working-nien resident within her borders. The treaty assumes that it is the duty of government to supplement the work-ingman's savings so that in case of lisability through accident or old age ne may have sufficient means to live in decency. It is agreed between the con-tracting powers that this right shall not be forfeited by a workingman who spends part of his life in a foreign

Both French and Italian govern parties, which are pledged to simi lar programs for the benefit of labor by factory laws, old age pensions, public insurance, and other remedial measures. More important even than the mutual guaranty of rights under the labor laws is the provision that the two governments shall co-operate in two governments shall co-further improvement of the of labor, and in order to make this practicable. Italy shall bring her labor laws and factory inspection up to the French level. In a word, it is agreed that the nations shall not "scab" each other.

The "Independent," communiciping this treaty, says: "In this national agreement France and Italy have set a good example to our own states, which, though they belong to the same nation, have made no official efforts to secure uniformity of leg's lation, although many reforms, gener ally admitted to be desirable, are practically impossible without it. ever one state has endeavored by restrictive legislation to raise standard of living, the other states, instead of seconding the move-ment, have tried to take advantage of it to secure the indus tries it was attempted to control, by offering unlimited liberty if they would move. * * * It is not an edifying spectacle to see states competing with ach other by means of lax legislation in the attempt to secure the greatest number of divorce colonies, sweat-shops, child labor factories, bogus insurance and fake corporations."

-Six per cent, of the people, or the capitalist class, own 82 per cent, of the wealth of the United States; 13 per cent, of the people; or the middle ss, own 15 per cent, of the wealth, and 75 per cent, of the people, or the working class, own 3 per cent, of the wealth

PARTY NEWS.

The motion of National Committee man Lowry of Arkansas to overrule the Quorum's decision that during the campaign Comrade Debs should not be sent to any state south of Kentucky and Missouri, has been carried by the National Committee by a vote of 17 to 1—Berlyn, Holman, O'Nelli, Thams, Holbrooks, Barnes, and Berger voting in the negative; Carter. Pox of Maine, Walter, Fox of Mon-tana, Christensen, Hillquit, Lovett, and Boomer not voting.

NATIONAL ORGANIZERS.

M. W. Wilkins continues his work in West Virginia until the first of August, when he will fill dates in Mary-

land and Pennsylvania.

Geo. E. Bigelow will complete his work in South Dakota the last of July and will fill a few dates on his way bome. He will enter the field again, shortly afterwards. Geo. H. Goebel will complete his

work in California at Corning, July 28, and will enter Oregon a few days later. His trip through New Mexico and Arizona was a uniform success. Harry M. McKee closes his work in

Kentucky at Bowling Green and will enter Tennessee about July 1, filling about twenty-five dates before enter-

Application for dates for John Spargo, Franklin H. Wentworth, John W. Brown, and Louis Goaziou (French) on their western tours should be made direct to William Mailly, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago.

LABOR DAY SPEAKERS.

Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President, will be the Labor Day speaker at Erie, Pa.

Erie, Pa.

More names have been added to the National Secretary's list of Labor Day speakers, making it as follows: J. W. Bennett, Sloux City, Ia.; Geo. Briel, Newport, Ky.; John W. Brown, Worcester, Mines.; Len Button, Chicago, fil.; H. H. Caldwell, Dayton, O.; W. G. Critchlow, Dayfon, O.; Isaac Cowen, Cleveland, O.; W. L. Dewart, Washington, D. C.; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Milwaukee, Wis.; Freeman lett, Milwaukee, Wis.; Freeman Knowles, Deadwood, S. D.; Courtenay Lemon, New York; L. D. Mayes, New York City; Walter Thomas Mills, Chi-cago, Ill.; E. W. Perrin, Little Rock, Ark.; John M. Ray, Nashville, Tenn.; A. M. Simons, Chicago, Ill.; Frederick Strickland, Indianapolis, Ind.; Ernest Untermann, Chicago, Ill.; J. Wanhepe, Erie, Pa.; Dan A. White, Brockton, Mass. Applications and inquiries for information regarding terms, etc., should be addressed to the National Secretary.

CAMPAIGN FUND.

The National Secretary acknowledges the following receipts for the National Campaign Fund: Half-day's pay contribution—Fred E. Irish, Mass., Lists 971, 1028, 1029, \$5.12; Wm. C. Green, Fla., Lists 344, 347, 351, \$9.58; Jas. 8. Smith. Ill., Lists 381-3-4-9, 390, 402-3-7, 413, 474, 480-1-7, 491-2, 502-8-9, 3369, \$67.07; T. E. Palmer, Mo., Lists 1328, 1364, 1381-4-5-7, \$13.40; A. B. Cornelius, Conn., Lists 315, 317 to 320, \$30.33; \$\int_0\$0, donations by F. E. Wheel-er and A. J. Way, 75c. each; Edw. Gardner, O., Lists 1954, 2013-24-46-50, \$25.50; J. J. Jacobsen, In., Lists 635, 676-7, 682-5, \$6.50; W. H. Pierce, Mont., \$12.33; J. H. Swerdfiger, D. C., Lists 2001-6, \$17.50; J. W. Martin, Colo., Lists 262-4, 270, 290, \$15.50; W. H. Wilkins, N. H., Lists 1540, 1550, \$5.75; E. H. Thomas, Wis., Lists 2669, 2677, 2883, 2709, 2716, \$25.05; L. Junge, Neb., \$5.75; r. B. Helfenstein, Cal., \$30.90; Walter Lanfersiek, Ky., \$20; Joseph Kauyok, Local Duryea, Pa., \$20.90; Giles Westover, Local Concor-dia, Kas., \$5.70; E: W. Perrin, Adk., \$10; Herman Rahn, Local Staunton, 111., \$20.75; John Anderson, Local Barre, Vt., \$8.96; L. J. Phillips, Local Nashville, Ill., List 405, \$3.75; W. H. Schock, Local Plateau, Sevier, Utah, \$2.50; A Friend, Rutland, Vt., \$1; Alex. Riebe Timnath, Colo., \$1; Chas. Miller, Retele Himath, Colo. \$1; Chas. Amer. Bethlehem, Pa., 75c; Henry Crouse, Local Moab, Utah. \$3.13; previously acknowledged, \$342.94; total. \$728.70. Other contributions—Eugene Gauch, Providence, R. I., \$1; M. W. Miller. Gulf Port, Mich., \$1; R. J. Douthill. ittsburg, \$2.50; J. C. Dobbins, Ballard, *Cash., \$5; U. Solomon, New York, Card 1857, \$1.50; Robt. Holliday, Mystic Conn. Card 1921 \$1.05; Jul. Louiz Gauch, Providence, \$1; Day prot

have made the mistake of sending the amount intended for the national or-ganization direct to the National Secretary instead of forwarding to the state secretaries along with the third for the state organizations, evidently forgetting the fact that the state secretaries issued the lists to locals and have the records of their numbers. As the national office is contracting for literature and other campaign mate-rial, local comrades will assist greatly by remitting amounts already collected to state secretaries. Don't wait to col-lect all the contributions. Remit what you have now and send the remainder ofter it is collected.

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE. The National Secretary is prepared to furnish the following campaign literature to state committees, locals, or individuals:

in the name of law and order in furtherance of its own interest.

'It has become a notorious fact that the laboring men, the sinews of the nation, have been imprisoned and departed from the state without process of law, and even without being the lamber of the state without process of law, and even without being the lamber of the state without process of law, and even without being the lamber of the state without process of law, and even without being the lamber of the state without process of law, and even without being the lamber of law and order in furtherance of its own interest.

'It has become a notorious fact that the laboring men, the sinews of the nation, have been imprisoned and departed from the state without process of law, and even without being the laboring men, the sinews of the nation, have been imprisoned and departed from the state without process of law, and even without process of law, and e

\$1: 100 for \$4.25; 1,000 for \$8; man, \$5: 500 for \$4.25; 1,000 for \$8; man, and express prepaid.

3. Sixteen-page booklet, "Debs' and Hanford's Speeches of Acceptance," with portraits and biographical sketches-same prices as preceding; orders many be divided between the two.

4. Four-page leaflet, "The Mission of the state of th

of the Socialist Party," by Eugene V. Debs—500 for 75c.; 1,000 for \$1.25; 5,000 for \$3.50. The National Secretary has offered this leadlet with advertisement of state headquarters or head of state ticket inserted at reduced prices in large quantities to state secretaries and orders may be placed with them

by locals, by locals, by B. Feigerbaum, "Workingmen Next!" with national platform in Jewish; 32 pages-single copy, 5c.; 50 for \$1.80; 100 for \$3, prepaid.

Campaign Literature Combina-6. Campaign Literature Combination: "Unionism and Socialism," by
Eugene Y. Debs; "The Labor War in
Colorado," by Ben Hanford; The Day
of Judgment," by Geo. D. Herron;
"What Workingmen's Votes Can Do,"
by Ben Hanford; and "Speeches of Acceptance" by Debs and Hanfordusual price 35c., all five for 20c., pre-

of our candidate for Congress, Geo. A. Little, on the evening of Ben Han-ford's address in the City Hall, July

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Arthur B. Cornelius has been elected as State Secretary for Connecticut. His address is Box 45, New Haven. Local New Haven has elected Cornelius Mahoney as Organizer, Amos Lathman as Literature and Press Agent, Henry Ross as Secretary, and Eugene Toomey as Treasurer. All of these may be addressed at Box 45. The Central Committee has started its work, but it will be powerless without the help of the other comrades. Every ward branch should be in working or them to do. Every comrade is urged to report at once to his ward secretar that it may be known when and where meetings are held, that sympathizers may join without delay and all be done

Comrade Fieldman has held good meetings at Rockville, Manchester, and Broad Brook.

The New Jersey State Committee has been informed by Chief Clerk Hischcock that its letter, demanding that the President take steps to protect the constitutional rights of working men in Colorado against the usurpa tions of Gov. Peabody, "was forwarded to the Department of Commerce and Labor and will be forwarded to the Bureau of Labor." Red tape is all that Roosevelt's administration can offer in response to the cry of the work-ers, not even for justice, but for the observance of some of the common dictates of humanity.

The Newark Socialists are holding

The Newark Socialists are holding open-air meetings every Thursday evening in front of the postoffice, Qn July 28 Peter E. Burrowes and H. W. Smith will speak; the latter has just returned from Porto Rico. On Aug. 4 Mrs. Fraser will be one of the speakers; on Aug. 11, Jas. E. Billings; and on Aug. 18, Gor. H. Heedley.

on Aug, 18, Geo: H. Headley.

At the last meeting of the State
Committee it was reported that the
Stockton "Times" and the Camden "Weekly" have each offered to devote a column to the publication of articles on Socialism written by Socialists. This shows the growing interest in the movement. Donations of \$5 from Dr. Card 1857, \$1.50; Robt. Holliday, Mys-tic, Conn., Card 1921, \$1.05; Jul, Loutz and Paul Chollet, Grangeville, Cal., ed that the Newark picnic on Labor 2: Eugene Gauch, Providence, \$1; Curtis A. Perry, Bridgeton, Me., \$10; A. Canadian Friend. \$5: L. A. Hall, Newport News, Va., Card 1605, \$1.50; Francis M. Eiliot, San Diego, Cal., \$2: previously acknowledged, \$87.95; total, \$121.50; grand total, \$850.20.

The receipts for the campaign fund this week show an encouraging increase. It has taken some time to collect the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remit to their state secretaries whatever has been collected on their lists. A number of locals in organized states have made the mistake of sending the amount intended for the national ormember that this campaign offers unsuper that the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the fund that the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the fund that the day of the contributions to the half-day's pay fund, and locals are urged to remain the fund that the day of the same that the specific half that the same th to meet them. Comrades should re-member that this campaign offers unlimited opportunities to present So-cialism to the people of this country.

Minnesota.

The State Committee of the Socialist Party-officially known in Minnesota this year as the Public Ownership Party-has sent to President Roosevelt a letter in the following terms:
"Dear Sir:-We, the undersigned

members of the State Committee of memoers of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, wish to call your attention to the gross-vio-lation of the constituten of the United States by the civil and military au-thorities in the state of Colorado, and to protest against the lawlessness of Governor Penbody in allowing the militia to be used by corporate greed in the name of law and order in fur-

or social position, and that the consti tution guarantees the equal rights of all to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness."
"We, therefore, demand that you use
the Federal government to enforce the
constitutional rights of the miners of
Colorado, that they may be protected
in their lives, their families and their
homes."

While it is not expected that this will do any direct good, and while the letter may never even reach the Presi-dent in person, it was thought that if every state and local organisation would write a letter of similar import would write a letter of similar import it night serve to show the servants of capitalism that the Socialist Party was allve to its duties and responsibilities, and that it is an organization that will have to be reckoned with in the near future.

by Ben Hanford; and "Speeches of Acceptance" by Debs and Hanford—
usual price 35c, all five for 20c, prepaid.

Campaign Buttons: Debs portrait buttons—3c. each; to party organizations, 10 for 25c, 60 for \$1. Debs and Hanford buttons—5c. each; to organizations, 10 for 25c, 60 for \$1. Debs and Hanford buttons—5c. each; to organizations, 12 for 50c, 30 for \$1.

New Hampahire,

The Dover comrades were much disappointed that they could not have Hanford for one night. His stay in the state was all too brief to please the Socialists in New Hampahire.

Summer F. Claffin and Joseph Eoley addressed a good crowd at Concord in front of the State House on July 16. They will speak at Penacook on Friday, July 22.

The names of the state and electoral candidates have been placed with the Secretary of State and in a week or ten days the nomination papers will be in readiness for signatures, With "two Mepublican parties" confronting us, as a disgusted veteran Democrat has called them, we ought to poil more than the required 3 per cent. of the total vote this year and do away with nomination papers in future.

Manchester local will swing a fine new banner clear across the street for Debs and Hanford, through the efforts. Of our candidate for Congress, Geo. A. of our candidate for Congress, Geo. A. of our candidates for Congress, Geo. A. of our candidate for Congress, Geo.

Prescott on June & nominating Com-rade Eugene Henry Godat for delegate to congress and a platform and consti-tution were adopted which will be sub-mitted to a referendum of the mean-bers in a short time.

mitted to a referendum of the members in a short time.

In Yavapai and Mojave counties the comrades have aiready held their county conventions and nominated full tickets, on which their best men were placed.

The movement in Arizona has been much stimulated by the recent lecture tour of National Organizer Geo. H. Goebel, who spent several weeks in the territory under the direction of the Territorial Committee and lectured in all of the principal places. The comrade "delivers his message, on which he is remarkably clear, in such a plain and simple manner and he covers the ground so thoroughly-that his auditors readily understand the subject and the questions they ask at his suggestion are of such a nature as to show that they are convinced of the Truth of the National Secretary reported that he was waviling for electrical to be membered to the form of the National Secretary reported that he was waviling for electrical to be another the direction of the National Secretary reported that the various locals in Wyening to sign in male store the principal places. The comrade "delivers his message, on which he is remarkably clear, in such a plain and simple manner and he covers the ground so thoroughly-that his auditors readily understand the subject and the questions they ask at his suggestion are of such a nature as to show that they are convinced of the truth of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the convention of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the National Secretary reported that a state coarrest of the Charles of the Charles the Newark picnic on Labor mises to be very successful; the great program of source of such a nature as to show that they are convinced of the truth of the claims of the Socialists and eager for further details. Their demand for lit-erature on the subject is also a very encouraging sign that they have begun to think for themselves, which is a sine quo non in the making of a Socialist. Comrade Goebel did not overlook those of our members who seem to think that it is enough to vote the ticket. He and of lending their active assistance at all times to promote the cause. His advice was taken in the proper spirit and its good effects are already appar-

The territorial convention decided on 33 per day and expenses as remunera-tion for all speakers, agitators and or-ganizers working under the direction of the Territorial Committee for the future. Every effort will be made to build up a propaganda fund which will enable them to have agitators in the field constantly for the next few months and no part of Arizona will be

Comrade W. E. White, member of the Executive Board of the American Labor Union, requests the Socialist press, through the National Secretary, to give publication to the following: "To the Workingmen of America:—

"To the Workingmen of America:—You are requested to stay away from the state of Colorado, as the conditions prevailing in this state are such that bread riots are likely to occur at almost any time, and the industrial stagnation is such as to make it impossible to obtain work, even for board. Colorado is in Ruesis; therefore stay away from Colorado."

The Socialists of Brockton, Mass., hold a carnival on the evenings of July 22 and 23. Mother Jones is to speak the first evening and Ben Hanford the second.

(Continued on page 4)

The National Quorum met at national headquarters July 0, at 9 p. m., with B. Berlyn, Victor I. Berger and Chas. G. Tosmer, present. Chas. G. Towner was elected chairman. W. E. Clark of the latter of the Chairman of the Commercial enterprises. The National Secretary read letters from communics making inquiries as to the character, of certain gold mining companies, insurance sehemes and other commercial enterprises. Berlyn moved that the National Secretary be inatmeted to noify commercial enterprises. Berlyn moved that the National Secretary be inatmeted to noify commercial enterprises. Earlyn moved that the National Secretary be inatmeted to noify commercial schemes. Carried.

A letter was rend from a Finnish commercial enterprises. Carried. Mich. asking the national jurty to assist the Finnish commercial enterprises of the commercial enterprises. The National Secretary to heafty the Finnish commercial enterprises in the field.

A letter was rend from the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Folish Secretary to a statement covering such cannot be committee uight expect a definite the committee uight expect a definite naswer from the national party relative to militation. Quorum member Berger was uppointed to form a statement covering such cannot.

The National Secretary read the report to

for each of the thirteen wards. The campaign will be pushed with vigor.

lows.

A local with eight members has been chaptered at Bellevue.

Des Molnes Socialists held a picnic at Grand View Park on July 17.

J. O. McEiroy of Becbeetown has just been nominated by Missouri Valley Local for Congressman for the Ninth District, and J. C. Smith of Sloux City by Correctionville Local for the Eleventh. No nominations have yet been made in the First, Fourth, and, Eighth Congressional districts.

Comrades are requested to put in their Sunday mornings distributing literature.

Referendum ballots for voting on the state platform, the state constitution, and the "lowa Socialist" agreement have been sent to the membership, Returns are due at the state office not later than Aug. 15.

Ben Hanford, the Vice-Presidential candidate, will make a few addresses in lows, presumably in August.

State Secretary Jacobsen advises the comrades: "Don't figure on a large increase an absolute certainty. The success of she party at the polls depends on you."

Geo. R. Kirkpatrick has been engaged for September and John M. Work for October to tour the state. Logals should apply for dates to State Secretary.

Arizana.

The comrades of Arizona will soon enter om a vigorous political compain, for which they have been making active preparations for some time. The first territorial convention met at Prescott on June 8, nominating Compade with the action of Maryland, during the cause of the prepared of the party, the sub-them and the plant of the Secretary reported that a state convention had been deal and secretary reported that a series of the prepared of the party and the districts.

The National Secretary reported that a series of the prepared of the party of the pa

made to be soil for use in parame and obsercompaign purposes. Berjyn moved that the
National Secretary reported a proposition to supply medallion portraits of our
presidential candidate, to be soil for senall
cost for campaign purposes. Towner moved
that Uniforms Secretary the instructed to get
1,000 such portraits. Carried.

A letter was read from Ella Reeve Cohen
cive to renumerate from Ella Reeve Cohen
tive to renumerate from Ella Reeve Cohen
tive to renumerate from Ella Reeve Cohen
tive to renumerate from the Recommendate
the National Secretary reported an offer
from Franklin H. Wentworth of his services
during September-and November of the
exampaign. Berlyn moved that the offer of
the National Secretary reported that
Harry M. McNes, moved that the offer of
the National Secretary reported that
Harry M. McNes, within which he in West Virginia until early in August; that George H.
Goebel will work through California to Oregon by beginning of August; and that Geo.
E. Higelow is now in the Dakotas. In view
of the Instituty of McKee to reach East
E. Highen will were through California to Oregon by heatmain Secretary suggested that
Towner be sent into those grates. Berger
moved that Charles G. Towner be sent into
Eastern Tennessee and the Carolinis. Carried.

A letter was read from W. E. White, Na-

Rastern Technesses and The Carolina. Carried.

A letter was read from W. E. White, National Committeeman for Connecticut, suggesting that an organiser be appointed for
the New England states during the campoign. The National Secretary reported
for agitation during the campoint available
for agitation of the second of the campoint and the season control with the reserve list, which was
approved.

The National Secretary reported upon
campaign leadlets as elsewhere reported.
Form in English, German, Italian leadletlanguages as soon as results of referendum
are known. The Debs leaflet will also be
translated into the different languages.
German, Behemian, Polish, and Italian
steaffers are being written. Simons leaflet
translated into the different languages.
German, Behemian, Polish, and Italian
steaffers are being written. Simons leaflet
against Labor Union* is Associations,
Against Labor Union* is Associations
Against Labor Union* as small cards printded on one side as that state tickets could
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A request was free from the State Secretary of Ulina's free from the State Secretary of Ulina's a monator demonstration
to be hald fa Chicaga some ilms during file
and the fact that Debs and Hanford carried.

A reages was the file the specified in Chicaga on their respective teams. Pengles of
Carried.

Anancial report from January 1 to June 20. He reported that books for local secretaries were being printed. Also that money from the haif-day fund was coming in slowly, "probably because local and state secretaries are waiting-to get complete returns on lista." Also that the result of referending on platform, trade migous, and constituted and the same complete returns to the convention had been declared but will be ready within ten days.

On suggestion of the National Secretary, Towner moved that an address to the membership reviewing the present political situation be issued. Carried.

The Quorum then adjourned to meet Aug. 20 at 8 p. m.

A CARD OF THANKS.

A CARD OF THARKS.

Chicago, July 14, 1904.

To My Cominades Everywhere:—It is perhaps true that the writing and publication of a book so large and so, superneive as my undertaking has prevent to be was 100 great a task for one to undertaking has prevent to be was 100 great a task for one to undertake who was entirely without means and without the support of others, with means. It so, substituted in four years of very continuing into and an expenditure of more than \$4,000.

While engaged in this work I have been obliged many times to postpone the writing in order to provide the most meager living for myself and finulty.

Three times since going to press work has ange share of my munuscript was locked up in the safe of a member of the Manufacturer's Assidiation "and I "was told to go to the courts if I wanted relief. I did not go to court, but without in bour's delay the work was done over again. The book had to be put into type assecund: time, from cover to cove

IN MEMORY OF CARL MARX.

On July 3, under the auspices of Shoreditch Branch of the So Democratic Federation, the London comrades, including in their numbers men and women from other lands, as well as many native Englishmen, gathered in Highgate Cemetery to honor the memory of Karl Mary. At the last moment the au thorities, with the callous stupidity of stupid callousness usual among bour geois guardians of law and order, for bade anything in the nature of a dem onstration at the tomb of the great teacher and fighter. Wreaths and floral pieces from many Socialist or ganizations were therefore silently laid themselves to a neighboring hall where an impressive meeting was held. Addresses were made by seevral ac-tive Socialists, including some personal associates of Marx, and telegraphic messages of greeting rend from party organizations on the Continent.

SOCIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Really the most important effect of in capitalism full fledged, forced the de velopment of the class struggle, and given rise to a Socialist movement there. Socialist metings are now being held quite frequently in Pretoria, with English, Dutch, German and Jewish speakers, and the attendance is very encouraging. Racial and national prejudices are giving way in the presence of the plain antagoulem of Capital and

WOMEN SUFFRAG SIS,...

PLEASE TAKE NOTIC". "There are none so blind as those who will not see, and none so deaf as those who will not hear." On May 1-5, 1904, the national convention of the Socialist Party was held in Chicago. Eight women were delegates to this convention, took their seats, took part in the discussions and

voted on all questions.
Yet a Chicago paper cohies out now
with this information:
"When the Republican national conrention was called to order Tuesday in the Coliseum, four women sat in their places among the alternates—the first time in the history of American politics women have been chosen to represent their states at a convention.

One of these had the right to vote, her principal being absent."

After a full description of the clothes they were (very important, you know), they wore (very important, you know), the one women entitled to vote is quoted as saying:

"It was a courtesy bestowed upon us by the men of our state. For that reason and because I felt that it would be good politics, I have decided not to excreise my-privilege of voting in my principal's absence, but to allow one of the delegates from Colorado to give

Yes, it is good Republican politics for women not to vote. It is only in the Socialist ranks that woman is given her full place and power. How many more years do you suppose it will take the woman suffragists to find this out?-Iowa Socialist.

Sell Socialist pamphlets at your street meetings. Try a hundred of Hanford's story of the Colorado strike They will cost you \$2.50 and it's a poor local that can't dispose of at least one hundred. Socialist Literature Co., 184 William street, New York.

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At Deckelmann's Ridgewood Park. Myrtle avenue, Ridgewood, L. I. Grand acrobatic performance in the afterpoon, dog circus, Punch and Judy show. Grand chorus of the United Workingmen's Singing Societies, dancing, moving pictures. At night: Grand aerial display of fireworks by the Pain Fireworks Co. of Manhattan Beach. Tickets, 10 cents each. Music by Prof. August Schneider. To commence at 10 a. m.

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WHAT CAN THE RADICALS DO? SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE EVILS

If ever a body of men was humiltated, spit upon and dragged in the mud it was the so-called radicals who attempted to take part in the Democratic convention. From the meaningless platitudes of the trust plank, the slushy declaration that "labor has certain rights," the ridiculous fiasco of the Hearst boom, and the nomination of the West Virginia labor-crusher and coal-trust magnate as Vice-President, the final slap in the face of the Parker telegram, the whole proceed-ings made a record of crow-eating and mud-crawling by the radical elemen such as no other body of men have ever endured in the political history of

And the men-who swallowed all this are the ones who have posed as the stalwart defenders of ideals, the brave champions of the common people and the special exponents of grand princies in politics. What will they do?

Will they prove once more that the Socialists were right in declaring, that in-spite of all protestations of love for labor, these radicals were really the representatives of small capitalist inrests, by now showing the traditione of their class? Will their tradesmen's consciousness and con-science prevail? Will they swap their

principles, their protestations and brave words for political pie? — We pause for a reply from some of their spokesmen. Bryan and Hearst have already had their say. The val-lant "Commoner" from the Platte makes wry faces as the stock in trade of his little political factory is absorbed by the great Hill-Belmont trust, but he takes up his "cross of gold" and turning his back upon the "common people" trudges obediently behind the Wall Street leaders. Hearst displays once more his prominent vermillion streak, as yellow-dog like, he sneaks back to New York to issue his "signed editorial," prepared by Brisbane, ex-plaining why he henceforth will wear the colors of the Relmont stables or

the political race track,

But how about the others. How about Darrow, George Fred Williams, Willis J. Abbott. Eltweed Pomeroy

These men have told us o'er and c'er of their love for labor, of their undying batred of capitalism and of their "so-

cialistic" principles; always, to be sure, adding a saving clause that the Democratic party either advocated these principles, or was going to ad-vocate them, or its candidates favored them, secretly or openly, or its plat-form contained them, even though in-visible to the uninitiated, or at least that its traditions held firm to these acred ideas. To-day only the fool and the fakir will claim to see such things in the Democratic party. Platform, candidates, party machinery, every-thing smells of Standard Oil and is black with trust coal. What will they do?

They know that the only party that stands in steadfast opposition to capi-talism, that dares to represent the in-terests of labor, that incarnates the mirit of progress is the Socialist

Party.

Will they have the manhood to ad-

mit this? The Socialist Party is not begging them to enter its ranks. It has no brass band to welcome them. It will slaughter no fatted calf in honor of shugher no lite offers them no pre-ferred places at the political banquet as inducements. Neither does the So-cialist Party ask them to come as shep, herds bringing a flock of blind, increasoning followers behind them. Least of all does it look to them as Moseses to point the pathway from out the po litical wilderness.

But if these men, and the vast mul-

titude whose acceptance of their lead-ership gives these few individuals heir prominence, come with a willing-ness to study and learn of the Socialist philesophy and to dedicate themselves to the work of overthrowing the sys tem that is crushing the workers, con-trolling politics, dominating governments and perpetrating and perpetuat ing the industrial hell of to-day, ther they will find a welcome in the ranks of the Socialist Party. They will come because the logic in industrial and political evolution has forced them to recognize that the Socialist Party in the modern political world.

Will they do this? Or will they prostitute their intellects, bury their principles, stifle their protests and meekly join in the wor

ship of the golden calf? WHAT WILL THEY DO?-A. M. Simons, in the Chicago Socialist,

Still more important than the question of what the radical leaders in the Democracy will do, is the question which we address to the great body of the rank and file, the "plain people," who have considered the Socialist Party too impractical and its chance of winning to distant, and who have followed the Democracy because they honestly believed it was moving slowly, "a step at a time" toward Socialism,

We ask them and EACH of them: What will YOU do? Will you allow yourself to be bought and sold and cajoled and betrayed, by such leaders as Gorman and Hill and Belmout, for the benefit of the Meat Trust and the Coal Trust and the Standard Oil Company? Will you THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY, in fact, by voting for one or the other of the twin parties of capitalism? Or will you, for once, vote independently, AGAINST the master class, against ALL the masters, and for a ticket composed of workingmen chosen by a workingmanu's party and pledged to the working class alone?

NOW is the time to decide and to begin to ORGANIZE and EDUCATE, so as to poll an impressive vote in November-a vote that the master class

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The first impression-20,000 copies- ; bought lasted us just five days. of Ben Hanford's pamphlet, "The Labe War in Colorado," will probably to ught to have a circulation of a million—and will have, if the locals be exhausted before this paper reaches throughout the country only realize its readers, as over 15,000 have already the benefit to be derived from pushbeen put on the press again this week. so that there need be no delay in filline future orders.

Comrades, circulate this pamphlet, it sets men to thinking and talking. It advertises our party name and candidates, as well as spreading the knowledge of our principles. It makes votes for Socialism.

One Brocklyn comrade bought 100 One Brooklyn compute bought too pies and started to sell them in his pop and elsewhere at 5 cents a copy six for a quarter. Within two ays he had sold about 60, reimbursing thiself for his expenditure, and then dred will supply money for the purdays he had sold about 60, reimbursing

he gave the rest away.

Comrade Welzenbach of Moline, Ill., writes: "The 100 copies of Hanford's Colorade pamphlet which the local covers cost.

FOR THE CALLY.

Acknowledgement of Moncys Received for the Fund to Establish the "Daily

Pinnneinl Secretary Julius Gerber of the Workingmen's Co-operative Pub-lishing Association acknowledges the receipt of the following amounts to-ward the fund for establishing the "Daily Cail": Cash Contributions -Political Educa

\$10; Edwin H. Davis, Philadelphia 45c.; A. A., \$1.25; J. Johnson, \$1.50; 25th A. D., Br. 2, \$5; Grant, 25c.; O. A., 50c.; Emii Dehnke, \$1; previously acknowledged, \$3,503,32;, total, \$3,613,27 Paid on Piedges Dr. J. Mintz, \$5; D. Abbott, \$2; J. Rooney, \$10; Dr. Ortman, \$1; previously ac knowledged, \$3.661.40; total, \$3,679.40.

Recapitulation Cash contributions for week, \$19.95; paid on pledges this week, \$18; previously reported receiptis-from all sources, \$16,014.71; total col-lected to date, \$16,052.06.
Contributions should be sent and checks and orders made payable to Julius Gerber, Fin. Sec.y. \$6; E. Pourth

street, New York.

At the regular meeting of the New York "Call" Conference, held en July 14, at 64 East Fourth street, J. H. lurell was sented as delegate from the Pattern Makers' Association of New York and vicinity; John Schultz and P. Lindahl from United Journeymen Trailors' No. 2009. iers, No. 390; Engeue McCulloch in place of Ad. Dressler, from the 15th and 17th A. D., S. D. P.; Louis Rauch and N. Friedman, from the 25th A. D. The report of the Advisory Board was accepted. A douation of \$10 was re-

ceived from the Committee on Politi-cal Education, District No. 15, Inter-national Association of Machinists. The following officers were elected for the conowing officers were elected for the ensuing six months: President, Wm. Kohn; vice-president, C. J. Langguth; secretary, Wm. J. F. Hannemann; Advisory Board—A. Lange, Emil Brown and Fred Meyer; sergent-at-arms, Wm. Adler. It was decided that the proposition that committees be sent to visit trade unions and organizations in behalf of the "Daily Cail" be put on the order of business for the joint meeting.

C. Lewis, secretary of the committees

closed find \$2.50 for another hundred.

A West Side comrade took 25 to 1

street meeting. As soon as the chair-man told the audience about the

pamphlet and announced it was for

sale, they crowded forward and the stock went as fast as the comrade

could take in nickels and hand out

A New York comrade has donated

1,000 copies to the State Committee to be furnished to locals that cannot af-

dred will supply money for the puchase of 200 more. Try it at once.

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C. Lewis, secretary of the co which had charge of the Fourth of July picnic for the 'Daily Call," desires to acknowledge a donation of \$4.65 from "Feuchte Eche, 19th and 20th A. D. Brooklyn." Comrade Eutscher, of the same committee, asks us to print this notice: "Donation of \$5 from the 21st A. D., Brocklyn, surplus at 'Jan'y Call' picnic, donated to picnic committee; Yorkville Agitation Com-mittee please notice."

HAND TO CLASSIFY.

There are now, practically speaking culy two parties, or classes the capitalist class and the working class. It is true there are a lot of people on a sort of middle ground. They are, in a way, little capitalists, and some of them a weak ap-logy for workers. But the ground is being cut from under them on both sides. They are becomthem on both sides. They are becom-ing more and more a confused lot. It-is as difficult to classify them as it is to say when a piz ceases to be a pig and becomes a hog.—J. T. Fisher, in i.os Angeles Socialist.

Worker is an inclusion to subscribe

"AGAINST WHICH THE MEAT WORKERS ARE STRIKING.

A. M. Simons of Chicago Describes from Observation the Dangers to Life and Limb, the Filthy and Unwholesome Conditions, the Exploitation of Women and Children, the Killing Overwork, the Insecurity of Employment and Starvation Wages Which Curse the Packing-House Workers and Make Profit for the Meat Trust.

priate at this time for the information of all who are affected by the meat strike, some extracts from A. M. Simons' pamphlet, "Packingtown." Comrade Simons writes from close observation through a period of several yaers, and were can be no doubt that he states the facts moderately.]

"The Pride of Chicago."

Perhans there is no one feature of the "Windy City" of which its ruling are so proud as the Union Stock Yards and Packing Houses. Perhaps because from start to finish they more nearly typical of the system which they exist than anything else the great city. From the general of hoggishness that pervades everyog from the general managers' ofes down to the pens beneath the ldings and up to the smoke that ngs over it all, the wnole thing is oly capitalistic.

ie visitors' interest and admiration avided between the fron and steel ression of human intelligence that hws all the curves of a hog's any to remove the bristles, and the and-blood mechanism that re-all the meat from the bone with tle stroke of the knife. He is led he great cooling rooms and gazes of freezing bogs in course ation for journeys of perhaps ay around the world, and he is to admire the perfect machin-at carries the carcass along all these various processes er a break or a slip.

isitors Not Told All.

his attention is never called to s of workmen with bare arms the gall's of workmen with bare arms rushin at headlong speed from this frigid tmosphere to the torrid heat of the "k ling floor," Neither is he told that from the time he enters the confines of the "Yards" until he leaves, HIS EVERY MOVEMENT IS NOTED BY PAID SPIES who dog his foot-steps or note his presence as he passes their designated station. * * *

Let us look for a time at the condi-tions immediately surrounding this gi-gantic expression of modern commer-cialism. The allied industries here located employ 60,000 men, women and children, supporting a population of between 200,000 and 300,000 people. This makes it the largest industrial community in the world.

Under what conditions do these peo-ple live who prepare the meat for the world? We have seen how all things work, to the advantage of those who OWN these mammoth, complex butch-er shops and the tool that are within them; how is it with those who OP-ERATE them, and who PRODUCE shared in the economies of production in the savings of combination, in the benefits of improved machinery? Where and how do they live, what manner of homes have they, and what are the conditions under which they work?

The Workers' "Homes."

These are questions that the casual visitor seldom asks and the answers to which are never volunteered. Yet the most hurried visitor cannot fall to have one of the conditions of life in the Yards thrust upon him as his nostrils are assailed at every point by the horrible, penetrating stench that per-vades everything and lingers for hours

after a return to a more salubrious atmosphere. * * Great volumes of smoke roll from the forest of chimneys at all hours of the day, and drift down over the helpless neighborhood like a deep, black curtain that fain would hide the suf-fering and misery it aggravates. The foul packing house sewage, too horri-bly offensive in its putrid rottenness for further exploitation even by mon-opolistic greed, is spewed forth in a

Since the first edition of this paper

went to press comes the news that the Meat Trust has at last accepted

the strikers' offer of arbitration. What

will be the ofcome of this settlement

it is, of course, impossible to predict. The remarks upon the lesson of the

strike which we have made on another

page are not affected, however, by this change in the situation. The fact

remains that, at the best, only a tem-

porary and partial relief can be ex-pected and that the power still re-mains in the hands of the capitalists

to oppress their employees and "hold

up" the consumers. While that power

FRENCH SOCIALISTS EXPEL DEVILLE

aily of Millerand-has at length bee

expelled from the ranks of the Minis terialist Socialists for his lack of dis

cipline as exhibited in various votes

given by him in the Chamber. He wa

against Vaillant's militia motion. His

expulsion was voted in the Seine Ped-eration by 51 against 25 votes, with two abstentions. He will be no loss.

A SMALL VICTORY IN ITALY.

The Socialists won what the bour-geois press describe as a assistional victory in an election in a Cherical

that is certain,-London Justice.

bim so far that he voted

remains, society is in danger.

THE MEAT STRIKE.

SETTLEMENT OF

Is This Race-Suicide?

Is it any wonder that this particula ection of the Stock Yards co known as "Back of the Yards," has the highest death rate of any place of the city of Chicago so high that on one street the DEATH BATE OF CHILDREN. UNDER SIX YEARS ACTUALLY EXCEEDS THE BIRTH RATE?

Complaint after complaint regarding these conditions have been made to the health department, but all in vain. Who Mould care? They are ONLY LABORERS! The owners live far away from any danger. When, as a last resort, Mayor Harrison was visited, and he was asked if he would do the whole situation of class rule and capitalist exploitation up in the one sentence of his reply: "So far as the BUSINESS INTERESTS of Chicago will LET me." There you have it. So long as "business interests" rule in balance against cent per cent, profit,

So far we have spoken only of the condition outside the buildings-surroundings of the laborers' The question arises as to the cond within the buildings. Does the guide point out all the interesting fea ares within the bouses themselves Does he take his party into the damp packing cellars, where FROM THREE TO TEN YEARS ORDINARILY MARKS THE LIMITS OF A MAN'S WORKING LIFE before it breaks him down with rheumatism and sends his wife and children into the fierce labor struggle or makes of him a sup plicant for charity? Does he call at tention to the gangs of men in the "ham houses," working with bare arms in the semi-polsonous saltpetre that causes great Testerling sores to come out on their hands and arms Does he tell about the poison-infeste air and general surroundings plich makes the slightest scratch a menace to life through blood poisoning?

Profitable Death-Traps.

The visitor's attention is carefully diverted from any notice of the ur guarded and defectively dangerous machinery that is on every hand-death-traps for the helpless workers, who DARE NOT COMPLAIN. In one who Dake NOT COMPLAIN. In one establishment a long line of rend ling vats, with their tops just on a level with the floor, yawn wide open in a steam-laden atmosphere for the unwary victims. No fees than three persons among the acquaintances of the writer have failen to an awful death in these vats within the fact the vertex victims. in these vats within the fast two years A single elevator killed one man and rendered another a helpless cripple within the space of six weeks, and from all I could learn to the contrary, is still running in its dangerous cond

So slight is the value placed upor human life in the Yards that a death is scarcely noticed. During one period of great heat, when all deaths by sun stroke were supposed to be investi-gated by a Coroner's Jury and report-ed to the Health Department, a single surgeon, practising "back of the Yards," told me that he had attended three fatni cases of sunstroke in the Yards in one day, and not one of them had ever been reported to the corone or health department, or even notices in the pre

The Company Doctor.

Why is He There This brings me to a consideration of

that inevitable accompaniment of mod ern capitalism in its most developed packing houses use the very latest ma-chinery; just as their organization of labor is a little more perfect than is to be found almost anywhere else on opolistic greed, is spewed forth in a multitude of arteries of filth into a branch of the Chicago river at one corbranch of the Chicago river at one corbranch of the Yards, where it rises to the top and spreads out in a nameless, in employees through, assessments from miserable monotoneus holding of body

MORE "HARMONY."

The "harmony of interest between Capital and Labor" is again being demonstrated by the locking-out of

many thousands of carpenters in New York City and the vicinity. This lock out is an act of utter bad faith on the

part of the associated bosses, being a virtual repudiation of the agreement which they insisted on the unions ac-cepting last year. But that is nothing

new. It ought not to need many mo-

experiences of this sort to show th

workingmen that capitalists respe the "sacredness of contracts" on

when it is profitable to do so, and tha

capitalism. Temporary truces can be fixed up, but the bosses are always ready to violate them when they see

OVERREACHED THEMSELVES.

The capitalist authorities in thanton of Basel, Switzerland, have de

feated themselves in a recent attemp to suppress Socialism. Comrade Gesch

wind, a Socialist member of the legis lature, having died, a special election was held and our candidate, Comrade

Zumthor, was elected by a majority o

Geschwind had won. The authorities found some technical grounds for nulli fying the election and ordering another. To their dismay, Zuuther was again elected by a majority of 134.

You can't expect people to un derstand Socialism by intuition. They have to learn, as you did. It's you turn to be the patient tencher. The

118 votes, exactly that by Geschwind had won. The aut

industrial peace...is imp

their interest in so doing. ...

The packers did not need any subterfuge as an excuse for redu wages. These were afready at the subsistence point and could be reduced no lower. So the packers "charitably no lower. So the parkers contributy paid for the company doctor out of "their" own (7) pocket. They selected a first-class surgeon and saw to it that he did his work well. But there-are ALMOST NO DAMAGE SUITS in the yards, and what there are are gen-erally lost. THE EXPERT WITNESS

IS ON THE RIGHT SIDE; "Settling" Damage Suits.

There is still another way of settling the damage suits that cannot be dis posed of in this manner. The family is visited immediately after the hus band or son has been murdered and they are told, with all the skill of an do what they can. They-are-plways willing to pay a fair sum for funeral expenses, and then they come to the remaining members of the family and tell them that those who are wage workers shall never lack for work so long as the business runs. To a fam-lly that has lived for a life-time with the haunting horror of "no work" over before them, this offer of perpetual sla-very seems like Paradise, and they accept the offer. For two years all goe all. At the expiration of that time the person employed is summarily dis-charged, sometimes with, and as often without any excuse. The Hillings PERIOD OF LIMITATION for a damage suit is two years.

The Child Slaves, Here, as elsewhere, capitalism has invaded the home and dragged forth the mother and child to do its work while the father vainty walks streets looking for a master. Not standing many prosecutions during the past few years, large numbers of chil-dren are constantly employed. All dren are constantly employed. statistics regarding these are v less, as the dexterity with which chil-dren are whisked out of sight at the approach of an inspector is one of the standing jokes of the establishments. and any one who ins wandered through the mazes of "Packingtown" will understand how easy such con-

will inderstand now easy such con-cealment is.

A State Factory Inspector says in an official report:

"Some of the boys act as butchers, sticking sheep, lambs and swine; oth-ers cut the hide from the quivering stath of freshly stunned cattle; still others sort entrails, pack meat, and make the the cans in which the goods are shipped. In several places a boy has been found at work at a dangerous machine, BECAUSE HIS FATHER HAD BEEN DISABLED BY IT, and his keeping the place pending recovery depended upon the boy's doing the work during his father's absence."

Uncertain Employment

and Starvation Wages. Several years ago the packers saw that by maintaining a capacity to their works far beyond the actual needs, it was possible to kill the entire needs, it was possible to kill the entire desily shipments each day, and thus save the expense of storage and feed-ing. Thus it comes about that the es-tablishments run each day only until the receipts for that day, are disposed of and then shut down until the next purchase. The result is that thousands of men must plod to their places each er they will work one hour, two hours or sixteen. If one is fitted if from his position but a single time-when want-ed, some one is called in from the waiting army always clamoring at the doors for even his poor chance, and the place is lost. If, on the other hand, as often happens, he walks a weary distance only to find that the house will not run that day, no one compen sates him for his time, or finds him other employment during his waiting hours. As wages are always by the

PUBLISHERS'

During the Campaign The Worker Will

Copies-Should Be Sold at All Street

From now till Election Day,

campaign purposes, The Worker will be said, in bundles of 100 copies or

more, at the rate of 50 cents a hundred.

The comrades in the city and state

of New York should take advantage of this offer and use The Worker for pro-

paganda purposes, because every number contains the name and emblem of the SOCIAL DEMOGRATIC PARTY and the names of our state candidates. A wide circulation of The Worker will save thousands of new Socialist votes

n this state from going by mistake to

Experience shows that if you try it in earnest, you can sell from 20 to 100 copies of The Worker at every open-

air meeting. If you sell 25 out of the hundred at 2 cents a copy, you cover the cost and can use the rest for free

distribution in places where is is im-

At every meeting, too, you should have a supply of yearly and half-year

e wrong party.

Meetings.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

. [We reprint below, as most appro- | describable cake of festering foulness | their wages is an old and clumey one. | and soul together on the shameful pit tance of FROM \$2 TO \$5 A WEEK prevented from going elsewhere, had their fife left them with ambition enough to desire removal, by the im-possibility upon the one hand of pay-ing railroad fare, and on the other the will-o'-the-wisp hope of better wages and "fuller time." How close the mar gin of existence always is to the sub-sistence point is shown by the fact that OVER 20 PER CENT. OF THE POPULATION ARE COMPELLED TO ASK FOR CHARITY AT SOME TIME DURING EACH YEAR. * * *

Neither Rest Nor Hope.

It must be remembered that for fully per cent, of those who begin work in the Yards there is NO HOPE OF EVER BECOMING ANYTHING MORE THAN AN ORDINARY LA-BORER. Entering the establishment at 14, or if the pressure on the family income is very hard, a year or two earlier through the use of easily obtained certificates, they have little ed neation or preparation that would fit them for anything but the simplest tasks. Robbed of their birth-right to the development of the powers that are within them. They are bound over to a terrible monotonous slavery to some machine before which they will stand day after day until its rhythmic mo-tions have burnt themselves into their brain and their thinking becomes as mechanical as their work. Or perhaps they stand at some bench and seize a piece of meat as it falls before them, and with that same machine-like regularity that marks everything in the Yards from its politics to its pork-packing, repeat the same motions over and over until they can perform the work equally well with eyes open or closed and until the motions of the hand have stamped their impress on the mind; and they move on in a dreary circle of common things through the day until very weariness at last stops the thinking and they creep to a place called home, and drag off the great "Yard boots" that seem to hold mind as well as body down to the level of the mire in which they are steeped and throwing them into a corner seek the bed too tired to think, only to go on with the work in dreams until awakened to the reality of another day's unchanging toil.

The "Speeding" System.

The peculiar manner in which much of the work is done renders the presing of the laborer to an even highe speed particularly easy. The animal being transformed into meat generally moves along upon some kind of a me chanical contrivance, and each laborer performs his particular task while the carcass is passing him. All that is needed to force the men to greater exertions is to move the meat faster.

In one of the meat trimming di-

visions where women are employed a peculiarly brilliant scheme has been evolved to force these poor creatures to greater exertions. The meat to be trimined comes out a chute and passes along a trough where it is scrambled for, each one grabbing for the best pieces to trim. A very dextrous and fearless woman who is able to force her way to the front in the struggle for material, and then work with exceptional speed upon the best pieces thus obtained, often earns the munifi-TO ENGAGE IN A HOGGISH FIGHT FOR THE CHANCE TO LIVE ARE THE MOTHERS AND WIVES AND DAUGHTERS AND SISTERS OF THE LABORERS OF THIS GRAND AND GLORIOUS COUNTRY OF THE FREE.

This process of "speeding up" has been regularly and systematically carbeen regularly and systematically car-ried out in every department, until an employee informed the writer a short time ago that he was now doing pre-cisely twice as much as he was doing fifteen years ago with exactly the same tools.

The task of superintendence has thus been reduced to a minimum. A mechanical "boss" has been evolved, more merciless, were it possible, than holding of body | the human counterpart.

PREMIUM OFFER.

Every reader can get these property lines. Just try it Non certain Just try it. have some friends or neighbors whare not readers of The Worker. TR Be Sold at Fifty Cents a Hundred TO GET THEM TO SUBSCRIBE. For every two NEW yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each or four new sixmonth subscriptions at 25 cents each, accompanied by cash, we will send free of charge, any of the following premiums: 22. A photographic album of Greater

New York. Over one hundred beau-tiful views of the great metropolis.

1. Pocket knife, Best steel; two or

three blades.

5. Pictures: Social Democratic members of the German Parliament.

2. Genuine briar wood pipe.

21. Pair best steel scissors, nickel and gold plated.

4. Lady or gentleman's pocketbook 16. Beautiful picture, "The Nest," 11. Beautiful picture, "The Forest," THE WORKER,

184 William Street, New York.

"GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE" In sending in a new subscription,

comrade up the state says:

taking The Worker last ly paid-subscription cards and try to get steady readers for your party pahave used it along with my own argu-ments to convert my brother and brother-in-law and the latter's father per. You can get five yearlies and five half-yearlies for \$2 and sell them at 50 and brother, with several others. I think that isn't a very bad record for one who was a Republican up to last fall. I haven't given up the idea of cents and 25 cents respectively. Don't miss a chance. taking a few more scalps between now and November." It's a good record comrade. Keep at it, and may there be many more like you.

issued by the national Bureau of La-bor Statistics to prove that the cost of living was less in May, 1904, than during the same month a year ago, the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" says:

CAN YOU EAT PIG IRON AND HEMP?

"From these indisputable facts and figures the men and women of limited means, who have to make every cent go as far as possible in the market and the store in order to make the annual income meet the annual expenditure, will gratefully learn that plg iron, billets, steel rails and shapes, copper and Manila hemp are cheaper now than they were a year ago. If any of our wage or salary earners, especially such as have been recently 'laid off' or put on half or quarter time, should find themselves in urgent need of the very latest fashions in pig iron, steel, copper or hemp, they should fill their cellars and larders with them to the end that they may have a full supply for the proverbial rainy day.

"The exultation of the poor folk may be somewhat reduced, however, when they learn from the Bureau, officially, that during the last month of May the all things which go upon the poor man's breakfast table,' was greater than during May, 1903. Also such other essentials of the poor man's home as oil, sugar, wool, shoddy, and home as oil, sugar, wool, snouny, cotton goods were similarly higher in price this year than last. If the peo-ple of limited incomes, small trades-men, workingmen of all kinds and degrees, wage and salary getters, could only eat or wear or furnish their homes with pig iron, steel rails and

Commenting on the bulletin recently issued by the national Bureau of Labor Statistics to prove that the cost of living was less in May, 1904, than during the same month a year ago, the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" says:

"Power these indianurable forte and the properties of the pro pig iron would, sooner or later, pall on the most robust appetite, and while hemp serves very well for calking a ship or making a rope, it would probably prove indigestible, cheap as it is, if eaten in too great a quantity. The serious, inmentable truth of the matter is, and the statement of the Bureau of Statistics proves it, that all food products, especially those of the farm, are much dearer now than they were in 1903, and dearer then than in 1902. All necessaries of life have so advanced in price as to add enermously vanced in price as to add enermouto the burden of the cost of living.

But no housekeeper needs to go to the Bureau of Statistics to demonstrate that fact; she has only to go to the market, or the shop, or the store to learn that there is no graver problem to be answered by people of small means than that of making both ends, income and expenses, meet,

So long as a small class owns the means of production and thus has power to fix the WAGES or salaries which the mass of the people as PRODUCERS receive, and also to fix the PRICES which the mass of the people as CON-SUMERS must pay, PROSPERITY IS A HUMBUG. If you object to low wages and high prices, the only sensible thing is to work for Socialism - NOW

PARTY NEWS. (Continued from page 3.)

Dunseith, N. D. to organize for the Socialist Party in Rolette County. This brings our propaganda into a new field.

The miners of the Spring Valley district of Illinois held a great Colorado protest meeting at Webster Park on Monday, July 18, with A. M. and May Wood Simons as speakers.

New York State. At the State Committee meeting of

July 12 Comrades Dixon, Gerber, Neppel, Phillips, and Slobodin were pres-ent; Spargo was excused. Phillips pre-sided and State Secretary Chase acted all recording secretary. A charter was granted to a new local at Carthage, with six members. Communications were read from Buffalo, Ticonderoga Troy, Watertown, Glens Falls, Albany Fort Edward, and Johnstown. It was voted to engage Franklin H. Went worth to speak in the state, Sept. 1 to 15. It was voted to issue subscription lists to locals to raise funds for state and local campaigns, all returns to be made to the State Secretary. Julius Gerber was elected to act with Secre-tary Chase in preparing nomination certificates. Secretary Chase reported progress in the reorganization of Queens County. He also reported that he was now issuing a bulletin to locals once or twice a month, covering everything connected with agitation and or ganization, speakers, and so forth. A letter from Thomas Pendergast, our candidate for Governor, reported his tour in the northern part of the state very successful. The Treasurer re-ported as follows: Income for June, \$286.77; expenses, \$237.20; income for July, to date, \$29; expenses, \$71.40; balance, \$7.17.

John C. Chase addressed an open-air meeting held under the auspices of the New Rochelle Building Trades Council and Local New Rochelle of the S. D. P., last Saturday evening, opposite City Hall. Comrade Chase's graphic and forceful account of the reign of terror inaugurated by the Mine Own-ers' Association, the Citizens' Alliance and the military in Colorado, made strong impression on the minds of his audience. Leaflets were distributed and a large sale of Hanford's "Labor War in Colorado" was made. From now on Local New Rochelle will give a good account of Itself.

New York City.

At the last meeting of the 35th A. D., Br. 2, a communication inquiring as to the possibility of starting another branch in the Bronx was considered, and referred to Secretary Jones for Investigation. The Agitation Comfor investigation. mittee bought fifty copies of Hanford's pamphlet. The Financial Sec-retary's report showed \$42.30 pledged for the campaign fund; received and new member was proposed. Every member of the branch is urged to at-Every tend the next meeting in order to vote in the state referendum.

The last meeting of the Down Town Young People's Social Demo-cratic Club was well attended. At the first anniversary of the Club, cele-brated at the party picnic on June 26, \$8.10 was realized, of which the 14th A. D. received \$4.05. The Treasurer's report since last October showed re-celpts of \$97.34, and expenses \$78.80. leaving a balance of \$18.54 on July 1. The following officers were elected: President, E. Meyer, Louis Spector; recording secretary, Thomas Muffson; financial secretary trensurer, Miss E. President, E. Meyer; vice-president, Louis Spector; recording secretary, Mever: sergeant-at-arms, Win. Kolin. A campaign committee of three was elected, whose work will be to devise ways and means of aiding the S. D. P. ways and means of aiming the 8, D. F. in the campaign this year, L. M. Rohr, Louis Specior, and Miss E. Meyer were elected. The committee will report at the next meeting. The committee for the second entertainment and ball, to be held on Dec. 3, at Grand American Hall, reported progress. The next meeting of the club will be held on July 26, at the Labor Lyceum. All young folks are invited to attend. Two of the club members are already acting as chairmen at open air meetings, and there will be more

before long.

Very successful meetings are being held along Eighth avenue. Large, crowds listen with attention to the So- and Atkinson. cial Democratic speakers, and many collect of Hanford's pampaget and of The Worker are sold.

The Kings County Committee will

ing, including election of officers, committees, and delegates for the coming six months, devisiong ways and means to carry on a vigorous campaign, arrangement of a big demonstration for Comrade Debs' meeting to be held on Sept. 6. With the campaign now going on, it is the duty of all delegates to attend the General Committee as regularly as possible. regularly as possible.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK CITY.

Open-air meetings have been arranged by Local New York to be held at the places named on the nights designated below. The assembly district organizations are requested to take no-tice of their meetings and see to it that they have the platform out on time and that sufficient literature is distributed.

FRIDAY, JULY 22.

6th A. D.-N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Speakers, S. Edelstein and Alex. Rosen 14th A. D.-S. W. corner of Tenth treet and Second avenue. Speakers, Edw. Meyer, Thos. J. Lewis and A. Abrahams.

30th A. D.-S. E. corner of Eightyfourth street and East End aven Speakers, Fred Paulitsch and L. D.

SATURDAY, JULY 23.

31st A. D.-S. E. corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, J. C. Frost and Edw. Cassidy.

35th A. D.—S. E. corner of Bathgate
avenue and One Hundred and Seven-

y-seventh street. Speakers, Algernon Lee and I. Sackin.

MONDAY, JULY 25.

13th A. D.—S. W. corner of Forty-third street and Eighth avenue. Speak-ers, I. Phillips and S. Edelstein. 14th A. D .- S. W. corner of Ninth street and Avenue C. Speakers, Alex Rosen, Edw. Meyer and J. W. Joseph-

18th A. D .- S. W. corner of Nineteenth street and Third avenue. Speakers, L. D. Mayes and Fred Paulitsch. 22d A. D.-N. W. corner of Fortyfifth street and First avenue. Speakers L. A. Harris, A. Abrahams and Jacob

TUESDAY, JULY 26.

3d A. D.—S. W. corner of Spring and Hudson streets. Speakers, Chas. Franz and Edw. Cassidy. 35th A. D .- S.W. corner of One Hun-

dred and Thirty-eighth street and Willis avenue. Speakers, Thos. J. Lewis, A. Abrahams and Edw. Searing. WEDNESDAY, JULY 27.

7th A. D .- S. W. corner of Fifteenth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Wm. F. Leffingwell, I. Sackin and S.

Edelstein, 9th A. D.-S. W. corner of Twentyseventh street and Eighth aver Speakers, I. Phillips and Jacob Pan 21st A. D.-S. W. corner of One Hun-

derd and First street and Amster avenue. Spe akers, Fred Paulitsch, J. C. Chase and Wm. Kariin,

THURSDAY, JULY 28,

19th A. D.-S. E. corner of Sixty-

second street and Amsterdam avenue. Speakers, Thos. J. Lewis and L. A. FRIDAY, JULY 29. 6th A. D.-N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Speakers, Chas. Franz and S. Edelstein.

14th A. D.-S. W. corner of Tenth street and Second avenue. Speakers, J. C. Chase, Edw. Meyer and Jacob

Penkin. 30th A. D.-S. E. corner of Eightyfourth street and East End avenue, Speakers, Algernon Lec, L. D. Mayes ond A. Abrahams. 28th A. D.-S. W. corner of Seventy-

sixth street and Avenue A. Speak-ers, J. C. Chase, Alex, Rosen and Fred Paulitsch. SATURDAY, JULY 30. 35th A. D .- S. W. corner of Wend

over and Third avenues. Speakers, J. C. Frost, Edw. Cassidy and L Sackin. BROOKLYN MEETINGS.

Open-air meetings will be beld in Breoklyn as follows: Friday, July 22. Atlantic avenue and Nevius street. Speakers: Furman

Saturday, July 23.-Third aveaue and Forty-ninth street. Speakers: Behringer and others.

Tuesday, July 26.-Vanderbilt ave-

stronghold. Bergame, in Lombardy— defeating by a majority of 200 the Conservative candidate. The Chericals, however, seem to have abstained from yelling, which discounts the value of nucet in the Reocklyn Labor Lyceum on Saturday evening, July 23. The General Committee of Local New York will meet on Saturday, July 23. Schnefer, and Behringer. New York will meet on Saturday, July 24. Sanith and Dong'as streets. Speakers: Young, 25. Participy, July 26. Variable and Behringer. New York will meet on Saturday, July 26. Variable and Dong'as streets. Speakers: Young, 25. Participy, July 26. Variable and Penn street, Speakers: Marr, Schnefer, and Behringer. New York will meet on Saturday, July 26. Variable and Penn street, Speakers: Marr, Schnefer, and Behringer. Schnefer and Behringer. Schnefer and Behringer. Schnefer and Behringer. Schnefer and Meckenzie. Schnefer and Meckenzie. Schnefer and Behringer. Always have two or three year by and half-yearly paid-subscription cards for The Worker handy in your pucket, so as not to miss a chance for a new reader. You can get five half-yearly cards for \$1 and five yearlies for \$2. —The Worker, like all Socialist papers, is, "hard up,"... It cannot advertise like "Colliet" or "Leslies." It has to depend on its readers to be its agents. How many subscriptions have You sent in tale year? the issue largely, -London Justice, --- A vote for Debs and Hanford is a vote for the principles of '76 and '61 brought up to date.