

The Worker

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them. Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

VOL. XII.—NO. 7.

NEW YORK, MAY 18, 1902.

FOR THE DAILY.

Publishing Association Effects Permanent Organization.

Job Harriman Elected President—Account of Work Done and of Plans Now Under Way.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association held another general meeting in the Labor Lyceum last Monday evening at which Henry L. Stobodin acted as chairman and William Butcher as secretary pro tem.

The first business was the consideration of the constitution, left uncompleted at the last meeting. This was discussed at length, several changes made in the committee's draft, and the whole was amended and finally adopted.

Eleven new members were admitted to the Association and four more were proposed for membership, to be voted on at the next meeting, which will be held on call of the Board of Managers.

A. Milstein, Newark	5.00
Aug. W. Aldinger, City	25.00
Henry A. Steinbock, City	10.00
Total	\$5,115.00

Cash Receipts.

The following amounts have been received on pledges and donations: PAID ON PLEDGES.	
H. Heerlein	\$2.00
Aug. Waldinger	2.00
Dr. Jos. Harvitt	2.00
Job Harriman	2.00
Algernon Lee	5.00
W. W. P. message	8.00
A. S. Schoenberg	1.00
Victor Schneider, Yonkers	2.00
Carl Classen	2.00
H. D.	1.00
Dr. I. M. Rublow	2.00
F. M. Hill	3.00
F. Corrales	1.99
L. D. Abbott	5.00
O. Wegener	1.99
Theo. E. F. Schorr, Buffalo	1.00
Timothy Ivers, Granville, Vt.	1.00
H. A. Steinbock	1.00
Orto Christoph, Buffalo	1.00
H. R. Kearns, Arlington, N. J.	1.00

IN ESSEX COUNTY.

Convention at Newark Saturday Night to Nominate Full Ticket and Open Campaign.

The Socialist Party of Essex County, N. J., holds its nominating convention on Saturday evening, May 17, at the party headquarters, 124 Market street. The session is to begin promptly at 8 o'clock, as there is a great deal for the convention to do before it adjourns.

Every comrade in Essex County should make it a point to attend and take part in the work of this convention. It is desired to nominate, as nearly as possible, a full ticket—congressional, county, and municipal—lightweight candidates in all.

Essex County is a very important industrial center and harmonious and energetic work on the part of the comrades from now till Election Day will surely roll up an enormous vote for Socialism. It is not enough that the comrades vote the ticket and pay their dues; they must take an active personal interest in the party work in order to make it successful.

The campaign will begin at once and will be kept up persistently till November—and then it will be time to begin again. Funds are needed and the services of faithful comrades are needed to organize and educate the workmen of Essex County. Let a good beginning be made Saturday night.

IN ST. LOUIS.

Over Four Hundred Delegates Attend Enthusiastic City Convention of the Socialist Party.

The city convention of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, on May 4, was attended by more than four hundred delegates and was marked with great enthusiasm.

An incident which happened in the early part of the proceedings furnished an excellent demonstration of the working class basis of the Socialist movement and the thorough accord between the Socialist Party and the trade unions. The call for the convention stated that it would be held at Druid's Hall at one o'clock. When the delegates began to arrive, however, it was learned that the hall was employing two non-union painters in the basement of the building and after the temporary organization had been perfected it was unanimously decided to leave the hall and hold the convention at Delabar's Hall, Broadway and Elm streets.

The delegates filed out of the hall and formed into a parade which extended for a distance of five or six blocks and in a drizzling rain marched down to Delabar's Hall, crowding it to the doors, many being compelled to stand throughout the deliberations of the convention. To those who knew the purpose of this action, it was indeed an inspiring sight. Over four hundred men gathered together for the purpose of nominating a working class ticket, with one accord register a stinging rebuke to an employer of scab labor and march forth in the rain in order that their rebuke may not be misanderstood.

Comrade John C. Chase addressed the convention and raised the already abundant enthusiasm of the delegates to the highest pitch.

Plans for organization and agitation were laid out, and platform and a strong manifesto to the wage workers of St. Louis were adopted. Campaign pledges were circulated among the delegates, which resulted in the pledging of \$100.

Nominations for candidates for sheriff resulted in the selection of Comrade L. E. Hildebrand, of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union No. 25. There were three candidates to be chosen for judge of Circuit Court, which, upon vote, resulted in the selection of Comrades Paul Fromm of Brewers' Union No. 6; A. E. Sander, n. clerk, and W. J. Lewis, clerk. Upon motion, the selection of a candidate for judge of the Court of Criminal Correction was referred to the City Central Committee, there not being enough attorneys present to fill the nomination at the convention.

For judge of the Probate Court, Wm. H. Tolman, of the Railway Clerks' Union. For Clerk of the Circuit Court, Phil H. Mueller, of Cigarmakers' Union No. 44. For Clerk of the Criminal Court, Leonard Stoll, of Tailors' Union No. 11. For clerk of the Court of Criminal Correction, J. H. Buttrell, of Machinists' Union No. 85. For clerk of the Probate Court, W. T. Smith, of Carpenters' Union 5. Nominations for prosecuting attorney and assistant prosecuting attorney were referred to the City Central Committee for the same reason as that in the case of the judge of the Court of Criminal Correction. Nomination for coroner took the same course. For Recorder of Deeds, D. C. Ward. For License Commissioner, W. C. Eggerman, Beer Bottlers' Union 47.

Nominations were then made for candidates for Congress in the respective districts, resulting as follows: Tenth Congressional District, Wm. M. Brandt, of Cigarmakers' Union 44. Eleventh Congressional District, S. A. McIntruff, of Stone Molders' Union.

Twelfth Congressional District, nomination referred to City Central Committee.

Comrade Edmiston of Riverside, Cal., writes: "We are gradually extending 'The Worker' to the 'Appeal' followers, as it helps to straighten out the kinks in their brand of Socialism."

NEGROES TO BREAK STRIKES?

Remarkable Proposition Made to Boston Millionaires.

Representative of Carolina Industrial School for Colored People Offers Their Services as Scabs in Exchange for Capitalists' Donations.

The Twentieth Century Club, a society of cultured Boston aristocrats, held an interesting meeting the other day. The Reverend C. F. Dole, the new president of the Club, imparted the odor of sanctity to the occasion in a brief address. Then he introduced J. W. MacDonald, Agent for the Massachusetts State Board of Education, who said a number of things about the public school system, which were either very good or very bad, according to the application made of them.

The principal invited speaker of the day, however, was a negro, a Mr. Dunham, who is in New England soliciting money for the industrial education of the colored people of North Carolina. Mr. Dunham knew he was addressing an audience of capitalists—good, pious, shrewdly philanthropic, probably benevolent gentlemen—and he talked straight to their hearts, which they carry in their pocket-books.

Mr. Dunham carefully explained that it was not proposed to give the colored people a "scholarly" education, but only to train them to be good mechanics and factory "hands." He said in part: "There are a million and a half of boys and girls of my race who need training and we want to give them an industrial training. The white men of the South would help them if they had an industrial training, but they do not want to have anything to do with them if they only have a scholarly education. You could employ them here if they had an industrial education and they would help you."

Look at the great strikes you are having, and every time you have to make concessions. You have to do it. There are the carpenters. They get \$2.50 a day and next week they want \$3 a day, and you will have to come again. After a while their union will demand \$5 a day and six hours. It is coming. But if you educate this million and a half of colored boys and girls and make skilled laborers of them they will take the place of these strikers.

You talk about trusts; labor unions are far more dangerous than they are. Now you have a million and a half of young people thirsting for knowledge and education and it embarrasses me to come here year after year to ask for money. But the people down there need money. So long as Boston stands, though, we shall always have backers of my class. There is your president, I have called upon him three times and he always gave me money."

Bitter Feeling Aroused. The plianess with which Mr. Dunham put his proposition that, in return for the money which the millionaires should give, the negroes should help break strikes for the Northern capitalists, has called forth much comment among workmen and is likely to cause considerable bitterness.

Bookeen, of Washington, the well known negro educator, who has been cultivated to a great extent of late by "eminent citizens" of this city, was present. He was invited to dinner, expressed much the same feeling, though not in quite such plain language.

WAGES FALLING IN NEW YORK.

Census Shows Absolute Decrease of Average Wages.

Figures Summarized from Census Bulletin No. 159—Average Product Largely Increased, but Workers' Share Reduced.

The Census statistics of manufactures of the state of New York conclusively establish the fact that New York is pre-eminently a manufacturing state. The greatest number of wage-earners employed at any one time in 1900 was 1,091,026, or 15 per cent. of the total population of the state, which constitutes the bulk of the available working population of the state. The average number of wage-earners of the state of New York for 1900 is 849,056, or 11.7 per cent. of the entire population.

A comparative summary of the thirty-six leading industries of the state of New York for 1900 and 1900 reveals the significant fact that while the capital invested in these industries increased 52 per cent. and the value of the total product increased 27.6 per cent., the average number of wage-earners employed in these industries increased only 12.8 per cent. and the total wages paid to those wage-earners increased only 11.1 per cent. That is, the increase of the total sum paid in wages did not even keep up with the increase of the number of wage-earners. The evident result was that the wages of the wage-earners declined. And so we find that the per capita wages of the wage-earners in the thirty-six leading industries of this state were in 1900 above \$474, and that in 1900 the wages fell below \$467. Coupled with the undisputed increase of the prices of the necessities of life, or the decrease of the purchasing power of the wages, these figures form a good subject on which the Socialist, and especially the trade unionist may meditate to his advantage.

Product Increased.

And this decrease of wages has taken place in the face of the fact that the total value of the product, including the cost of materials, of each wage-earner has increased from \$2,263 in 1890 to \$2,746 in 1900. In other words, the capitalist has appropriated to himself all the fruits of the increased productivity of the wage-earner resulting from the improvement of machinery during the last decade, and at the same time has further increased his profits by diminishing absolutely the share of the wage-earner. Summing up the result of a ten years' battle of the workmen of the state of New York with their exploiters—the workingman have lost considerable ground.

Skilled Trades Suffer.

An examination of the wages of various trades shows that the largest slump of wages has occurred in the skilled trades. The printers and compositors employed on newspapers and periodicals had with a decrease from an average per capita wage of \$775 in 1900 to \$634 in 1900. And Brother Cummings all the time in Congress. The printers should see to it that Bob Campbell or Brother Donnelly gets into Congress; then they will be sure to reach \$550 in 1910.

The Shoe Workers.

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THE MINE WORKERS' BATTLE.

Pennsylvania State Committee of Socialist Party Prepares to Aid Strikers.

The nation is stirred to the depths by the impending struggle between organized labor and that phase of capitalism that controls the coal products of this country. The Executive Board of the United Mine Workers on last Saturday called upon every member in the affected district to cease work on Monday and assemble in special meeting that afternoon, to consider the situation and elect and instruct delegates to a convention to be held at Hazleton, Wednesday, May 14. This meant that upwards of 150,000 men were to gather on one afternoon in mining villages, hamlets and towns within a limited area of the Keystone state.

A special meeting of the Socialist State Committee was held at the headquarters, 1022 Arch street, on Sunday morning, and addressed the following letter to the Chairman of the very local meeting board of the United Mine Workers throughout the anthracite coal region: "Men and Brothers—In the common interest of all wage-workers we send you sympathy and greeting as you face the dreadful choice of submitting like slaves to a master or enduring the sufferings of a strike. "The Coal Barons, standing guard over nature's supplies and the necessities of life, tell you, 'There is nothing to arbitrate.' "We tell you that the votes of 147,000 miners cast for the public ownership of the mines would make them speedily change their view of this matter.

"Permit us to suggest that you instruct your delegates to the Hazleton convention to vote for this proposition. The ballot is the most powerful weapon you possess and the one the mine owners most fear. "I strike you must stand as one man! Vote as you strike! "Fraternally yours, "J. MAHON BARNES, Secretary. "CAROLINE PEMBERTON, Assistant Secretary. "Socialist State Committee."

The "United Mine Workers' Journal" says the organization's mail is stolen in many parts of the country by the Barons or their agents who serve as postmasters. A United States Inspector recently caught Manager Rutland of the Empire (Ky.) Coal Company red-handed, with a stack of opened union letters in his possession. But it is hoped this letter sent by special delivery will reach the rank and file of the miners in meeting and not find lodgement in the company's offices.

Send all contributions to Joseph Edelman, treasurer, 807 W. Cambria street, Philadelphia, Pa. For the State Committee, J. MAHON BARNES, Secretary. CAROLINE PEMBERTON, Assistant Secretary. Note—This appeal has been submitted to the National Committee of Socialist Party for approval.

FOR NEW YORK STATE.

Every Socialist or Sympathizer in the State is Called Upon to Help in the Work of Propaganda.

To the Workingmen of the State of New York. The Socialist Democratic Party of the State of New York asks your contribution for propaganda of Socialism. That is provided you approve of Socialism, or the public ownership and operation of all industries for the benefit of all. For it is the supreme object of the Socialist Democratic Party to secure to every workman the full fruit of his labor. If you believe that a workingman must surrender the biggest part of his product to Rockefeller's, Morgans, Vanderbilts, Goulds, Schwabs, and a swarm of smaller parasites; that they may bestow it on the pauperized nobility of Europe or on the owner of Monte Carlo—why you should support the Republican or Democratic party, for both these parties represent and are owned by the capitalist class. The Socialist Democratic Party alone stands for the interests of the working class.

Workers—You have heard before our appeals, but you continued to stand in overwhelming numbers by the old parties. With what result? Republican and Democratic legislatures are now, more than ever, the tools of your exploiters. Was there a crime perpetrated by the capitalists in which they were not protected by the very legislators and judges for whom you, workingmen, voted? Was there a right which you demanded that was not refused to you by the very men whom you have elected? Why continue to work against your own interests? The Socialist Democratic Party is your own party. It consists of workingmen and has no other supporters. Help it to spread Socialism. Help us to send out Socialist agitators. Help us to distribute Socialist literature. The dissemination of Socialist ideas means the final triumph of Socialism, and your own economic emancipation. Remember, he helps doubly who helps promptly.

Send contributions to Emil Neppel, treasurer, S. D. P. State Committee, 288 W. 142nd street, New York. New York State Committee, S. D. P. LEONARD D. ABBOTT, Secretary.

All monies contributed will be acknowledged in "The Worker," "Volkszeitung" and "Vorwaerts." Previously acknowledged \$16.50 Albert Spitz, Rochester 1.00 Theo. E. F. Schorr, Buffalo 1.25 H. Gost 1.00 R. Barr 1.25 R. Robson 2.00 Wm. J. Mack, Buffalo 50 H. Weidenmuller, Buffalo 25 F. May, Buffalo 25 A. Roming, Brooklyn 25 J. Lamotte, " 25 P. Tohrens, " 50 C. A. Swenson, " 25 A. H. Blutan, Rochester 1.00 Chas. Koch, Salamanca 15 H. Foster, " 10 B. Koch, " 15 Chas. Koch, Jr., " 25 Total \$25.15

LABOR AND THE BEEF TRUST.

The Central Labor Union of Portland, Me., has adopted resolutions binding its members not to eat beef for thirty days, "as a protest against the unjust discrimination of the Beef Trust as especially directed against the working class," and declaring further that "when a trust thus becomes dangerous to the country at large, it is time for the people at large to take the ownership and management of that trust." The C. L. U. also adopted resolutions of hearty sympathy with our brother workmen in Belgium in their efforts to secure equal suffrage.

ANOTHER SOCIALIST CITY COUNCILMAN?

J. W. Slayton Said to Have Good Chance of Election in New Castle.

A special election is to be held at New Castle

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY 194 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

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Receipts are never sent to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by returning the number on the wrapper.

All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper. Words should not be abbreviated.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1901.

Table of election results: In 1888 (Presidential) 1,005; In 1890 13,331; In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157; In 1894 35,133; In 1896 (Presidential) 36,594; In 1898 82,204; In 1900 (Presidential) 9,545; S. D. P. 96,918; S. L. P. 33,450.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

We would urge upon all members of Local New York the importance of attending the General Meeting of the Local at the Workmen's Educational Association Club House, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street, on Sunday afternoon, May 18.

PARTIES, NOT MEN.

The fate of the Direct Legislation Bill in the Massachusetts Legislature is significant. The bill had a majority in the House; but, as it embodies a constitutional amendment, it needed a two-thirds vote in order to pass.

The bill is a popular one. The old-party politicians know this. But they do not want it to pass because it would take away some of their power.

There was the dilemma for the Socialist parties: How to defeat the bill? How, at the same time, to avoid the odium of having defeated it? It was solved by casting as many votes for the bill as could safely be cast.

One thing is plain: They must credit the Socialist members with unwavering support of the bill. These two men not only always vote right when they were present, but they are always present at the right time to speak and vote.

But one more thing should be plain: That the people must hold parties, and not merely individual members, responsible for what is done in the legislative hall. They must blame in the case, not only the sixty-four old-party members who voted against the bill and the sixty or seventy old-party members who absented themselves.

case, not only the sixty-four old-party members who voted against the bill and the sixty or seventy old-party members who absented themselves (and these latter will all claim to have been friendly to the bill)—they must blame the old parties as such, the party organization, which compassed the defeat of the measure.

THE SOCIALIST VIEW OF MUNICIPAL OR GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

An editorial which appeared in Hearst's "Chicago American" of May 9, entitled "Capital and Municipal Ownership," should enlighten those who cannot understand why Socialists do not indiscriminately join in every movement for municipal or government ownership without regard to its source or the political party which is to bring it about.

Why does capital look askance at the public ownership of municipal utilities? Capital, if proverbially timid, should be shrewd enough to discern inviting avenues for safe investment and reasonable profit. It will obtain both under municipal ownership.

THE POINT IS THAT MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP WITHOUT A WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT WILL DO SO AND IT WILL BE A VERY DIFFERENT KIND OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP FROM THAT CONTEMPLATED BY ITS CAPITALISTIC ADVOCATES.

Such bonds usually command a high premium. MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IS A BUSINESS PROPOSITION THAT THE MOST TIMID OF CAPITALISTS CAN WELL AFFORD TO INVESTIGATE.

There are two possible ways of governing a city—for the benefit of the working class or for the benefit of the capitalist class who fatten on rent, interest and profit.

Individual capitalists may be very willing to sell the watered stocks of their street railways to the city at a handsome profit and continue to draw interest on bonds instead of dividends on stocks.

That the Socialist sees nothing in this proposition for the working class to become enthusiastic about. He knows that it would be some time before a reduction of taxation would reduce the cost of living, and he knows that a re-

duction in the cost of living would finally be followed by a reduction of wages. He knows that employees would probably be powerless to strike against the oppression of a capitalistic administration such as now calls out police, militia, and injunctions to break strikes against private employers.

Socialists are not carrying on any particular campaign against "public ownership" of any kind, however. We simply point out that government ownership is of no importance to the working class until they, as a class, have captured the powers of government to serve their own interests.

It is a condition, not a theory, that we have to deal with. We cannot oppose the aggressions of twentieth-century organized capitalism with weapons fitted to the petty conflicts of eighteenth-century small producers.

Two recent utterances of two men, one high in the Catholic Church, the other high in the Protestant Church, throw a strong light on the relation of organized religion to labor and the Socialist movement for the emancipation of the working class.

As regards the kindred question of government ownership of railroads: the smaller capitalists engaged in manufacturing industries and having no railroad interests are quite willing to have government ownership of railroads in the hope that the transportation advantages and privileges of the trusts would be stopped and rates made equal and lowered—just as this same class are willing to have municipal ownership in order that their taxes be lowered.

That is, Mr. Morgan, "made apprehensive by the spread of Socialism," looks to the Catholic Church as a "necessity for the preservation" of the form of "society" which suits Mr. Morgan—a form of society which gives to the working class enough to keep them alive and working and gives to Mr. Morgan the millions which their labor produces.

It should hardly be necessary to say—but, if need be, we have no objection to saying, over and over again—that we never sneer at the working class, that we never doubt its sincerity, however much we may often doubt its wisdom.

Those "eminent citizens" who, if they abstain from eating meat, can afford all sorts of substitutes which are out of the reach of the workingmen—people of this same class are always preaching "frugality" to the workers, holding up to them as a good example the working people of Europe who do not have meat more than once a week or once a month, and, at the same time, justifying their own luxury on the ground that it "gives employment to the poor."

Mr. Morgan thinks it very important that this social system be preserved, because it gives him untold wealth and power. And if the church can tie the hands of the people while he goes through their pockets, he thinks the church is a very good church. Mr. Morgan views with horror the suggestion that the social system which enables him to rob the producers of the product of their labor be replaced by one which would give to the workers the fruit of their toil.

factious and unworkable, deals aside individual responsibility, and makes the words "good" and "bad," as applied to men, simply terms of approval or disapproval, which last is itself, perhaps, an impudence.

Many men are fighting for a free society, but Traubel seems, in addition, to be the very kind of a man who would be the product of such a society. There is an ultimatum about him which would be welcome were it not so wholesome and loving.

With Traubel democracy is not a fact but a fact. His lines are aton with the breath of life and aton with the fire of a cosmic passion. Traubel does neither an apologetic for sobriety, but seems rather to strike central truth with the chaotic stroke of a divine inconsistency.

He writes somewhat after the manner of Whitman, of whom he is a disciple and literary descendant, yet those who know both could easily differentiate their unlabelled work. For one thing he never falls into Whitman's occasional redundancy and superfluity of enumeration. And, like Carpenter, his work is, intellectually more under the influence of modern thought than was that of the "good gray poet."

Traubel's cosmic democracy, his unapologetic logic, which does not stop to explain surface inconsistencies, his universal sympathy and powerful style make "The Conservator" a thing to be looked for and lingered over.

Just at present the Socialists of almost every country are struggling with the agrarian question, hence it is not surprising to find the first paragon of the May number of the "Internationale Socialiste" which has a notice from an article from Mr. J. B. Webster, a former Populist candidate for governor of California, giving "A Farmer's Criticism of the Socialist Party." The editor, A. M. Simons, replies to the objections of Mr. Webster in a discussion of "The Socialist Party and the Farmer." Bulletins from the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels give the latest news of the Socialist movement in Norway and Bulgaria.

Other noteworthy articles are: "Natural Selection under Socialism" by Raphael Bank, which offers a more pronounced solution of the Malthusian objection to Socialism; "Revolutionary Experiences," by Peter E. Burrowes, and the opening chapter of a "History of the United States," by J. L. Franz. This history is an attempt to apply the principles of economic determinism to the survey of American history, and is extremely interesting to the reader.

It is in the pickwickian sense that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company speaks to folk on the front and rear platforms of the cars when their noses are jammed up against an announcement informing them that they are forbidden to be on those platforms. In fact, the pickwickian sense is the necessary common sense of modern business and politics. Thank you, Mr. Dickens.

To select a prisoner of war by lot, and to execute him by way of retaliation, appears to be Article of War 100, under which our American officers have been exercising their discretion and musketry on the Philippines. Secretary Root assures us that it is a very excellent article, and that Lincoln considered it "a contribution to civilization, of great and recognized value."

It is quite the style now among America's lightened politicians to say that everything "may safely be left in the hands of the President." The Funston affair, the Mues affair, and Schurman now thinks the Philippine inquiry might be left in his beloved hands. If only our beloved President could do the whole of the nation's voting, what a world of worry it would save. Buffalo Bill's is a great show, isn't it?

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It will be remembered that Bishop Potter was one of a cordon of bishops whom Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan carried on his special train to the Episcopal convention in San Francisco last year. Where the scheme of the "Industrial Peace Conference" and the Civic Federation was hatched, for the purpose of breaking strikes.

Mosquito Bites. By PETER E. BURROWES. Poor old Senator Lodge, who in his intellect, conscience and methods, is a "solomon" warning that the New England type of sentimentalism which beget "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is liable to forget anything, made a "warm" defense for capitalist brutalities in the Philippines before the Senate the other day.

Mr. Havemeyer, while under examination by the Senate Cuban Committee, appointed to ascertain, if possible, whether or not sugar is sweet, made this reply to one of the questions: "The Cubans are not in a financial predicament to hold their crops." Apply this to all producers on earth and you have the lever of classic political economy—capitalism.

Facts are queer things—especially those "Facts About Cuba," prepared by Mr. Donner at the order of Mr. Havemeyer, and published by "inside" papers for cash paid. There are, of course, other facts about Cuba which Mr. H. does not mention, and which "inside" papers are therefore not printing—such as the fact that the Cubans are only the Spanish and American planters; and that every one who has his head above the wage-line in Cuba today has that head in the noose of the money lender.

The English-speaking business-doing world venerates the memory of Charles Dickens, far without counting his many other merits, it was he who invented the pickwickian sense—that sense in which the Beef Trust is not a beef trust, that sense in which Dr. Webb, of the Central strike infamy, is enabled openly and impudently to lie over his own signature as not being in it, while in it; which enables him to be Webb-headed in prosperous times and webbed-foolish enough to take to the water when the Meyer-crash came.

Either to assume that everybody is a rogue or that everybody is honest would give an equally definite and satisfactory basis for human beings to live upon. But to assume nothing about it until you find out how much money he is able to get and then to decide that all the smaller quantities are rogues is what the expression man of Jersey City are striking against.

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Now for the Protestant side. In a letter to the secretary of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, expressing his regret that he could not attend their annual dinner held in New York on May 6, Bishop Potter wrote:

"The whole outlook for the mutual understanding of labor and those who are dependent upon it, who employ it or are enriched by it, it looks to me at present more hopeful than at any time within my recollection, and this chiefly because I do not think there has ever been a day when there have been more honest efforts on either side of the lines which divide the great classes to understand each other."

Especially have employers and those whom they represent learned to respect men in the labor ranks whose candid and temperate speech, clear and direct statement and enduring sense of equity have been illustrated on many fields and in many ways.

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Mr. Morgan's Bishop Potter preaches the doctrine that the interests of capital and labor are identical, that is that the interests of those who labor are identical with the interests of those who do not labor, and "who are dependent upon labor" and "are enriched by it." Bishop Potter wants a "mutual understanding" on both sides of "the lines which divide the great classes"—a "mutual understanding" of identical interests between the class which labors and the class which does not labor but "is enriched by it!"

Current Literature. All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York. THE CONSERVATOR. Horace Traubel. Philadelphia, Pa. Monthly.

One of the most sane and significant voices to be heard about the din and confusion of this transitional age is that of Horace Traubel in "The Conservator." Month after month Traubel's affirmative notes are against things as they are reverberate like thunder from a mountain top.

The social organism, like all things else, is always growing, changing, developing, but the present age is particularly and peculiarly a time of transition. The immense social and productive forces which have grown up in the last century have not yet given birth to the new social system which they are to bring forth and so the industrial revolution which has taken place in the production of wealth has not yet been extended to its distribution, and, consequently, man's potential dominance over the material conditions of existence has not yet reached its social and intellectual expression.

As we stand on the threshold of the new order, the confusion, the general throwing of things out of joint, and the contradictions and paradoxes of the old system, the new social order is pronounced. Thus it is that we see at once and strongly reflected in the literature and art of the time.

Thus it is that contemporary literature is such a strange mixture of the small and the sublime, the petty and the prophetic. Now that "the time is ripe and rotten-ripe for change" some sink into the ooze of social rottenness and others, with glad shouts of defiance, struggle through the miasma of the social swamp and bring all their efforts to bear on the task of breaking through the existing crust of old conditions. Thus it is that we see at once and the same time subsidized sycophancy and powerful protest.

Our literature is prostituted to the service of the plundered power held by the masters of bread, and perverted to purposes of ignorance and degradation, but in the great and growing literature of protest it is to be found some of the best work of all time. The age produces both the prostitute and the prophet.

We have a prostitute press, a prostitute pulpit, and prostitute professors in the educational institutions endowed by our robber barons in oil and steel. In literature and art we have the dawdling dilettantism of the rich, and the drier dementation of those who have lost their way amid the confusion of transition; we have poets who make their poems as a lady of fashion makes her toilette; we have economists who are afraid of their own conclusions; in journalism we have a land of scoundrel who narrow their aims; these please the scoundrelous class to whom their minds are hired out—parasites upon a parasitic class these are; we have men who forsake suffering, struggling humanity to write "odes to my lady's eyebrow;" we have peddled sophistry and commercialized criticism; we have novels that are impotent, lame, and irrelevant; we have all that is mediocre and unnecessary.

But if the age of capitalism gives us the worst it also gives us the best. Such men as Tolstoy, Ilgenfeldt and essentially immortal as his message of asceticism and non-resistance is, and Theobald Maerlinck, Zola, William Vaughan Wood, Carpenter, Gorki, Markham, and lately, Ruskin, Morris, Whitman, and Hovey—these are onces in the desert of contemporary literature. All of them are of the army of revolt, fighting the battle of brotherhood, some with pessimistic portrayal of existing wrongs, and some with prophecy of the future. Those who look in despair at the backsliding literature and inane art of this vertiginous age, should rather glory in these great figures, standing out like lonely oaks against the open sky, and be assured that the time is sure to soon call forth others and greater of their like.

It is to this bright group that Horace Traubel belongs. Traubel's democracy is not a spontaneous and unthinking, so universal in its scope, and so much a part of the very fibre of the man as to signify distinguish him. Many other democrats there are, calling valiantly for the better day, but they are unable to overcome entirely and without evident effort the conditions and mental habits which society has thrown around them; they democracy is not self-conscious and self-aware, they can imagine some of them secretly applauding themselves as great fellows on account of it. They cannot quite extend their democracy into questions of morals and methods, but make distinctions of good and bad, which are necessary and inevitable enough from the standpoint of the present and the practical, but not eternal, like that of Tolstoy. Traubel is no humanist, no sentimentalist, no economist, but his refusal to make moral distinctions between individuals is in harmony with science, which, in recognizing the law of cause and effect and the inexorable influence of environment and rejecting all sub-

jective metaphysical abstractions, deals individual responsibility, and makes the words "good" and "bad," as applied to men, simply terms of approval or disapproval, which last is itself, perhaps, an impudence.

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PARTY NOTES.

state charters have now been granted to the comrades of North Dakota and of Montana.

The State Committees of Indiana and Illinois have adopted the monthly report book for use of financial secretaries of the party locals.

John C. Chase has addressed trade unionists this week at St. Louis, and at Troy and Lebanon, Ill.

The Socialists of Texas will hold a state convention at Dallas on July 4, to nominate a full ticket for the fall election.

Six locals of the Socialist Party were chartered during the last month. They were located in five different states and territories.

Comrade Debs will address a public mass meeting in the Coliseum Hall at Denver, Colo., in connection with the opening of the tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners on May 26.

Another Catholic priest, Father Haggerty, is going on the warpath for socialism. He intends to resign his parish and devote his time to lecturing on socialism.

About the latter end of May a Lithuanian Socialist monthly will make its appearance in Chicago.

The Socialist Party in St. Paul, Minnesota was denied a place on the official ballot. Comrades were compelled to use pasters in order to vote.

Cumberland County, Me., including the city of Portland, will have a full field.

Keating, of Toledo, O., the comrades in Toledo feel Associated with the strength of the Sunday movement in this city. While small, nevertheless we are still in clearings now in quarters.

The Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in Oakland, Calif., is "nearly all of our members—Socialists."

As our last comrade, Press Clark.

The Board will rise to their evening. May 24th of those present.

Methy For the best, the old Socialist war-horse, who was nominated for Governor of the Second Congressional District at a delegate convention held at Grand Crossing Monday night.

The Second Congressional District comprises South Chicago, Pullman, Woodlawn, and the lower half of Hyde Park. The district holds the banner for the largest Socialist vote in Chicago.

Within the four wards are eight branches of the party. The comrades expect to make a great campaign, as the Democratic party is in a hopeless minority in the district the boys expect to make the campaign so strong that the issue will be squarely between the Socialists and the Republicans.

Local Rome, N. Y., observed May Day with a public meeting, the first of the sort ever held in that city. Comrade Brown of Rochester was the speaker, and the meeting was an encouraging success. State Organizer Spring visited the Local on May 5. Two new members were gained. The Local favors Syracuse as the place for holding the state convention.

The 14th A. D. is now meeting at the next club room of the New York Socialist Literary Society, 241 E. Broadway. At last Friday's meeting the work for the Socialist Daily was taken up and Dr. Halpern chosen to supervise it. A concert was arranged for the presentation of the banner which the district won last fall by casting the largest proportional vote in the city. This affair will be held on Friday evening, May 23, in New Windsor Hall, 412 Grand street.

Good speakers will address the audience. Admission will be free. The district also provided for the sending out of circulars to enrolled voters and decided that open-air meetings shall be held at Rutgers Square, Grand and Henry streets, and Henry and Pike. Next regular meeting will be very important.

The Socialist Educational League of 215 E. Fifty-ninth street has begun its open-air propaganda. Comrades Looenthal and Mayell last Sunday visited the street railway depots, speaking to the employees and all attending handbills were distributed. They were well received. In the evening there was an instructive discussion at the Club Rooms on "Labor Politics," participated in by Comrades Harrison, Phillips, Reichenbach, Flick, Venthal, Crane, and Goldfarb. Comrade Slobodkin lectures next Sunday. The work of this club is very advantageous to the movement. Many strangers visit it daily to get information and buy literature. Comrades should give whatever financial support they can and they will have an opportunity at the ice-cream festival to be held Saturday, May 24. Admission is 10 cents.

The 35th A. D. will hold an open-air meeting Saturday evening, May 24, at the corner of Willis avenue and One Hundred and Fifty-eighth street, to discuss the lesson of the Meat Trust. The Socialist Drum and Fire Corps will play.

The newly organized 34th A. D. has had some trouble in finding headquarters, but has now satisfactorily established at 530 Willis avenue. Meetings

are held every Friday evening. At the last meeting another new application for membership was received. Readers of The Worker Living in the 34th A. D. are requested to come and join. The District's delegates in the General Committee are William Sorge and P. Donoghue.

Every subdivision in New York which has not already done so should get at least 25 copies of "May Flowers" and sell or distribute them. Outside organizations may also take the limit. There are still about 2,000 copies to be had. The price, in bundles of 25 or more, is 3 cents a copy. They can be had at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth street, or by mail orders addressed to Ed. Meyer, Club House, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street. Cash must accompany orders.

Eight young comrades met at 241 E. Broadway last Saturday and formed themselves into a Socialist Bicycle Club, with Pat Rielen as captain, M. Topkin as his assistant, and H. Reich as secretary. A startling club yell was adopted. If you want to hear it and join in it, attend the next meeting at the same place on Monday evening, May 19. Every Socialist who rides a wheel will be welcome, and work and pleasure will be combined throughout the season.

Notwithstanding the approach of the summer season, the efforts for the formation of a class in New York City to study the principles of Socialism have been attended with unexpected success. With John Spargo as leader, the class of twenty-five members meets every Thursday evening for an hour and a quarter at 215 E. Fifty-ninth street. At the meeting of May 7 three new members joined. On May 14, the fourth lesson in the series of twenty will be given out. The comrades are enthusiastic over the value and interest of the lessons and are prompt and regular in their attendance. The interest taken is shown by the fact that members come from Washington Heights and the Battery section, from Brooklyn and Long Island. The class contains representatives from the General and City Executive Committees as well as from the "rank and file." The 21st A. D. leads with nine members, the Socialist League has five, and the 23rd A. D. four.

At the Manhattan Liberal Club, 229 East Fifth street, New York City, on Friday, May 23, Bolton Hall is expected to speak on "Class Co-munionism." Some of the comrades should be present to tell him a few things about it.

Leonard D. Abbott will speak at the Socialist Club of Brooklyn, Fulton street and Ralph avenue, Sunday evening, May 18. His subject is "The Socialist Spirit in Art and Literature." All comrades are welcome.

To Lay Corner-Stone. The Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond Boroughs and New Jersey sections of the Arrangements Committee for the laying of the corner-stone of the new Brooklyn Labor Lyceum meets every Friday evening in the New York Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, Wm. J. F. Hanneumann is Secretary. Numerous trade unions, subdivisions of the S. D. P., and other labor organizations are represented and others are invited to send delegates.

The corner-stone of the new building at 949-355 Willsborough avenue, Brooklyn, will be laid on May 30, Decoration Day.

The Brooklyn Central Labor Union will supply one English speaker for the occasion and Job Harriman will be invited to represent the organization on his side of the East River. The German speakers will be Dr. Fockel and Dr. Guendach.

It is intended to hold a great parade in connection with the affair, which can be done by the Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond Boroughs and New Jersey organizations assembling at the Broadway ferry, on the Brooklyn side, at a time to be decided by the Conference. It is recommended that each organization attend in a body.

Broadway, Brooklyn, can be reached via Roosevelt Street Ferry, E. Twenty-third Street Ferry, and E. Forty-second Street Ferry. The Brooklyn Committee will send a committee with music to meet these organizations and escort them to the site of the new building, meeting the Brooklyn organizations on the way and joining the two bodies in one parade.

Hudson County. The last meeting of the Hudson County Committee was one of the best ever held. With few exceptions the reports of branches were most encouraging, that of Hoboken deserving special mention in that it was accompanied by eight applications for membership. The reports showed relations of sincere good feeling with the trade unions.

The new constitution was presented, but was referred back to the Secretary, to be submitted by him to the branches.

Delegates from Arlington and Kearney called attention to the parade and memorial services to be held on Decoration Day in honor of Comrade Scribshaw. Comrades from all neighboring towns and cities are invited to join in making this demonstration impressive and inspiring. Communications should be addressed to A. P. Flirth, 222 Devon street, Kearney.

Every new subscription you get for this paper helps to spread the light of Socialism and helps us to make The Worker a better paper.

The Socialist Party is the political party of labor. There is not one single proposition in its platform that was formulated with any other purpose but to help the laborer and show him the way to freedom and the emancipation of his class from wage slavery. Get in to the political party of labor and become a worker in the cause for human betterment—Social Democratic Ideal.

Kansas City is going to be a stern center from now on. There will be sufficient "strenuousness" to please any one. With a "reform administration" in control of the city, blundering around and showing its ineptitude; the Beef Trust agitation; Proomany's cooperative movement; a "free thinkers" college, whose promoter, Holsters (the

IN VIRGINIA. The Socialist Party of Newport News, Va., at a regular meeting, nominated the following ticket for the May election: For Mayor—E. K. Emerson. For Treasurer—H. E. Baunmeister. For Sergeant—W. L. McKnight. For Constable—L. A. Hall.

PLATFORM: Workmen of America, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain. We, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, proclaim our allegiance to the Socialist Party of America. We affirm our unflinching adherence to the principles and the program of International Socialism.

In presenting our candidates for municipal office to the working-class voters of Newport News, we base our appeal upon the following declarations as our platform of principles: 1. Labor produces all wealth.

2. Under the present economic and political conditions, labor's share in the wealth it creates is merely a mean and uncertain subsistence.

3. So long as the present organization of industry remains the capitalists will monopolize the machine of production, and will appropriate to themselves, through the wage system, the wealth created by the working class.

4. The appropriation of labor's wealth is so complete that it enables the capitalist to live in luxury and idleness.

5. As a necessary consequence of this exploitation of the laborer by the capitalist, this expropriation of all property out of the hands of toilers into the private ownership of the holders of capital, there is an inevitable war between the interests of the working class on the one hand and the interests of the capitalist class on the other.

6. This class struggle between the wealth makers and the wealth takers will endure so long as our present system of production for profit continues.

7. In this conflict between the workers and the capitalist, labor is comparatively disarmed on the economic side, all the instruments of producing and distributing wealth being owned and controlled by the holder of capital.

8. There is only one weapon by which the working class can successfully oppose the capitalist class, and that is the ballot.

9. This fact demands, as an inevitable conclusion, the organization of the working class into a political party, distinct from and opposed to every party not founded entirely upon the interests of the working class.

10. The Socialist Party, when in office, shall abolish and everywhere, utterly and forever, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct.

Will this legislation advance the material interests of the working class and aid the workers in the class struggle against capitalism? If it does not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

11. In accordance with this principle, the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the municipal affairs of Newport News in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class.

12. In conclusion, we appeal to all workmen to study the principles of Socialism, to vote with and for their class at all elections, until they overthrow the power of private capitalism, and inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth, based upon this fundamental principle of justice: To every worker the full product of his labor.

IN KANSAS CITY.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 8.—A fitting example of the identity of interests of the trade unions and the Socialists was given here last night. The Women's Auxiliary of the Socialist Club of Jackson County gave an entertainment at the Academy of Music for the benefit of the locked-out bakery.

This hall is the best in the city for the purpose and was filled with trade unionists, Socialists, and their friends, who enjoyed a program of recitations, tableaux, vocal and instrumental music. In which, however, the opportunity was improved to instill a sense of duty of the working class to the inder that it might enjoy the earth and the fulness thereof.

The speakers were Kate Richards O'Hare, editor of the women's column in the "Coming Nation"; William Wallace of the Bakers' Union; Charles F. Celly, organizer of the Amalgamated Woodworkers, an organizer for the A. F. of L.; and Frank O'Hare, of the International School of Social Economy, who is now employed as organizer by the Socialist Club. After the program there were refreshments, and dancing until a late hour.

As a net substantial result, the Women's Auxiliary turned \$118.75 into the treasury of the Bakers' Union, which has caused a deal of favorable comment at Labor Headquarters. The Socialist unionists are now asking their fellows if they ever heard of a Democratic or Republican, or any other political club, which dared to come to the assistance of the laboring man against the interests of the bosses? And they are also taking the opportunity to explain that the strike the Socialists are leading is of vastly more import than a struggle against a little league of masters.

The Women's Auxiliary has been given charge of the musical part of the program at a lecture which is to be given under the auspices of the Industrial Council by Comrade E. T. Behrens of Sealdia, who is president of the Missouri Federation of Labor, and a staunch Socialist who "showed" the politicians of his home city last spring.

Kansas City is going to be a stern center from now on. There will be sufficient "strenuousness" to please any one. With a "reform administration" in control of the city, blundering around and showing its ineptitude; the Beef Trust agitation; Proomany's cooperative movement; a "free thinkers" college, whose promoter, Holsters (the

"successor of Ingersoll"), is no friend of Socialism—the clear-thinking Socialists are going to have plenty to do.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Secretary, East Broadway, Room 427, Emilie Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

MASSACHUSETTS. STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Meeting held May 7, with Page, Gold, and Sherman, Porter, and Malley present. Resolutions adopted, and bills approved as follows: Postage, 27c; postage stamps, 2c; postage stamps, 2c.

Communications received and filed as follows: From National Executive Committee, re: report on the financial condition of the party; re: report on the financial condition of the party; re: report on the financial condition of the party.

This appropriation of labor's wealth is so complete that it enables the capitalist to live in luxury and idleness.

Secretary instructed to write Leonard Meyer regarding the matter.

Adjusted to meet Wednesday, May 21.

W. P. PORTER, Secretary.

STATE FINANCIAL REPORT. Following is the report of the Financial Secretary for the month of April:

Receipts: Apr. 1, Boston Socialist Club, 10 stamps, \$3.00; Apr. 4, Reading, 10 " " 3.00; Apr. 5, Somerville, 20 " " 6.00; Apr. 7, Malden, 20 " " 6.00; Apr. 12, Cambridge, 10 " " 3.00; Apr. 12, Brockton, 10 " " 3.00; Apr. 14, Boston, 10 " " 3.00; Apr. 15, Fall River, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 17, Boston, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 22, Hingham, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 24, Milford, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 24, Lynn, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 26, Salem, 30 " " 9.00; Apr. 28, Pittsburg, 50 " " 15.00; member-at-large, 5 " " 1.25.

Total, \$123.45.

Balance on hand April 1, \$21.19.

Total, \$144.64.

Expenses: Apr. 2, National Headquarters, receipt book, \$5.00; Apr. 3, Boston Co. Press, printing, \$5.00; Apr. 9, Express, shipping leaflets, \$3.00; Apr. 9, Wm. Malley, organizing expenses, \$17.77; Apr. 9, David Goldstein, loan of \$25.00; Apr. 20, Boston, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 24, Fifty pamphlets circulators, \$3.50; Apr. 24, Boston, 25 " " 7.50; Apr. 24, Rent of typewriting machine, \$5.00; Apr. 24, Wm. Malley, organizing expenses, \$7.19; Apr. 24, Balance due Martha Hopkins, stenographer, \$7.50.

Balance on hand May 1, \$80.95.

Total, \$123.45.

Received during April: \$21.19.

Total, \$144.64.

W. P. PORTER, Secretary.

NEW YORK. STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The State Committee met in the Labor Lyceum, April 22, with Comrade John Aas in the chair.

The Secretary reported the facts in regard to the challenge of Bishop Quinn of Buffalo. No report was received from the Bishop. Dr. A. Heiter, after making an open challenge, invited the Bishop to meet at the club on April 24. The Bishop failed to appear.

A report was received of Comrade Spring's agitation tour through the state. Up to date, Spring has spoken at the following places: Albany, Binghamton, Boreas, C. J. Springer, L. L. Vonkers, New York, Oneida, Oswego, Schenectady, Newburgh, Catskill, Troy, Schenectady, Johnstown, Glensville, Frankfurt, Utica, Rome, and Syracuse.

Regarding the coming State Convention, the Secretary reported that a referendum was being held in place and time of convention. Resolutions during past month: \$124.65; expenses, \$141.92.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT, Sec'y.

Letter Box.

M. WINKLER, Lawrence, Mass.—The Socialist Party stands for the national ownership of the means of production as a whole. We hardly see how this could be effected except by the nationalization of the means of production, what you more correctly designate as expropriation. There are two ways to effect this: the nationalization of the means of production, or the expropriation of the means of production.

My question to the owner: "The slave is not a man, is he?"

"And all the leg to the boot?"

"But who is the owner? The slave is not a man, is he?"

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ILLUSTRATED AGITATION LEAFLETS.

Published by THE COMRADE PUB. CO., 11 Cooper Square, N. Y. "The Worker" with the Capitalist Mind, by Herbert N. Casson, first edition; "Dialogue between the Machine Gun and the Miner," by Frank Steinhilber; "A Lesson from the Donkeys," by John Spargo; "A Lesson from the Donkeys," by John Spargo; "A Lesson from the Donkeys," by John Spargo.

E. K. EMERSON, Newport News, Va.—The S. D. P. ought to be a party of the working class, not a party of the capitalists.

QUESTION, read Bellamy's "Equality," Chap. 37.

MRS. CHASE.—You evidently don't know him or you would make us for the eternal blindness of our language.

THE COMRADE PUBLISHING CO., 11 Cooper Square, New York (373 Bowery.)

FOR THE NATIONAL PROPAGANDA FUND.

An Appeal by the National Committee to All Party Members and Sympathizers.

Comrades:—At the meeting of the National Committee in this city on January 24, 1922, and 26, 1922, the work that has thus far been accomplished by the national organization and the means of continuing the same were taken under advisement, and after due consideration, we decided to issue this appeal to the state and local organizations and to all of the comrades of our party for such amounts as donations to the National Propaganda Fund.

The purpose of this fund are to enable us to continue the great and far-reaching task already begun of giving the greatest possible degree of general publicity to the aims and methods of the Socialist Party; to extend the influence of our party as a vital political factor, especially in the various economic organizations of the working class; to be the means of communicating advice to and co-operating with comrades in their efforts to organize, educate and enlighten the proletariat; and to assist the local and state organizations and the Socialist press in general in extending the scope of their respective activities.

Official records show that 470,000 pieces of printed supplies, especially intended for party organization, have been used throughout the country since the National Committee was formed and supplied through the agency of the National Committee. The National Secretary's report, showing an increase of membership in good standing of 50 per cent, since the Unity Convention, is eloquent evidence of the splendid achievements of our comrades in the townships, cities, counties, states, and territories.

During the past six months the demands of all kinds upon your National Committee from every section of the country have been far beyond our resources, and we have been repeatedly handicapped by lack of funds. At this writing, while the business of the party is increasing heavily from day to day, our financial receipts are not sufficient to enable us to meet the most important requirements of the party work, and it is utterly necessary that the comrades request immediate financial aid to the national organization.

As a means to this end we again call the attention of the comrades to the National Propaganda Fund. Donations to this fund should be sent to the National Secretary, and will be acknowledged weekly in the Socialist press.

LEON GREENBAUM, 427 Emilie Bldg., St. Louis.

Previously acknowledged: \$310.98 Philadelphia, German Br. . . . 5.00 Cleveland "Citizen" . . . 5.25 Hoboken, N. J. Br. . . . 2.00 California State Committee . . . 23.45 Total . . . \$352.68

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CAPITALISTS CULTIVATING RACE HATRED AMONG WORKERS.

Capitalism perverts every good thing—at least, it tries to pervert every right demand and every wholesome tendency, and far too often it succeeds. We have in the United States several million colored people, the descendants of slaves. They are poor. When the Government—actuated partly by humane sentiment, but more by economic necessity—set the slaves free forty years ago, it carefully refrained from providing them with land or other means of production. It simply changed them from chattel slaves to wage slaves. Their descendants are still hewers of wood and drawers of water for the owners of land and mill. These people are wage-workers. So are many more millions of white people, North and South. The white wage-workers, however, are a little less helpless, because they are generally a little better educated, are more accustomed to organized action, and have a tradition of revolt to inspire them, rather than a tradition of servility to weigh them down. These colored people desire education. They need education for the advancement of their own interests. In the interest of white wage-workers also (because they belong to the same class) they should have education. In the highest interest of society they should have education. Education of the negroes is certainly a good thing. It is a right demand, a wholesome tendency. Now see how capitalism perverts it. The owners of Southern cotton mills and iron mills and other industries want an abundant supply of docile and at the same time sufficiently skilled workers to make profits for them. Nay, they want an over-supply: they want to have an army of capable workers always begging for permission to work—just as the capitalists of the North do. The poor white people of the South are many. But they are not numerous enough to satisfy the desires of the mill lords. Moreover, they are sometimes too independent, too likely to go on strike. These mill lords despise the negroes—but they need them. What do they do? They take advantage of the negroes' desire for education, and also of their inherent servility—their willingness to consider themselves inferior, belong to be humble and grateful to their "betters." They do not want these negroes to be really educated. They do not want them to learn to think for themselves. But they do want to have them trained into good working alfalfa. They want them to acquire the skill of white workers without losing their servility. So these mill lords affect a very generous interest in the colored people whom they despise. They give money to industrial schools for them—industrial schools only, mind you. They juggle Booker T. Washington and others of his sort. Some of them even forgive President Roosevelt for dining with Washington. By gifts of money and still sweeter praise they buy these leaders of the colored people, body and soul, and use them as tools to turn the colored workers to their greater profit. Very likely Booker T. Washington and the other colored leaders do not know that they are selling themselves and betraying the working people of their race. But they are doing it, nevertheless. These mill lords of the South are not all Southern men. In almost every company that owns cotton mills in Georgia or the Carolinas or iron works in Alabama or Tennessee there are some Southern capitalists of the old slave-holding families and some Northern capitalists of the old anti-slavery stock. Being joint owners of the Southern wage-slaves, black and white, they forget old scores and get along together very nicely indeed. In another column, under the heading "Negroes to Break Strikes?" you may see how much farther the capitalists propose to carry their perversion of this right demand, this just tendency of negro education. They propose to give the colored people education of a sort—not "scholarly" education, not real education, but just industrial training. They do not propose to give it to them as a matter of right, or for the negroes' benefit. They do not propose to give it to them for the interest of society as a whole. Least of all do they propose to give it to them for the benefit of the white workers. No. They propose to give it to them as a means of training, not only skilled and docile workers for Southern mills, but skilled and servile slaves to break the strikes of textile workers in Massachusetts, steel workers in Pennsylvania, railroad men in Illinois, miners in Montana, of wage workers of any part of the country. Negroes have played too large a part as scabs already in many different places and many different trades. But it is intended that in the future they shall play a still larger part. It is worth while to remember, too, that the standing army of the United States is largely made up of colored men and that colored troops have more

"No Socialist may enter a ministry without the consent of the party." "Le Mouvement Socialiste," long considered as at least sympathetic with the ministerial policy and Jaurès, but which now is clearly with the revolutionary forces, says in a late issue of the "union," engineered by Jaurès in 1890, and of which so much was expected at the time: "One by one all the revolutionary forces there artificially assembled have disintegrated, and the process still continues. In 1900, at the convention in the Hall Wagram, at Paris, the Parti Ouvrier Français (Guesdist) were the first to break away and make union impossible. . . . At Lyons in 1901, the Parti Socialiste Révolutionnaire in its turn severed all connection between its organization and the elements which it contained so chaotic and uncertain. Some months later the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire in its turn declared its independence, and today the best of the independent federations have broken from a party which now retains nothing Socialist save the name." So fatal has been the disorganizing influence of the bourgeois tendencies, that have been admitted under the name of opportunism, upon the unification of the French Socialist movement that to-day, in the face of a general election, it is Jaurès, who is without doubt the most brilliant figure in the French Socialist movement, if not in the whole international movement—Jaurès, who a few short months ago was looked upon as the one man who more than any other single individual was bringing closer the day of a united Socialist movement in France, is to-day declared by Kautsky to be the greatest obstacle in the way of securing that unity. "Perhaps the coming election," says Kautsky in a late issue of the "Neue Zeit," "may serve to scatter these personal antipathies and prepare the way for union. A battle against a common foe often does wonders in this direction. But this result can only be secured when the main obstacle now standing between the two factions is removed, and that obstacle is—Jaurès. . . . The unity of the French Socialists can only be secured against, not with Jaurès." "Le Mouvement Socialiste" makes this significant comment upon Kautsky's words: "We do not think it is necessary to struggle simply against one single person, although diminished exploitation. . . . We prefer rather to declare war on tendencies and systems—to state Socialism we would oppose revolutionary Socialism." Let the comrades in America ponder well these words. Can we not learn from the experience of the French comrades or must we have a term at the same terribly costly school. Turn now to England, the classic land of Fabianism, compromise and opportunism and the events of the last few months are teaching the same lesson. About three years ago an effort was made to organize the Independent Labor Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabians and some of the trade unions upon a Socialist basis in the hope of securing a "labor group" of members in Parliament. The S. D. F., with some of the trade unions, desired that a Socialist resolution, affirming the class war and the fundamentals of international Socialism, be made the basis of union. This position was opposed by the Fabians and the I. L. P. with the usual arguments of opportunism. Unfortunately the latter forces were the stronger. Steadily since then the Labor Representation Committee has grown further and further from Socialism. This opinion of ours is based, not alone on the statements of the S. D. F., who withdrew when bourgeois tendencies seemed to dominate, but on the printed reports of the succeeding conferences and the comments of the capitalist press and the discussions that have arisen within the I. L. P. At the last meeting of the Labor Representation Conference there were not lacking defenders of the group of notoriously anti-Socialist "labor members" now in the House of Commons, and it was evident that to-day there would be no hope of carrying the Socialist resolution, whose passage would have been an easy matter at the first meeting had the avowed Socialists stood by their colors. Meanwhile there seems to be some signs of disintegration within the I. L. P. itself, which has always been opposed to the Socialists. It has a branch of active rebels in the action of the I. L. P. officials in actively opposing Comrade Quelch, when he made his recent gallant fight for Socialism at Dewsbury. Finally, to make the parallel with France even closer, Robert Blatchford, who has always been considered more or less opportunistic in his attitude, comes out clearly for the class struggle position, throws his influence on the side of the S. D. F., and in the "Keir Harcourt" is the greatest obstacle to Socialist unity in England. Recent events in Italy have been teaching the same lessons with even greater clearness and additional emphasis. The Zanardelli ministry came into power with the votes of the Socialists because it was fighting the reactionary effort being made by the conservative forces to deprive the laborers of the right of organization. Under these conditions many Socialists, including the brilliant Turati, were in favor of entering the ministry. For a while it looked as if opportunism were elsewhere, would become a disruptive force and split the hitherto solid ranks of the Italian proletariat. Opportunism seemed for the moment to be gaining ground. At once the logical result followed. The bourgeois, long frightened by the advance of a solid proletarian movement, saw no necessity in granting even momentary palliatives, but, on the contrary, redoubled their attempts to crush the laborers. The government replaced strikers by soldiers, threatened to force the railroad employees into military service if they dared to strike, absolutely forbid any organization of the

REFERENDUM BILL IS LOST. Massachusetts Legislature Does Not Trust the People.

Massachusetts Legislature Does Not Trust the People. Socialists Support the Bill—Opponents Admit They Fear the Workingmen—Many Dodge the Issue—Brewers Strike Still On. Few matters of immediate interest to the readers of these letters have come before the Legislature during the past two weeks. The Socialist members have had occasion to speak three times within that period—upon the resolve providing for constitutional amendment whereby amendments may be submitted to the people upon petition of 50,000 voters; against the bill providing that street railway locations be first approved by the State Railroad Commissioners; and against a bill to permit licensed innkeepers to furnish barbers until noon on Sundays to guests who have resorted to the hotel for food and lodging. The time of the House has been consumed in considering the Lane Election Bill, which seeks direct nomination of candidates, and which was passed after a long debate covering several days; a bill providing for district option in Boston on the license question, which also passed; and a bill permitting the sale of candy, soda, and fruit on Sunday—the latter a result of the rigid enforcement of the old "blue laws," which makes the traditional Puritan Sabbath so beautiful in theory, so uncomfortable in practice. The bill passed and will become a law unless the worshippers of tradition in the Senate decide otherwise. Socialists Support Referendum. The Committee on Constitutional Amendments reported unanimously in favor of the bill providing for the referendum on constitutional amendments, and although the bill passed to a third reading, yet when the vote on roll-call arrived, as provided by the constitution, it lacked the necessary two-thirds, and died right there. When the bill came on Tuesday, April 28, it was opposed only by Mr. Dana of Newton; who asked the reason why a change should be made in the constitution which had worked so well for years; only one other state had made such a provision in its constitution, and that was the new one of South Dakota. Carey replied to Dana, and said in part: "We are told many times that Massachusetts is in the van, and that she is the leader in progress. Yet here is an argument made that Massachusetts is too old to accept a new thing, and then when a new state has accepted the same thing it is pointed out as an argument against it that only one new state has accepted it. Pray, Mr. Speaker, what kind of a state may we expect to accept this provision to the satisfaction of the member from Newton? Are we to lead by standing still, or shall we not lead by going ahead?" "Leaving out the president and the 500,000-a-year executive officers, the average wage of the employees is considerably less than \$2. Their total share of the pay-roll money is one-quarter of the whole. "Every working day of the year President Schwan's salary amounts to \$3,205. In mine and mill it takes 1,325 men to earn a like sum. They dig and delve, haul ore and coal to the furnaces, smelt iron, squeeze it and roll it, or work like demons amid the flames of coke or steel furnaces, and finally they turn it out in rod and bar plate or rails ready for industrial uses. It need only be added that a large part of the steel workers—especially the more skilled, four-dollar men—are compelled to work twelve hours a day, and that they become old, broken-down men at the age of forty. See Spahr's "America's Working People" for these facts. ABSORBING BELGIUM. "They are already talking in Europe of the possibility of Belgium being absorbed by France as the outcome of the Socialistic troubles in the former country." In this era of merger it is just as difficult for the small countries to maintain themselves as it is for the small business concerns.—Minneapolis Tribune. It is not quite so certain that Belgium is regarded as such a dainty morsel by the French capitalist government. It is rather too highly prized with Socialism to be quite palatable and France has about as much of that already as it can easily digest. The absorption of Belgium would mean another million Socialists to whom equal suffrage would have to be conceded. For the little countries, Socialism is a good preventive against "benevolent assimilation" and the best guarantee of national independence so long as capitalism lasts at any rate.—Chicago Socialist. BEER DRIVERS' UNION NO. 23. A regular meeting of Beer Drivers' Union No. 23 was held on Sunday, May 11, with Matthew Kearney as chairman and Jos. K. Lass as vice-chairman. Minutes of the previous meeting, and the shop delegate meeting, and the special meeting were adopted as read in the respective order. Various communications were received and acted on. Upon notification of the death of Brother George J. Dittmar, a vote of sympathy and condolence was extended to his widow and children in their hour of trial. Various matters of routine business were acted upon. Reports from those cities in which the U. B. W. have struck or been locked-out were received, showing the outlook promising for an early settlement. W. H. G. Cuba will be governed by the sugar trust whether it has a government of its own or becomes a state of the United States, that is as long as capitalism rules.—Chicago Socialist.

COMRADE BROWN LEAVES PULPIT. Rochester's Socialist Clergyman Offers Resignation.

Reasons for His Action Frankly Stated—Feels That the Position is Inconsistent with His Scientific and Political Convictions. Our well known Rochester comrade, Rev. William Thurston Brown, last Sunday announced his retirement from the pulpit of the Plymouth Congregational Church, which he has occupied for about four years. In explanation of his withdrawal he says in part: "I am unwilling that you should longer be held responsible for anything I may teach or do. Under no circumstances could I agree to adjust my teaching to any creed and for the sake of my own peace of mind and manhood I cannot consent to adjust my life to immoral social conventions. Religious creeds and social conventions stultify and strangle manhood. It is no better to live a lie than it is to teach one. It is no better to conform to immoral and artificial standards in one's living than it is to conform to false standards in one's thinking. "When I made choice of what is called the Christian ministry, it was not because I felt that men and women were in danger of a future hell, but because I was convinced that the chief end of human life was the establishment of the kingdom of heaven or happiness on the earth; and it seemed to me that the church was the most natural and suitable agency for that purpose. I assumed that an institution that took Jesus as its head could have no other aim. "Of course, I discovered my mistake. I found not only that the church as an institution nowhere contemplates any such program, but that it does not possess in its equipment, whether material or intellectual, any of the agencies that can realize such a result. I heard much talk of the 'brotherhood of man' and the 'fatherhood of God,' but I saw that these phrases meant nothing and were taken to mean nothing in men's social and industrial relations. "At first, like many another clergyman, my mind dulled and stupefied by the teachings I had received. I was inclined to blame individuals for our talk of hypocrisy that make all a species of hypocrisy that completely discounts anything the 'scribes and Pharisees' of Palestine could show. But I have discovered my error and am convinced that men of all classes are about as good as their environment will permit them to be. And I understand that men's social and industrial relations are determined by forces over which either religion or the church has not more influence than they have over the motions of the planets. "Accepting the ideas of origin and development as enunciated by Darwin and others my whole thought of social problems and personal duty has radically changed. To my mind, the whole philosophy of religious and social philanthropic activity is mistaken, and the church and charitable institutions are simply manifestations of misdirected energy. "My hope of moral progress lies in the direction of enlightenment and in the development of such a sense of personal and class interests as will make the people the masters of their own destiny. I have long ceased to believe that any outside being or force is going to help men in either their personal or social life. The forces which are to solve our problems and bring us emancipation from all kinds of slavery are within and about ourselves. Believing thus, I look forward with hope to the advent of industrial democracy as giving promise of a larger freedom and a better life for all. "But the most imperative reason for the action which I take relates to the question of personal morality. No man can continue to think worthily who does not square his deeds with his words. We can know only in proportion as we do. A man's life is his creed, and if his personal action does not reflect the ethics of his teaching or his convictions, he is bound soon or late to crystallize into a hypocrite. In our modern world, conformity has taken the place of morality. We are not free souls—we are only monotonous reflections of custom based on economic slavery. "For my part, if I am to retain my own self-respect, I must at least make the attempt to gain freedom. I must at least make a break for it. In my judgment, the world can have no severer judge, no holier messiah, than freedom. And by freedom I mean the absence of all formal coercion. Only in the light of freedom can we really know ourselves or the world we live in. Only in freedom can life find fulfillment. If we have any sacred being from the past, it is that of freedom of conscience and the heroism consequent thereupon. For its sake the Pilgrims came to Plymouth—the rock, not the church. For its sake the Catholics came to Maryland, the Quakers to Pennsylvania, the Huguenots to Georgia. For its sake men and women have dared everything. For its sake, it is quite possible that men and women will in the future do likewise. "I cannot let you be responsible for me in any way. My conscience requires me to assert my freedom, to express myself. I wish no being any harm. I want every one to be free and happy. I want justice and liberty. If I must choose between being an exploiter and being exploited, I choose the latter." No announcement of Comrade Brown's plans for the future has yet

BEEF TRUST A LA MODE. (A DRAMA.)

BY PETER E. BURROWS. Scene, at Washington, D. C. Enter Mr. Gill Fledge Stox of the Beef Trust and Mr. President Theodore Roosevelt, Attorney General and the Roosevelt Trust, bearing each a large case. Mr. G. T. S.: "Now by the immortal hogs I swear, and bust may I, if false I swear, we have no trust. This packer's case, by jealous noodies decried, unback good Knox. You'll find no trust inside." Mr. P. K.: "I well believe you, Stox, and will not seek for butchers' bills beyond the current week. But if, when I have done my honest quest, there doth remain one beefsteak in that chest, or skin enough to make an infant cough, then by my halydom your head comes on." G. T. S.: "Proceed." (Knox peeps into the empty box.) P. K.: "As void, I see, as patriotic voter's bliss." G. T. S.: "And so was tother ere 'twas filed from this." P. K.: "You tell me not, good soul! Come let us see." (They proceed rapidly transferring the cans of beef from the trust case into the empty case.) "The empty as the ratings are of W. Jennings B." G. T. S.: "While Knox unpacks you'll find no trust in me." BRONX BAKERS WINNING. At a mass meeting held last Saturday night at 3082 Third Avenue by the organized bakers of the Bronx, of which twenty-three were locked out, it was reported that not only had the four new men had made application for membership in the union. The bakers will confine their fight for strict enforcement of the ten-hour law, if necessary, calling strikes in the different shops where the law is violated. They also voted to thank the labor press for the active support which it gave to them during their struggle. Speeches were made by Comrade Bernhard Wedekaff of the 35th A. D., George Teppervint, August Burghardt, Joseph Schmid, and George Reich. The bakers of the Bronx ask readers of The Worker living in this neighborhood to see that the label is on every loaf of bread they purchase—and this will apply to other localities as well. A PIOUS OPPONENT OF LABOR. The Railroad Branch of the Y. M. C. A. at One Hundred and Fifteenth Street and Railroad Avenue has a very class-conscious manager, who does not hesitate to declare openly that he is an enemy of organized labor and of every trade unionist. A committee of the locked-out bakers of the Bronx visited the gentlemen last week and requested him to use his influence in bringing about the reinstatement of the locked-out employees of Zink's bakery, 630 Courtlandt Avenue, but the gentleman declined positively, stating clearly that he, being opposed to unions, would never help a union man to better his condition. The committee laid before him the demands of the organization, which at the present time are only the enforcement of the ten-hour law and sanitary conditions, and Mr. McNeil admitted that those demands were very reasonable, but that he had to refuse his help to any union man. The railroad workers who may occasionally frequent the restaurant of this branch of the Y. M. C. A. ought to remember the old saying: "Whoever is not with us is against us" and act accordingly. GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE WORK. The strike of the garment workers of Peoria, Ill., against the firm of J. N. Ward & Co., of which we gave an account last week, has been settled satisfactorily. The firm has agreed to take back all the strikers and unionize their factory throughly. An American who calls himself patriotic is either a fool or a philosopher. And I am bound to admit that, in this country, the philosophers do not preponderate.—Julian Hawthorne, in Wholesale Magazine.

COMRADE BROWN LEAVES PULPIT. Rochester's Socialist Clergyman Offers Resignation.

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LIGHT AND HOPE FROM DARK PLACES.

Even by the Natives in African Colonies the Class Struggle is Coming to Be Realized. Sometimes light and hope come to us from unexpected quarters. To find the labor question, the class struggle, recognized in Quebec, in Ireland, in Armenia, in West and South Africa, in India, in the Philippines, in countries where until recently all the resistant energies of the oppressed have been wasted because they were spent on lines of race or religion instead of class lines, is most encouraging. In the "Lagos Weekly Record," a paper published in the British West African possessions, we find an editorial on "The Labor Question," dealing with the legislative methods by which the colonizing powers—the British worst of all, because most skillfully and persistently of all—seek to establish in these new countries the conditions of capitalism, to force the people out of their old habits of life, to transform them into wage-workers, and so to make profits for the colonizers. The West African colonial authorities have established regulations, it seems, forbidding them to follow certain of the principal industries on their own account without licenses, and imposing duties on them, and in some cases providing for forced labor at wages fixed by the magistrates. This, says the editor, "brings out an aspect of the labor question which cannot but impress every thoughtful mind. . . . Ground for apprehension exists in the government making use of the labor law for purposes of revenue. It is matter of common knowledge that the white mine owners of South Africa are urging the government to tax the native heavily in order to force him to work in the mines where his employer will see to it that his pay is reduced to the lowest minimum; so that between the government on one hand and the mine owners on the other, the native must be regarded as a slave. Viewed from this standpoint the recent legislation in regard to labor becomes fraught with a significance which is far greater than is given that it is likely to achieve. . . . Everywhere there is appearing a growing tendency to bring it under the hard yoke of the market, and in so doing that yoke more severely on him. It is more possible to do the now is due to the fact that the fundamental axiom of Christianity, the equality of all human beings, has fallen into the shade, and become obscured by an overwhelming spirit of egotism. . . . lust for wealth which is swamping everything. However, a striking object lesson has been afforded on the Gold Coast of the result which must follow abuse in the direction of introducing forced labor measures in West Africa; and while it may be to the temporary gain of a few to inaugurate such a policy, it can never prove helpful in the promotion of British or any other foreign rule in West Africa." In some cases the natives have systematically followed the policy of burning their huts rather than pay the hut tax and have entire villages in large numbers, in spite of the law, to the wilder parts of the country. The editor notes that such "legislation in respect to labor is never introduced with white communities, but is especially assigned to subject native races. This implies, he thinks, that the whites regard the principle as too dangerous and unconstitutional to be essayed." This is so far true that rather more caution is observed in such countries as the United States. The methods followed are more indirect. But the essential principle of legislation enacted under capitalist influence is the same in Washington or Albany as in Lagos or Cape Town. We have our injunctions against picketing and boycotting and our conspiracy prosecutions; we have our land grants to corporations, that do not intend to use the land, but only to keep others off it; we have, as pointed out elsewhere in this paper, a systematic cultivation of race hatred to keep the workers divided and subjected; we have industrial schools for whites as well as for blacks, whose constant object is to turn out a supply of skilled scabs; we have our "voluntary" methods; and our capitalist politicians are feeling their way toward "compulsory arbitration," whenever they dare attempt it. The "fundamental axiom of Christianity" will not help us much. The Bishops have interpreted that to suit their patrons' interests. But what will help us is this: That, through hard experience, the workers of all lands, of all races and colors and creeds, are learning to feel their common interest and to feel their common opposition to the master class; in this way, the Brotherhood of Man, which has seldom been more than a useful phrase in the mouths of the preachers, is being translated into the International Solidarity of Labor, a most potent fact in the hearts and brains of the toilers. —If you find the Catholic workers in your vicinity prejudiced against Socialism distribute among them the leaflet issued by the New York State Committee, "To the Catholic Workingmen of New York." In reply to Bishop Corrigan and Quilley. Address orders to H. Reich, 184 William Street. One thousand for \$1.75; 500 for \$1; in German, 1,000 for \$2.15; 500 for \$1.25.

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