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By Chas. H. Vail.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The capitalist system necessarily presupposes the rending of society into two classes-the owners of the means of production and those who have nothing but their labor-power to sell. The laboring class is thus absolutely dependent upon the capitalist class. The ideal of every proletarian movement must, necessarily, be the eman-cipation of the workers from this condition of dependence and servitude. Before the proletariat can make much progress toward this end it must know itself in its historic relations. A clear conception of these relations reveals the program and tactics necessary to

For the working class to secure its freedom it must cease to be dependent upon the capitalist class, and this can only be accomplished by overthrowing the capitalist order. The abolition of modern capitalism can be accomplish-ed in one of two ways; either by reversing the wheels of progress, de-stroying modern methods and return-ing to the days of handicraft and individual production, or by retaining modern methods and pushing on the organization of industry to its logical consummation, collective ownership— Socialism. The latter method is the only one to which the proletariat can attach itself, inasmuch as the prole tarian class is the result of the devel-opment of the capitalist system, being necessarily associated with production scale. Thus the emancipa tion of the proletariat must be acco plished by going forward, not backward. Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only solution to the problem.

Socialism then naturally arises out of the economic situation of the prole-tariat. The proletarian movement must, of necessity, have a Socialist ideal, and Socialism must, of necessity, rest upon and receive its initiative from the proletarian class.

Socialism, then, represents the interests of the proletarian class. A movement represents the interests of a class when it makes for the perpetuity of that class. We thus see how impossi-ble it is for the Socialist movement to represent the interests of the capitalist class. To subserve the interests of this class would be to perpetuate the capi-talist system. While Socialism does not, and cannot, represent the class interests of the capitalist, it nevertheless represents the higher and truer individual interests of every member of society, for Socialism would realize a nobler civilization. But the members of the proprietary class are so blinded by prejudice and class interests that they are unable to see what would make for a higher social order and a nobler humanity. Thus while Social-ism stands for the higher interests of all as human beings, as members society, it does not represent the class aterests of the capitalists, for their class interests signify such policies as make for the continuance of their class. Socialism would abolish the capitalist class and turn all mere owners into useful producers. But when we turn to the laborer we find that Socialism represents not only his per-sonal interests but also his class interest for the class interest of the labor

is in accord with social progress. Society to-day is divided into two classes-the propertied and non-prop ertied. Every man born into these class conditions inherits, or acquire a classbood in addition to his ma hood. True civilization can never be attained in a class-constituted society, for the members of neither class can reach their highest development in such conditions. The dominance of class interests prevents men from realizing the highest ideal. The Socialist recognizes the inevitable result of such conditions and so desires to abolish class distinctions and the class elehuman brotherhood must ever be uto-pian in a system founded upon antag-

onistic interests. While Socialists recognize the necessity of abolishing classes, they nevertheless constantly endeavor to awaken the working class to a sense of class to abolish classes, why not begin by ignoring their existence?" We answer, Ignoring classes would not alter facts. Classes exist whether we recognize them or not; we may ignore them, but they will not ignore us. Capitalists re the existence of classes in order that they may perpetuate them; So-cialists recognize the existence of classes in order that they may abolish them. Classes will be abolished not by ignoring their existence, but by se changing our economic system that some will not be able to secure an ad-

vantage over others. To-day the pos-sessing class, by its ownership of the means of production, is able to main-tain its-class character. To rid society of classes we must bring these instru-ments of production and distribution ments that divides society into two dis tinet classes. Socialize these instru

or, as Marx expresses it, expropriated of the power of expropriating, and all class distinctions will be abolished. Now, the only class that has a direct and immediate interest in securing this end is the working class. The interests of this class are diametrically epposed to the interests of the capitalist class. As every class is moved by its material interests, it is necessary to awaken the working class to its interests; in other words, make it class conbelow. This class consciousness car-nicious. This class consciousness car-ries with it a knowledge of the antag-onism of class interests, and enables the laborers to see that their emanci-pation can only be achieved by abol-

lishing the Co-operative Common wealth. Class consciousness, then, means

consciousness of one's own interests as a member of a class, also a consciousness that his interests can best be subserved by advancing the inter-ests of the class to which he belongs. When a laborer realizes these facts he is said to be class conscious. He then sees that his interests, and the interests of his class, are directly opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. He also apprehends the historical fact that the ruling class has always been, since the dawn of private prop-erty, the class that owns the dominant factor of production. In feudal times it was the owner of land, to-day it is the owner of the machine. Every step in the development of capitalism meant added economic power for the capitalist class, and political suprem-acy finally resulted from this growth of economic power. While this is true of the capitalist class, the class conscious laborer realizes that for him political supremacy cannot thus be se-cured, for the reason that every step in the development of capitalism has meant his greater subjection. Yet with this loss of economic power, due to the development of modern industry, there has come the possibility of political supremacy through the growth of numbers. Upon the politi-cal field the working class can become supreme. It overwhelmingly outnumbers the capitalists and its power is sure to increase.

It must be evident to all that the

control of the political power is necessary to any class which would permanently improve its economic condi-tion. The first step, then, toward the worker's emancipation is to gain this centrol. It is thus that Socialists, the world over, emphasize the necessity of class conscious political action upon the part of the working class.

The laborers can here learn a lesson in tactics from the capitalists. The capitalist class is thoroughly class conscious. It perceives the course of action necessary to maintain its su-premacy, and it can always be relied upon to subserve its own interests. But the laborers, are, as a whole,

un-class-conscious; that is, they act in direct opposition to their own inter-ests. This they do simply because they fail to recognize the opposition of class interests, and do not see that their interests are antagonistic to those of the master class. They have been accustomed to take their eco-nomic and political ideas ready made at the hands of their employers, and this class have seen to it that only such ideas were propagated among the workers as would result in the supremacy of capitalist class rule. Of course as long as the workers look to their masters for guidance, they will be led like sheep to the shambles. It is to the interest of the ruling class to maintain its position, but to do this the workers must be kept in ignorance of the true situation, for if they remain in slavery it can only be by their own consent. Were it not for this sys-tematic perversion of the egoism of the subjected class, so that they do not see what pertains to their real inter ests, the system could not be main

as to what constitutes their real inter ests. They are taught that the inter-ests of laborers and capitalists are identical, that every man has an op-portunity to become a capitalist and if he does not he alone is to blame, that the present system and laws are sa-cred and must be retained at all haz-ards, that workers should be meek and content with their lot and look to the future world for reward for present suffering, that the laborers are im-potent to help themselves—all benefits must coine from the class above, etc., etc. As the capitalist class control the means of information—the press, plat-form, and often the pulpit—It can bring these false conceptions to bear upon the working class and thus keep them in subjection.

bly adapted to deceive the worker. He being paid in money, does not appre-hend the manner in which he is wronged. He takes his wages, think ing it to represent the full value of his toll, when, in reality, it is far short of the value he has created. The wage system blinds him to the fact of ex-ploitation. Of course, if he were con-scious of the fact he could not help himself under the present system, for the means of production being mon-opolized, he must submit to this injustice or starve. But one thing a knowledge of the evil would do: it class to which he belongs, and unite his efforts with other class conscion

xploitation—the capitalist system, Ever since the dawn of private property in the means of production, so-ciety has been made up of classes, known at different epochs under vari-ous titles—masters and slaves, feudal ous titles—masters and slaves, remain lords and vassals, capitalists and proletarians-and a struggle is everywhere manifest between these classes of di-

The class struggle is a corrollary o winian law explains organic evolution so the Marxian law explains social evolution. The struggle between classes, re-enacts, on the human plane, the drama of the struggle between species. It is the last form of this struggle that we are interested in tospecies. It is the last form of this struggle that we are interested in to-day. The proletariat, as we have seep, is in a condition of dependence. If it is in a condition of dependence. If it becomes emancipated it must become supreme, and its supremacy can only be accomplished by a struggle. This struggle for mastery is necessarily a class struggle, a struggle between the struggle for mas

proprietary and non-proprietary classes. The subjection of the working class, being due to the fact that the instruments of production are the private property of another class, makes the interests of these two classes antagonistic and a class struggle in evitable. The fact of this class struggle need not be argued; it is evident, on every hand, by the class legislation. every hand, by the class legislation, and the strikes, boycotts, and lock-outs which are matters of daily oc

The class struggle is the necessary outcome of class distinctions which in volve class interests. The upholdin of class interests naturally leads t

class opposition and a class struggle.

We canont expect those who are enjoying special privileges to willingly relinquish their advantages. It is but natural that they should strive to maintain a system that enables them to live in luxurious idleness off the labors of others. There is not an in-stance in history where a social class has, against-its own real interests and out of altruistic motives, made any es-sential concessions. To suppose that through sympathy or altruism, or interest in the welfare of the whole, th capitalist class will freely divest itsel of its class privileges, is to postulate greater wonders than are contained in the lengends of the past. Individuals have done this, but not a whole class. Thus a class struggle is inevitable be tween these two classes of opposite economic interests. We must never lose sight of the

class character of the movement. This does not mean, however, that members of other classes will not be welcome, but only that those who come should recognize the character of the movement and lend their efforts to furthering the cause, instead of, consciously or unconsciously, endeavoring to side-track the movement by efforts to introduce into its program any middle class, reactionary measures. The Socialist movement, being based upor the class struggle, leaves room for no

Although the Socialist movement is based upon the class struggle, the triumph of the proletarian class means the abolition of all classes. The rea eon why previous revolutions resulted in the continuance of class dominance is due to the failure to abolish class ownership in the instruments of production. But the proletariat suprem acy will result in the abolition of all dependence, because the tools of pro-duction are now social and the working class cannot emancipate itself ex cept by socializing these instruments. When these instruments are owned collectively the cause of dependence and servitude will be abolished. The abolition of private or corporate own ership means the abolition of all class rule and all class distinctions.

The new order, then, is not merely an exchange of ruling classes, a so icety in which the relative positions of the two classes have been reversed but rather a condition where classes themselves will become extinct; where the interests of one will become identical with the interests of all, and where the interests of all will be united in the social interests.

The class struggle will result in the supremacy of the working class, but when this class is exalted to power it will soon lose its present class charac teristics. Out of the changed conditions a new type will arise differing from all preceding types, inasmuch as these are dominated by class conditions. Individual character is largely the child of social relations and con ditions; consequently, the proletariat must necessarily bear the mark of its environment. The establishment of healthy social conditions will at once reveal itself in human conduct and

character. Thus while as militant our cause entified with class, as triumphant it is identified with humanity. The class struggle, then, is but a means to an end—the abolition of social distinc-tions by abolishing class ownership of the means of production and distribution, Under Socialism all will be will be a realization on earth.

THIS MAD WORLD.

To the scientific mind the world appears as a large insane asylum. In it we have a great tolling mass, some the bowels of the earth, others on surface of the earth, producing wealth and luxury-and having fashio ture into useful form, handing over to a small class the whole result of the collective effort, being content to take as their share about one-third in the produced by them; when this toiling mass produces too much food it starves; too much clothing it goes. it has nowhere to lay its head. great famine in the midst of plenty! The small idle class riot in luxury, and revel in pleasure all the while. A mad world, my masters! A mad world!

Yea; it can all be changed. This mad industrial inferno can be made to mad industrial inferno can be made to blossom into a Garden of Eden when mankind awakens to a desire to live a decent wholesome life. But the class who own the means whereby this change is to be effected will first have to be dispossessed of them—the land and instruments of production, trans-formed from class to collective ownership. That's the only way to find security from working class poverty, misery and degradation. Think!—Syd-ney People, Australia.

-Vandervelde's "Collectivism and —Vandervelde's "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution" is a book full of facts and thoughtful argument that well repays careful study. You can get it free as a premium for five yearly subscriptions to The Worker (two half-yearlies counting as one yearly) and do good propaganda werk in setting them. CONVENTION.

Further Account of Its

Majority of Delegates Were Americans - Almost All Workingmen - Large Proportion of Trade Unionists -Report of Committee on State and Municipal Platform.

Thirty-six states and territories were epresented in the national convention by 183 delegates, among them belog seven women (from six different states). A number of alternates were present, who for a time took the place of absent delegates.

All delegates in attendance did no fill out blanks on back part of duplicate credentials, but by those filled out the following facts are shown: The oldest delegate was 70 years of

age, and the youngest 20 years; there were two of the latter age. The average age was between 30 and 40. One hundred and twenty were na tives of the United States, Foreign

countries were represented as follows: Austria, 4; Canada, 9; Denmark, 1; England, 7; France, 1; Germany, 19; Ireland, 2; Italy, 1; Norway, 2; Russia, 5; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 2; total

The occupations were: Architect, 1 bookkeepers, 4; brewery workers, 1; butcher, 1; cabinet maker, 1; carpen-ters, 5; cigarmakers, 6; clerks, 3; confectioner, 1; cooper, 1; clergyman, 1; contractors, 3; dentist, 1; ed.tors, 2); engineer, 1; electrical engineer, 1; farmers, 5; foundryman, 1; grocery-man, 1; hatter, 1; hotel keeper, 1; fron and steel worker, 1; jeweler, 1; jour-nalist and writers, 4; jaultor, 1; knit-ter, 1; lecturers, 7; lawyers, 15; mer-chants, 4; molders, 3; machinists, 4; mail carries, 1; music teacher, 1 miner, 1; manufacturer, 1; merchan allor, 1; news agent, 1; organizers and egitators, 5; physicians and surgeons ; porter, 1; printers, 16; paperhanger, ; painters and decorators, 2; pharma-ist, 1; proof reader, 1; piumber, 1; pat ternmaker, T; real estate agent, 1 store manager, 1; salesmen, 4; stu dents, 3; sawmill operator, 1; staye workers, 3; stone mason, 1; silk weaver, 1; stenographer, 1; sheet iron worker, 1; teachers, i; telegrapher, 1; tinner, 1; waiters, 3; woodworkers, 2; watchmaker, 1; watch repairer, 1. Seventy-eight delegates were mem-

ers of trade unions. The Quorum of the Socialist Party met in Chicago before the convention, and the Woman's National Socialis Union held its convention here also

shortly before the party convention. The "Appeal to Reason" published a daily edition, regular size, in Chicago during the convention, illustrated with sketches of the delegates. This daily enabled the Socialist weekly press throughout the country to give more prompt and complete reports of the onvention than would otherwise have

The various committees elected by the convention were composed as fol-

Committee on Platform: Eugene V Debs, Indiana; George D. Herron, New York; Ben Hanford, New York; William Mailly, Nebraska: Herman F Titus, Washington; G. H. Strobell, New Jersey; Thomas E. Will, Kansas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; M. W. Wilkins, California.

Committee on Resolutions: Spargo New York; Klein, Minnesota; Bur-rowes, New York; Lee, New York; O'Neil, Indiana; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Colorado; Heydrick, Pennsylvania Spence, Washington; Reynolds, Indi-

Trade Union Committee: Carey of Massachuetts, Hayes of Ohlo, Miller of Colorado, Hoehn of Missouri, Col-lins of Illinois, Nagle of Oblo, Kruger of Wisconsin, White of Massachusetts,

Committee on Constitution: Hillquit of New York, Barnes of Pennsylvania, Butscher of New York, Bandlow of Ohio, Slobodin of New York, Stark of

of Kansas, Richardson of California. Committee on State and Municipa Program: Untermanu, Illinois; Float en, Colorado; Gaylord, Wisconsin Steadman, Illinois; Kraybill, Kansas Atkinson, New York; Kelly, Massachu

Setts. Ways and Means Committee: Cobb California; Stockell, Tennessee; Lamb Michigan; Miller, Colorado; Rubinow New Jersey: Lund, Washington: Ke rigan, Texas; Ammon, Wisc

rigan, Texas; Allinon, Wilconse, Hirt, Montann. Committee on Press: Simons, Illi-nois; Jonas, New York; Walsh, Mon-tana; Strobell, New Jersey; Robinson,

York: Carrie L. Johnson, Iowa: Palmer, Missouri; Outram, Massachy

James Carey was chalrman on the first day, Morris Hillquit on the sec-ond, Richardson of California on the third, Frank Sleverman on the fourth, and William Mailly on the fifth day. The following report of the Press committee was unanimously adopted: "We would recommend for the con-

we would recommend for the con-sideration of the convention the propo-sition of establishing a bureau under the control of the national office of the Socialist Party for the purpose of fur-nishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational charac-ter, treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tac-

large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but either because of lack of editorial or financial ability are not able to secure the same. In many places, also, Socialists are already considering the destrability of establishing weekly pa-

pers, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways, either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under So-cialist control it will reduce the expense of publication."

In addition to the resolutions pub lished in The Worker last week the following resolution in regard to the Daily Call was adopted:

Daily Call was adopted:

"Whereas, Daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and "Whereas, The Socialists of New

York announce that they will begin the publication Sept. 1 of the New York Daily Call, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class. "Resolved, That we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention, as-sembled at Chicago, May 1, 1994, do

hereby cordially indorse the project to establish the New York Daily Call and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New Yorl comrades having the enterprise in

A cablegram of congratulation to the convention was received from the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and reply sent.

Ernest Untermann was elected dele gate to the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam and the National Committee was authorized to give credentials up to the number of twenty to suitable comrades who wished to go and would pay their own expenses. Merris Hillquit, Herman Schlüter, and Charles Kiehn were elected delegates at the convention on this basis.

The warmest debates of the conven-tion were over the trade union resolu-tion and the question of immediate demands, or state and municipal pro-gram—the "impossibilists" in the con-vention causing quite a furore on these subjects.

George D. Herron made the nominating speech for Eugene-V. Debs as candidate for President, and James Carey made the seconding speech. Ben Hanford was nominated for Vice-President by Herman F. Titus of the Scattle "Socialist," which was seconded by Berger of Wisconsin, Hillquit of New York and others. Both nominations vere unanimous and created great en-

Hanford's Acceptance.

In accepting the nomination for Vice-President, Ben Hanford spoke as

ollows:
"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many oth er comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other stand-point than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time.

"In relation to myself I do not know

that there is much I can say more than

this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that when-ever the party told me to do something. I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I ever do for it. I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in mat ters of right or wrong. I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about ninetee As a man in my trace about misceen years ago there came in what we call the linotypetypesetting machine. They put one of them in a printing office, and one man got a job operating it, and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there before this machine was brought in. before this machine was brought in Well, strange as it may seem, just ment. (Laughter.) And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victom of any enforced idleness, in-stead of going to the gin mill and waste my time as others among the workingmen had done, instead of be-coming despondent, I occupied all my time seading a book or a paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to oth-er people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.)

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsyl-yania, while the coal strike was going on there, and I spoke three or four on there, and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it need-ed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men, or 5,000 men, or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other

SOCIALISM IN ALBANY.

An Appeal to Working Class Voters.

Leaflet Issued By Social Democratic Party of the Capitol City Tells Work ingmen the Cause of Their Troubles and the Way Out.

Local Albany of the Social Demo eratic Party is making good progress cratte Party is making good progress and proposes to carry on a very cher-getic campaign for the party of the working class all through this summer and fall. The Local has issued the fol-lowing address "To the Workingmen of Albany," which will be widely cir-"You are no doubt aware that things

are not as they should be in this or any other country. The trouble is variously expressed by persons with different points of view. Some say truly that the money power has so concentrated its forces and bedged itself about with laws of its own con triving that the liberties of the people are endangered and the masses are completely at the mercy of the "trusts," both as consumers and producers. Others say just as truly that there is a struggle on between capital and labor which must be settled some time, and that capital has the upper hands in the fight, and that no matter which way labor may turn the capi-talist has a gate up and demands toll. That is, if the wage-worker can enforce their demands for higher wages they are met by higher prices for their product. (Note our last two great coal strikes and the prices of coal before and after.)

"But in addition to the above evils which are so evident that no man can fall to see, there are others which are so insidious and have been creeping on us so gradually and for so long a time that workingmen have become so accustomed to them as to think that they must always put up with them, i. e., grin and bear it. Of this nature is the following: We are taught in the schools and the newspapers (otherwise we would never find it out) that this is a free country. Now a person with no experience on earth whatever and with just enough brains to keep out of the fire would say that unless a man could use his labor, HIS ONLY MEANS OF GETTING A LIVING FOR HIS FAMILY AND HIMSELF, when he wished, the country was not a free country, and that the man was a slave. You probably have been out of work and have been obliged to go and ask some capitalist for a chance to earn your living. There are those who ask in vain for many times. The United States Census for 1900, taken during the sizzling white-heat of pros perity, showed over one million per-

sons out of regular employment. These

people could work if they could get at the machinery of production. Are they free when they cannot do so? "Furthermore, since the introduction of machinery the amount of value cre-ated by the laborer has constantly increased, while his increase of wages, if there has been any increase, is very insignificant, and is more than offset by the uncertainty of his livelihood. He now creates in no ordinary case less than twice the amount of that he gets back in wages. The dif-ference between what you get in wages and the amount of value that you have created goes into the pockets of the rich in the shape of rent, inter-est, and profits, to be used for various purposes. Some of it is used to buy foreign titles for American heirs and heiresses. Some is used for summer homes in the cool mountains and winter homes in sunny Florida. Even the pet poodles of the rich sleep on soft rugs and chew porterhouse steak with gold-filled teeth, while the children of the poor are starving. Now if you have a sense of justice towards yourself and

see things changed. "We write you this letter to tell you of Socialism and the Socialist Party. We are workingmen like yourself and want to better our condition and yours, too, therefore we ask you to or Social Democratic Party, as it is obliged to call itself in New York state, has for its purpose the capture of the government through the ballot and the placing of all industries under common ownership. The advantages of this are evident, such as our cer-tainty of being employed and getting all the value that we create, but it has been so persistently and covertly mis-represented and argued against by all the Republican and Democratic newspapers that people have come to look upon Socialism as a good thing, but impracticable, therefor careful consideration. Now most of their arguments take the following form: They say that we have some industries under common ownership now, such as the postoffice, and that private corporations in doing business with the government officials resort to bribery and corruption, and that they are successful in corrupting every be, Note what they say—that PRI-VATE CORPORATIONS corrupt gov-ernment officials. Now they claim that when all industry is under common wnership that the corruption will be more than ever. They fall to tell you that when we have the Co-operative Commonwealth there will be NO PRIVATE CORPORATIONS TO DO THE DIRTY WORK. Private interests are the only ones that can have any mo-tive in bribery or corruption as you will readily see, and when private in-terests cease the results will cease.

"Now, fellow workers, we have in this short space been able to answer only one objection to Socialism, and to give you but a faint-outline of our pur-pose. You may think it will be some-time before you would get any good

THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES.

A Brief Account of Our Standard Bearers.

didate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a rail-way employee in the Vandalia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for sev-eral years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877, and three years afterwards he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning it in 1893 to organize the American Rallway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great or

ranization Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of housands of workers from St. Pau! to the Pacific coast were saved from re-duction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new

ower to grapple with. In May, 1804, the famous Pullman ttlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was de-clared against the Pullman cars, to take effect July I. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and try extending from Chicago west and south to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and issociates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in Sep-tember, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Debs to six months' imprisonment and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprison ment in Woodstock Jail began. The term expired on November 22, 1895. and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city

Debs and his associates were also indicted and placed on trial for con-spiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly when the defense began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjourn ment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defend-ants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law-breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said "The issue is Socialism vs. Capital ism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change." When the A. R. U. met in nationa

onvention in Chicago, in June, 1897 that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The followinf year (1898) the

from voting for your own interests and

for the Socialist Party, BUT IT WILL BE A MUCH LONGER TIME, and

you are probably coming to consider it

THING FROM THE HANDS OF

You will probably receive more read-

ing matter from the local organization

n Albany. As it deals with important

questions we ask you as a fellow worker to read it carefully, and pass

it on to some one else. And we ask you, if not for your own sake, then for the sake of your children and the chil-

dren of others, to investigate the con

dition of your class until you come to

some conclusion and take some action besides giving your vote to a set of politicians whom YOU KNOW to be

nothing but a set of grafters. Vote for

your own interests and for a party of

To-day the Socialist organizations thich devote themselves to the eleva-

tion of the masses, to the spreading of

moral and political enlightenment, to the cultivation of science, literature,

music, and other forms of intellectual

refinement, are legion. To-day, it is a

principle adopted by the rank and file

as well as by the leaders of the party, that the only way to combat success-

fully the ruling system of militarism and officialism is the peaceful revolu-tionizing of minds.—Kuno Francke, in

Modern German Culture.

Socialism has quickened the intel-

lect of the worker, and has first en lect of the worker, and has first en-abled him to think, however faultily, on political and economic topics. It has, by organizing thousands of social

clubs, given these whilom dull and tor-pid masses a genuine taste for and ap-preciation of purely esthetic pleasure,

ouch as music, singing, theatrical per-formances, concerts, and above all, looks. The Socialists in Germany

have done what the government had left undone, viz., founded thousands of

workingmen's libraries. The Socialist

AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party can-lidate for President, was born in Ferre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a rail-way employee in the Vandalia railthe Social Democratic Fait, was afterwards merged with the larger part of the split Socialist Labor Party,

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into what is now the Socialist Party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has every state during his travels and car-ried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.

Ben Hanford of New York, candidate for Vice-President on the So-cialist Party ticket has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a fitting companion to the Presidential

candidate, Eugene V. Debs.
Hanford has been a Socialist more
than ten years and a trade unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, O., 46 years ago, but be gan life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterwards went to Chicago, where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every large city East of Missouri. Hanford became a Socialist in Phila-

delphia, and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trade unionist, but threw, himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him. Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a can-didate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the So-cialist Labor Party for governor of, New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagree-ment with its policy, he joined the So-cial Democratic Party (which is the official name of the Socialist Party in New York state), and in 1900 and 1902

was its candidate for Governor.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Railroading in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His articles in The Worker have attracted widesprend attention. His portrayal of "The Jimmie Higginses" penled to all Socialists and has fur-nished a name now universally used for that type of faithful workers in the

rank and file of the Socialist army. Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in to clothe his thoughts and rectings, so that no hearer can fail to under-stand.

More than this, he is a workingman, a class-conscious workingman, in every fiber of his being-living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings. full of its growing hope and self-reli-ance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are the same what is conventionally called what is conventionally called cost." Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sin-cere and unmistakable language of his

FROM RUSSIAN TZAR TO COLORADO TZAR. It is said that Governor Peabody of Colorado is in receipt of the following autograph letter from the Tzar of Rus-

St. Petersburg, April 6, 1904.

St. Petersong, April 9, 1801.
To His Excellency, the Governor of the Province of Colorado:
Dear Sir:—Press dispatches from America have made it plain to me that you are having a great deal of trouble with the subjects of your province, particularly in the mines. While the press dispatches do not make it clear whether or not these mines are work-ed by convicts, I assume from the presence of the military that they are

Permit me to say to your excellency, ation to deal with in the convict m of Siberia, and the same opposition to pressive measures-absolutely essenial to the maintenance of discitial to the maintenance of discipline-as you appear to be encountering from the misguided populace of your own province, aided and abetted by the fanatical philanthropists in other parts of the United States.

Therefore, your excellency should not become disheartened at the storm of indignation which is apparently sweeping over your country in regard to your determination to unhold the rights of the military branch of your government and to suppress, in a stern and unyielding manner, all tokens of dissatisfaction on the part of the canaille.

Permit me to extend to your excellency my sincerest congratulations that you have thus far been able to who do not understand the justice of those who, like ourselves, are forced to adopt measures which, though they may work a hardship on the insignifi-cant masses of our subjects, are designed to benefit the few of aristicratic

Trusting that Your Excellency my speedily put an end to the revolu-against your reign, I am, Yours respectfully, NICHOLAS, Tar of All the Russian,

Miners' Magazine

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

Socialist Party (the Social Democratic of New York) has passed through it degeneral election. Its growing power dicated and its speedy victory forward by the great increase of its vote own to these figures:

WHAT THE WORKING CLASS MUST MEET.

A typical illustration of the capital istle control of education was the speech of Mr. A. C. Bartlett, a Chieago capitalist and donor of the University of Chicago gymnasium, delivered last week before an audience of teachers of pedagogy at the University of Chicago, Mr. Bartlett addressed the departmental conference of the school of education as a representative of the Commercial Club, which founded the Chicago Manual Training School.

Among other similar remarks on the labor question he spoke of trade uniontem as follows:

"I hope no graduate of this Univer of Chicago Manual Training ol ever will lift his voice to advo cate the limiting of the number of men who shall learn a trade; that noner will support unconstitutional au-prities who dictate when and for whom American citizens shall work. pubold the doctrine that a mechanic shall not be allowed to work-however skilled he may be and however much his services may be demanded-unless can show a particular form of

This direct attack upon trade unionism by a member of the capitalist class, which denies the world the right work at all except for their own wofit, is only an example of the way to which technical schools, colleges, the views of capitalism and give the Mulent a mental attitude which blinds to the truth and conceals the incrests of his class-if he be of the working class.

Capitalists favor manual training especially because it furnishes them with a mass of competing workmen they favor technical schools especially because those institutions fit more n for work in lines in which labo is not so pelutiful and thus tend to reduce wages in skilled trades and occupations. So capitalist "philanthropists" instinctively support this side of edu cation, because they approve of its re sults, while dodging taxes which old go to pay the expenses of more distinctly mental education in the public schools.

The effect of the capitalist control o the colleges, through endowments an contributions has been repeatedly shown, not only in the public ex pression and private teaching of capi talist ruling class opinions by their professorial prostitutes, but by the repeated service of students as strike eakers. Students at Yale took th places of striking teamsters in their college city "for fun;" students at Columbia took the places of striking ma chinists and engineers in order to gain technical knowledge-these and other instances are eloquent of the state

Capital has its slimy tentacle nd the state house, the colleges and the church. Capital controls the s, manipulates every pretende own charitable institutions and "nhilanthropies" as direct weapons against the working class.

able institutions, of the Y. M. C. A., of the Salvation Army, of working women's aid societies, and of other institutions which are suposed to benevolently maintained for the benefit of the work ers are used again and again to sup ply scabs in time of strike.

The lesson the working class must learn is that every institution, every organization, every social force not springing directly and consciously from the working class itself is bound to be an enemy of Labor because a support of the present industrial system under which the workers are fleeced of their product and robbed and crushed.

Labor must learn the lesson of selfreliance. Labor must learn that all the ideas and principles which are voiced by the press and by the so-called "better classes" are so many shams to de ceive the working class and keep it enchained. Labor can make no real progress until it realizes that the whole organized forces of present society are against it and must be overcome. Labor must learn to distrust all the dignified public men who give it so much advice, to know that they are nothing but hypocritical fakirs and glorified grafters. Labor must learn to distrust and suspicion absolutely everything that emanates from the "upper class," must learn to despise the press of the capitalist, and the politician of the capitalist and the lawyers and judges and governing officials of the ruling

The working class must learn to do its own thinking, to build up its own press and Socialist Party, and to view everything in a manner absolutely opposite to the teachings of the press and the politicians and the "eminent citizens" and "friends of labor."

Labor has no "friends" but Labor itself-and needs none if it will but awaken. In order to free themselves from capitalist exploitation workingmen must free their minds from the capitalist control which now so subtly and completely enthralls the minds of the most of men. The working class must learn to respect itself and rely on itself and must lose all respect for or faith in the employing class and its

Mr. W. R. Hearst is clamoring for the laboring man to go into politics. We can inform him that a quarter of a million workingmen are already in politics under the banner of the Socialist Party and more to come next fall. Not long ago Mr. Hearst's papers in a frantic appeal for the working class to go into politics-for Mr. Hedrstenumerated the imposing number of "labor" representatives in the parliaments of Europe; but he was very careful not to mention the fact that all these representatives are Socialists belonging to the same international movement which he alterantely igmores and misrepresents in this coun

FOR THE MODERN

SOCIAL DRAMA. Editor of The Worker:-It has been decided among some literary people to set on foot a movement the object of which will be to produce, on Sunday afternoons, plays of modern tendencies, as well as classical dramas, before an audience consisting mainly of the in-telligent and progressive proletariat, similar to the movements existing in Europe, and flourishing especially in Germany. In this latter country this movement has resulted in cultivating among the masses a high appreciation dramatists and their works.

By carrying to the masses the beau ties that lie latent in the treasuries of dramatic art an enlightenment and education will be conferred upon the working people overshadowing immensely any other effort from above to "educate the poor."

A distinguishing feature of this tirely free from commercialism, that themselves, and we do not appeal to the philanthropically inclined to en down national theatre with the mone

masses dwell in ignorance and that, in this country especially, there is a complete lack of appreciation of art. This condition is inevitable, as the country could not have produced any different results owing to its comaditions are now favorable to the to literary men and women to partici-pate in the launching of this mighty

All details have clearly been decided upon, and it remains now to gather around us a sufficient number of men and women who will lend their moral

support to the movement. organization will kindly send their name and address to the undersigned and as soon as an adequate number of addresses have been obtained, further notice will be given of a public con-ference which will be held for the purpose of giving additional informational submitting a plan which has st cessfully been followed in Europe.

JULIUS HOPP,

203 East 114th Street, New York City.

FROM THE ITALIAN.

This asylum was built by a kind mer chant prince, he's filled it with paupers be made ever since.
—Memnoa, in the Whim.

—"All dat some men gits out of an education," said Uncie Eben, "is de ability to talk foolishness grammati-ca'ty."—Washington Star.

DEBS AND HANFORD: THE LAW HAS NO CHOICE.

By Horace Traubel.

I have listened till you are done. I | ate instrument of my decision. And have heard all that you have had to say against Debs and against Hanford. I understand you. I understand your opposition. I understand your fears. I know why your fiesh-creeps when I spell their names. I admit a good deal. I admit that they are dangerous syllables. That they spei strange things that they do not spell strange things that they do not spell. That all that Debs means is not compassed in the orthography of his name That Hanford's verbal fixtures may not be worth much, but that his spirit ual good will is a great fortune. I see easily enough why you shudder. It is true that these men do not mean the things you think they mean. But they mean fateful things. They comloaded with ominous precept and per-emptory practice. Wars are insignifi-cant in the scale as weighed against the message they deliver. They com conserving an impetus more powerful than war. They come with the power to prevent war. So you see I am willing to concede the gravity of their debut. But I hurry forward to wel-come what you hurry backward to avoid. What is the significance of my advance? What is the significance of

You say that you see only two mo tal men nominated for office. That you see a platform built for these men to stand on. If that was all there was to it you would not need to worry. The contingency would not be threatening. But you instinctively divine what you cannot consciously interpret. Debs is all right. Hanford is nil

your retreat?

They are cast for big returns Taste the sap of the tree. Smell the leaf of the rose. Mix the odor of apfying flowers. That is the way to get acquainted with Debs. With Hanford They come bidding for the prizes of love. Do not doubt them. But after you have entered up all just credits to their accounts go back to your soul and ask yourself where the rest of the

credits belong.

For after all Debs and Hanford are not candidates. A lot of men collected together at Chicago. They went through the routine of passing a platform and nominating candidates for office. Yet these candidates and this pltaform were only symptoms. The superficial evidence. A taking account of stock rather than the creation of wealth. It was not really any particular man or men who went to Chicago. It was a law that went to Chicago and asserted itself. A law of his toric life. That law is this moment running for office. Hanford and Debs stand aside. The law is recognized. That is why Debs and Hanford are dangerous. They are not in them-selves the start or finish of anything They are incidents in the fulfillmen of a law. You could avoid Debs. You could dodge or down Hanford. But the law imposes an inexorable decree. What the law says is the only say. You can stop the mouth of the man who tells you about the tempest. But you cannot stop the tempest. The his-torian may be bribed or gagged. But events will proceed. I am never over awed by the personal appeal. The nat-ural laws awe me. Here is the law made manifest. Manifest in Debs and Hanford. You can defeat the ticket

Lut you cannot defeat the law.

The process will be bitter. But the result will be sweet. You will have to take Dels and Hanford not only for all they are but for all that they mean. You have got to take the whole dose. Not necessarily at the ballot box this year or next year. But sometime, Somehow, Somewhere, For they came to fufill the law. And the law will be fulfilled. Whatever stands in the way the law will be fulfilled. Let years stand in the way. Let money stand in the way. Let the laggard men stand in the way. The law will be fulfilled. The time has come for the celebration of the settlement of the larger new world. The new world that Columbus discovered was only a continent of land and water. But the new world of this more impressive discov-ery is a continent of souls. Debs. happened to be around and the inw said not be. But the law has no choice. to Debs: I choose you as the immediate beautiful law has no choice.

Hanford happened to be around and the law said to Hanford: I choose you, too. And so we have Debs and Hanford. Not chosen for arrogant ad-ministration. Chosen for bumble service. Any one else might have been standing round and been chosen. You, for instance, whoever you are. But the job was given to these men. the law for a few days will be spelled in their names. They will letter and tell the law. They will tally its spirit. We will love the men. But we will remember the law. We will drink from the cup they put to our lips. But we will remember the spring from which the water was drawn. We will shake of the law. If Debs and Hanford were only Debs and Hanford we would not rest easy on our beds. But they are And we know the law will remain the law whatever becomes of single men. The nen may go into pawn. They may be blown up by a poller. They may go to war and be killed. But the law survives all disas-ter. We are the asserters of a law. We do not enact it. We fulfill it. We enforce it. Debs is a key for the lock But he is not the lock. And any man may any time be that key. And no man can refuse to be the key. And no man can make himself that key. He can only wait and serve. Just as Debs has long waited and always served. Just as Hanford has waited patiently and heroically served. A man said to me yesterday: Debs is a menace. And I answered: He is. A man said to another man: We will get rid of Debs. And the other man answered: But you will not in that way get rid of the menace. You can-not repeal the law by repealing Debs. Debs is a significant fact in himself

But he is more significant fact as the exposition of a law. Do you imagine that the Chicago convention was reached by the railroad and the candidates were chosen by votes? That would be a false supposition. The convention was reached by law and the candidates were chosen by law. You think that Chicago had something ex-tra particular to do with the convention. Chicago could just as well have been any other place in the latitude that I am giving rather accidental significance to Debs and Hanford? Not a bit of it. The personal significance would be the accident. Nothing is less like accident than the backgrounds I attribute to the convention. You suspect that I am trying to rob two good men of their genius? Not a bit of it. I, too, honer the good men. I, too, admit their genius. But the best man could do nothing without the virtue of the law. The greatest genius could do nothing without the intelligence of the law. Indeed, what is goodand genius? The best man, the brightest man, is the man who lives closest to the law. Debs lives very close to the law. Hanford lives very close to the law. They warm their winters next the law. They cool their tropic rigors against the law. That is why they are dangerous men to the law less. That is why they are safe men to those who observe the law. That is why the Chicago convention is a serious fact. It knew enough to toast its toes at the hearthstone. It did not wander away from the law. It stayed right home with the law. You make a big fuss about your orthodoxies. Let me tell you that there are no ortho-doxies. There is one orthodoxy. Only one. Social justice. That is the only orthodoxy, There are not many laws. There is one law. Only one. Debs has known enough to get well ac-quainted with that law. To get on its soft side. Hanford spends every day he lives with that law. The laws have no use for him. He has no use for the laws. But the law is his bosom friend.

THE FREEING OF LIFE

IN THE SQCIAL STATE. Nor is it true that when the social state, through association and co-oper-ation, reduces the bread-and-butter problem to a minimum, to its proper place, it will rob a man of wholesome initiative and enterprise. The same argument might have been used against the suppression of the robber barons of the Middle Ages, or the Al-gerian pirates in the early days of the gerian branes in the entry days of the republic. The social state is not in entity outside the hearts of men, al-ternately coaxing and browbeating them. It is an expression of so much of the individual will as is common to all or to a majority of the commun prise, but rather that they had pre ferred to spend their initiative and en-terprise in better and more social ways than by exploiting their neigh-bors, preferred to spend this force in the more interesting and delightful octhe more interesting and delightful oc-cupation of perfecting the self and realizing some of the magnificent pos-sibilities of the present moment. To give over the quest of profit and the Shylock view of life generally is not to give over initiative and enterprise. The experimentalists have given over profit, but I have painted them ill if I have not shown them to be a more design an inclusions band of silven. golden fleece. Every increase in strength, in beauty, in accomplish-ment, in goodness, brought about by the betterment of the life conditions through the amelioration and idealiz-ing of daily toil, means increased powing of daily toil, means increased pow-er to use this lengthening leisure to advantage. One need not make per-sonal trial of the shop-keeping and bookkeeping and time-keeping and the various other forms of holding tight by which men waste and lose their lives, to see that on the very face of it such occupations are infinitely less

ion and music, love and comradeship, field and forest, sunshine and fresh air, even than swimming and boat racing and tennis. The old remark that a man can be doing worse things than nasty disposition of the august possi-bilities of a hūman life. When we realize the social state and so reduce the bread-and-butter toll to a minimum, we shall have time for this more moral and esthetic side of occupation. There is infinite opportunity for initiative and enterprise in the use of leisure The carpentry of Jesus undo served him and that number of per sons who received of his good handlwork, but the beautiful ministry of his life came from his industrial leisure. The fishing of his disciples was cer tainly useful, but their world-service flowed out of the time they stole from of that of all the subsequent commer cial enterprise of their fellow country men. It is out of the serenity and non-compulsion of industrial leisure that the great and good things of life We are great cowards if we believe that the masses of our peo ple, kept in health by a wholesome amount of daily toil, and once more erect and alert with self-respect, are going to squander a leisure to which son, in Education and the Larger Life

The law makes him its confidant

Laws may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. Debs may be or may not be. But the law has no

choice, Hanford may be or may not be. The Chicago convention, The platform. Such things may be or may

letters, investigation and travel, relig-

TYRANNY BREZDS REBELS.

They take us, metal pliant to their will,

less lie.
Then, blow on blow their hammers
full, until
Grown cold with pain we utter not one cry, But finer grow and stronger. Un-

aware blacksmiths forge their own steel fetters there. —Ethelya Bryant Chapman

THE STORY OF A SURVIVOR OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

Sitting on the old fence which separates New Jersey from New York, I have become to myself an astonished

uestioner. Is it true that I have survived Chiengo" Is it, is it really true? And I pinch myself again. The evidences of personal identity repeat themselves. I am here, verily; therefore I suppose I have survived. Away infernal metaphysics with your long sharp pointed possibilities! I tell you I have my own very self paddled a blind canoe through that maelstrom of seething delegates, all bolling hot; I have gone along those uncertain shores of Erebus. One time in the rapids I broke my oar and could not tell the original motion from my grandmother or any-thing else, but I still kept on resolute-ly, wondering what had become of it in the loud discursive distance and looking over the gunwale or abaft the binnacle for the nearest surviving rela-tive to that dear original motion whose infant wail may have been heard somewhere as it sunk beneath a

I simply wanted to know where I was at during the convention. Nobody knew how hopelessly I was nowhere all that time save my inner self. But I looked cute and wise so that other fellows took courage and refuge in si-lence, until we all struck a rock togethcr, and then my lips were unsealed and I said darkly: "Just as I expected." And we all felt relieved to think that somebody expected something, and that we had really got out of the first bewilderment.

I am still nodding on the fence beveen New Jersey and New York, and shall continue so to nod for many a day; so short were the nights and so long, many and generous the glorious days of the Chicago convention, brim-ful of vigorous youthful effort and mature achievement

I am going down the rapids. It is the first day of the convention. The states are tables with cardboard names on them; the men are stranger for the most part, as yet unknown qualities. Then arises an Apollo figure, with one long arm sublimely stretched forth and the other in a fine frenzy rolling; the features are full of that alarming earnestness with which Michael Archangelus calls up the day of judgment, and the head is thatched flies around like a mop in the whirling hand of a housemaid. This orator holds a little book called Roberts in he explodes in a shrill voice: "Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order." It is Mr. Karks of Pansas, and he has given us the text for the convention. Seven thousand and eleven times, not counting innumerable pieces of it, in all the notes of wood, field, forest and convention was that sentence repeated for five days. But with relentless thud the chairman's mallet fell down day after day upon them like stock-yards butchery, and they were mostly

I know I am awake, though it is only a week since I was there, and I want a three month's sleep.

After we appointed our credentials

committee and did some preliminary things, I distinctly remember a huginvitation to a banquet. The invit invitation to a banquet. The invita-tion was indeed flamboyant and boun-tiful, the number of visitors immense, the crush most appetizing, the expecta-tion at a point above the top rim of the thermometer. And then I remember how we were all seated and what a fine display of mouths and good the feast. Some one beside me, who knew not the ways of the Chicago world, after we had sat at the table about an hour asked me what they were rattling their spoons for. And I could only remember the old Oliver Twist times, when poorhouse revolts began with the rumbling of this sort of spoon artillery and called Mr. Bumble to arms. I answered: If we were not at a banquet I would say they are

masterful fine old comrade, the reminscent Morgan, and put things so neatthing in the world to be sitting at a banquet with the banquet omitted. We cended. Aye and we ascended with them. Gloriously Hanford and Herek their octaves in ron and Debs stru I am awake, I know. Japan was on a chair near to me breaking English, and I broke bread with Debs, who was beside me. And opposite me, all smiling, sat that busiest of the prophets, Ionas: I saw him also everywhere

touch the story of those everflowing days. For what can I do but jump in and out among them, picking a grain here and there as the epicurean birds do off the great bounty around them I see a -fierce, white faced, quiv ering, very angry crowd of So-cialists—the "impossibilists." They are everywhere contending with us from the East. They are not crying Kangaroo, it is true, but in all other respects they so minded me of the style and sublime cockskureness of the men who followed DeLeon into the derness that I said: History com-etes itself. These men have missed pietes itself. These men have missed the wilderness express, but they are evidently going by the next train. 'Program" has only taken the name tie that ship they are boring within Socialism itself to scuttle a better ship. But she won't scut and they will scoot; so close the hatches, my level heads, and let the bores bore. And yet I like these Chicago ideal-

ists. They are immense workers; they-have a splendid faith in Socialism as an egg which the sun alone will hatch; they have a subline contempt for means to an end, and yet their labors means to an end, and yet their labors never end. You dear delightful im-possibilists. You poets of science. How does it happen that Utopin has stricken such does proot up in the black clouds of Chicago? Why are Marx and Engels turned upside down? They want no immediate demands, no program, no political activity. They

have made up their minds to dwell in baloon tents inflated with scientific gas; their battle field is to be cloudstars of hope, they will wait for the evolution and dissolution of capital-ism by solar incubation. And this all

takes place in Packington, that mos matter-of-fact among cities. How wonderful are the ways of compens tion; the ways of psychologic balanc-ing how much past finding out. I love them. Yet I wish the scleatific idealists and utopians had settled them-selves in the pork end rather than in the Socialist end of Chicago life. But while I follow my comrades to

the impossible cloudland where they have no platforms and no immediate demands, where they reve: upon prismatic banquets and the music of the spheres, the new chosen overtures to Socialism, I must not forget the convention itself.

How much there was of it, and how

little there is left of me to tell it all with! I am just sitting on the fence out here trying to soothe offended nature with fun physic for having imposed upon her a week of twenty-on-days and forty-two nights at the conin laudanum and the world was a bed chamber!

And that trade union resolution! Well, as we came to it I felt the rapids and the cringe of the rocks underneath me, and I heard the roat of the great fall which in another mo ment might declare itself two falls and another long period of divided party power. Then over I went in the foam and mist of angry and pleading eloquence, and when I looked up from below it was still one great torrent the party was wise and one on the im-portant relation of Socialism to the unions.

The sound of Mills' voice is like the opening of an organ dispason; form of Mills' body is like unto the of a giant who was caught in a Pullman sleeping car in a collision and telescoped down to one-fourth of his original dimensions. But he is all there and feels under the circumstances, as he stands upon a chair, that he needs

explanation And who that heard the many sainded oratress from Colorado forget her, the mother of smokeless conventions. Each speech of hers a spasm, a shriek, a cataclysm, and let me say a conviction and a contribu tion to the best work of the conve tion. Speed you well, good sister Smith. Spirits like yours are selden found in the frail form of woman. Words like yours are never forgotten. And this convention is memorable for its great noble Socialist women. But I must pass them all in silence, for they one and all demand so much and I am nodding and unequal to their When we got over the trade unlos

resolution I began to tremble again.
The hour of "immediate demands"
was at hand. All night long in the
lobby of the Hotel Revere I had heard the hammering out of gun barrels, the sharpening of swords, and the trailing of artillery on this question. Like the rise and fall of the sounds of distant storm I heard it coming and going up to 3 o'clock a. m. every day after the other battles were over. Just what was coming out of so much and so tierce and loud a coming who could tell! But we had agreed once tu-multuously, and you know anything done once may lead many things in a convention. The day of that storm came as all inevitable days do. And l have learned that sufficient to the day are the Socialists thereof, which does not mean, my near W, that I don't want any more of them.

I cannot tell you how many men jumped up when the first gun fired.

How many stood in attitudes of agon ized demand for the chairman's eve and how many in worful silence sat down. Some remained stretched out on their feet like dumb contortionists, waiting, desperately waiting, for recognition and denouncing the chair Then, when suddenly the chair saw rattling for more. Then, when suddenly the chair saw

At this point deftly stepped in that | them, they were so assonished at the unlooked for generosity that they merely looked around and became enall upon them the hour had come to his pound of flesh. which, through a long and weary pil-grimage, they had looked forward. Ah, ment, but the speech was gone. Flab-lergasted they looked out at the waiting faces, and shriveled into silence "Two and two make four," said they and down came the hammer. Anothe Demosthenes thus descends to an

mediate demands The immediate fearfully long and wonderfully and wonderfully long and like Delegate Mo many. They were like Delegate Mc Cue and Delegate Mills rolled into one They were the long and short of everything. The greatest idea of that convention was realized when the ex tremists of the possible and impossible schools began to view that document. You could see their faces elongate, paragraph after paragraph. There was limitless and 1904 had already begun to send forth its May blossoms, and November must come after and not be-fore the finishing of that document Not without powder and shot but with them and all the usual trimmings did the champions on both sides collapse. Impossibility won out, but not the im ssibilists. But it was a risky escape, leaving

wast amount of stored energy yet us used; and thence came the fearfu prospect of a breaking up of all that had been done; they began to rediscuss had been done; they began to rediscus things settled, to refer back to seriatir referendum. Those who reverence phrases and make a fetish of demo timists would be, of course, to return themselves seriatimly to the people who sent them to Chicago. But they preferred sending back unfinished the work they were sent to do; they were the impossibilists of the referendum. Fortunately again, the windy city, though it gave much wind to the torm sails, took no balance from the hold, and we weathered the roar, and the referendum once more escaped the hands of its admiring enemies. I am nodding on the fence in the

WHAT IS A WORKINGMAN?

By Wm. H. Leffingwell.

ers of the world, unite," some super cilious young counter-jumper or bookkeeper, working twelve hours a day for from \$7 to \$15 "per" is liable to turn up his nose and say: "Are you talking to me? I am not a common workingman." Then there is the other extreme. The "literary" gentleman the "professional" artist, architect, ac countant, who possibly receives \$25 to \$40 per week will also take it as an insult to be called a workingman But nevertheless, none of these gentlemen derive their income from their ownership of capital. They own none If you confront either with the que

"Are you a capitalist?" they po litely inform you that they are mem bers of the "middle class." This is misuse of the term. The term "mid dle glass," used in an economic sense, in this country, means "little capital-ist." These men are neither large nor small capitalists. They are working men, even though they do not happen be begrimed.

It is true the sort of work they do

is not of as primary importance to so-ciety as that done by the ordinary ma-chinist, blacksmith, wood worker, or aborer, but is it not a sad state of affairs which makes work respectable in proportion to its usefulness?

In the case of the counter-jumper

and the office man it is pure ignorance that keeps them from uniting with the workers. They are compelled to dress according to the dictates of fashion as far as they are able and their dress gives them an air of "respectability" that the dirty mechanic cannot as that the diriy mechanic cannot as-sume. The bookkeeper sees the boss occasionally and once in a while that worthy dignitary may deign to speak to him, always addressing his as "Mr." and, of course, this tends to remind him of the respectability of his position. But these little things are the millstones which hold this sort of workingmen down. The mechanic can unite with his fellows and DEMAND an increase of wages, a decrease of hours or better conditions, but "Mr." Bookkeeper must go to his boss singly and alone and tremblingly BEG at increase. The mechanic may marry, his sweetheart (and perhaps starve her, it is true) and his boss dare not say him nay. But "Mr." Bookkeeper's boss can say to him: "Unless you get a thousand dollars a year you cannot marry," and thereby compells "Mr." Bookkeeper to patronize the prostitutes, struggling meanwhile on his \$10 or \$12 a week, hoping and praying for

When the Socialist says: "Work- that happy day when he will get a

thousand.

But what of the artists, "literary" men," etc., of the so-called "middle class?" Are they not above the work-ing class? They get better salaries. They do not have the same hardsnips to bear as the common workingman. That is, they can live in comparative comfort on their earnings. But, being trained above the average and having more "culture" their desires and as-pirations are higher. And are they permitted to attain these aspirations? The artist is compelled to prostitute

his art by making advertising designs and all his aspirations to do great things must take a back seat while he makes glowing pictures of the ex-ploits of the "Gold Dust Twins." The "literary" gentleman must aban-don his desire to become another

Shakespeare before the brend and but-ter question, and devote his talents to descriptions of prize fights or the latest society scandal. The architect must hide his aspira.

tions to produce beautiful buildings behind a hideous "Flatiron Building." The foreman and superintendent gain their salaries not on account of their mechanical skill, but on account of their ability to exploit and degrade their fellowmen.

The Socialist definition of a workingman is quite sufficient: "A workingman is a man who receives wages or salary for what he does and does not derive his income from rent, interest, or profit." Who, then, is a work ingman?

We also say that the capitalist, both large and small, exploit all working-men whether they get high salaries or low wages.

But do not take this for a plea for better treatment of these dignified gentlemen of the middle class. The Socialists demand culture for all. Why should there be a separate class of ed-ucated people in society? Why not give all the people the privilege of be coming artists, literary men, etc.? Give every man an equal opportunity to gain an education in the arts and sciences and some of the present day artists and scientists would have to look to their laurely. The arts and sciences would be on a higher plane than ever before. The Socialist Party is not only a party of trade unionists: it is more; it is a party of the whole work-ing class and our cry for over fifty years has beeen: "Workers of the world, unite: you have nothing to lose but you chains; you have a world to

"For asking the terms of a secret treaty which the people have never ratified." M. Jaurès continued, "the

swered. The matter must be explain-

ed. It must be made known whether

some day-to-morrow, or the day after

to-morrow-at the first appeal, the re-public, which, for thirty years, has en-

joyed pence, which has learned, little

by little, to recuperate her energies without the aid of foolish Jingoism, whether France will be compelled to spend, at the farther end of Asia and that Russia may gain Manchuria, her blood, her money, her strength of arm, and her credit.

What nossible gain could come to

'W'hat possible gain could come to

France from such a course? The re

public is now at peace with all the world, and, thanks to the efforts of

French workmen, the friendliest feel-

ings now exist between France and

England and France and Italy. It is the peace-loving politics of the work-ing class which has saved all the

world from a universal war. Peace,

he concluded, "peace with all the world-peace is the highest ideal, the grandest dream, the greatest need of

In the event of demands from Rus

to the Socialists, or will they go the

Does the French bureaucracy quake

excepiation that will fall upon it when

the terms of this secret treaty are dis

losed? ... And above and beyond all is there-

old road. like cattle to the shi

lie called national "honor?"

WHEN FRANCE AWAKENS.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

It is never pleasant to have a bully or a side-partner.

When France tied up with Russia enemy and us all to be outraged." she did it in fear—fear of the young German Emperor whom the Socialists had not yet chastened. She welcomed Russian friendship as a safeguard to

Socialists are denounced as unpatrioxic and dangerous by the Nationalists and Chauvinists generally. But we must ask the question until it t) and her position in Europe.

But now that the German emper-or's enthusiasm for conquest has been dampened by a domestic cloud to which cartoonists give the features of one Herr Bebel, France finds a greater menace in her bully friend than she France is bound by a secret agreement to follow the Russian army in its work in far-off Manchuria, and whether might have found in her bully enemy.

The French bureaucracy would now like to wriggle out of its dual alliance cause it now has little further need of it and, second, because in its haste to oblige the owning classes of France it made this alliance secretly and neg-lected the little detail of having it ratified by the French people. The French people do not know, and have never known, the nature of the obligations placed upon them by French canitalism in this secret treaty made with Russian capitalism to worst Ger-man capitalism. The French bureau-cracy never dreamed it would be called upon to deliver the goods. And it has not-yet. It did not think its base trading-policy with the French people would ever come to light. Such a contingency as a war in the far East be tween Russia and Japan was not even speculated about; but here it is, and the Bear may at any time cry out for

his pound of flesh.

If Russian capitalism should call upon French capitalism for contingent favors pledged; then the French bureaucracy would have at last to tell the French people at what price they were sold in that secret agreement with Russia.

It is a joy to us that the demand for the particulars of this capitalist ompact comes again at this critical time from a member of our movement. In a speech at Saint-Etienne, Jean Jaurès denounced the treaty in such

he demanded, "for France to pour out her blood and treasure to appease Russian land hunger? For tweive years the French Socialist Party, on every possible occasion since it has had a representative in parliament, has askthe ministry to state the terms of is alliance. What is the text and this alliance. What is the text and what are the clauses of the contract? To what are we committed? To what will France be committed? Will this atic enterorises? Speak! Explain' To this question Jaurès declared only reply had been of this

evasive character:
"'You are mischief-makers,' or 'you

or would there be in such conjunctur; -enough of the spirit of '93 yet in France to unseat the entire bureau-cracy; repudiate a treaty unpublished to the world and unratified by the French people, and declare with Jaurès that "Peace is the greatest Ah, brave people of France! If this were done you should have again the

statue of Liberty you gave to us; to keep until we should do a deed to equal yours. From under your trico'or cockade and can of red again would go forth the Word to the walt come a lesson to the centuries. Worker, will nod too, and this my

The solid story of the convention has been told by capable reporters. This is only a few flourishes put in by your

THE VOICE OF THE CROWD. The gloomy voice of the people could

of God, which terrifies the weak and

SMOKE BLUE LABEL CIGARS.

der.-Victor Hugo.

MODERN SLAVERY The worker is, in law and in fact

the slave of the property-holding class, so effectually a slave that he is sold like a piece of goods, rises and fails in value like a commodity, . . . the only difference as compared with the old outspoken slavery is this, that the worker of to-day seems to be free be-cause he is not sold once for all, but piccemeal by the day, the week, the year, and because no one owner sells him to another, but he is forced to sell himself in this way instead, being the slave of no particular person, but of the whole property-holding class.—En-

-What, haven't sent in a single subscription this year? Better reform.

The state convention of the Sc Party of Vermont will be held at Barre on Saturday, June 4, when a full state ticket will be nominated. John W. Arvidson of Rutland has been elected National Committeeman from

that state.

The National Secretary is arranging for the publication in book form of the complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the recent national convenience of the proceedings of the recent national convenience. proceedings of the recent national convention. It is expected that the book will be sold at a nominal figure so as to place it within the reach of all party members, and it will be a valuable memento of a historic gathering.

The Russian Social Democratic Party has established a central library to the process of the control of the con

at its headquarters, 3 Rue de la Hol-live, Geneva, Switzerland, and desires to receive all Socialist publications, periodicals, newspapers, party organs, etc., appearing in the United States. Publishers and editors of Socialist pa-pers are therefore urged to accede to request of the Russian Socialist are in exile in Switzerland so that

ns possible.

The National Secretary's financial report for April shows: Balance on hand April 1, \$75.87; receipts for month, \$1,348.22; expenditures, \$1,-242.85; balance on hand May 1, \$181.24. Expenditures include the payment on account of old debts of \$101.33 to Chas. H. Vail for agitation, and \$61.75 to A. B. Edler of Utah for expenses of attending National Committee meeting of 1902. Receipts for national dues were as follows: From state committees: Arkansas, \$10; Cali ornia \$88; Colorado, \$30; Connecticut \$14; Florida, \$15; Idaho, \$15; Illinois, \$90; Indiana, \$31; Iowa, \$25; Ken-tucky, \$10; Louisiana, \$10; Maine, \$5; Massachusetts, \$194.15; Michigan, \$15; Minnesota, \$50; Montana, \$44; Nebras-ka, \$13; New Hampshire, \$11.50; New Jersey, \$75; North Dakota, \$13.20; Ohlo, \$105; Oregon, \$25; Pennsylvania, \$50; South Dakota, \$7.50; Vermont, \$5; Washington, \$60.80; West Virginia, \$1; Wissaccia, \$75.05; uncorpulyed, states, chusetts, \$194.15; Michigan, \$15; Wisconsin, \$57.95; unorganized states Poleware, \$10; District of Columbia, \$7; Georgia, 79c.; Indian Territory, \$14.75; Maryland, \$9.40; Mississippi, \$2.40; New Mexico, \$10; Rhode Island, \$6.20; Tennessee, \$6.20; Utah, \$1.90; Virginia, \$4.95; Wyoming, \$9.30; mem-

bers-at-large, \$3.20. National Secretary Mailly has signed the following statement and referen-dum to the National Committee; "The national convention decided that the revised constitution be submitted as a whole to a referendum of the party membership. Pending this referendum the constitution as revised is not in force and the old constitution is still in effect. I am now receiving demands from locals for the submission of the revised constitution in sections, along with the platform and resolution adopted by the convention, to the ref erendum. So as to prevent probable duplication and useless expense I shall not submit the constitution as a whole until a sufficient number of locals (five in three states) have had time to make stitution cannot be acted upon and go into effect within three months, at least if all locals are to have an opportunity to vote upon the question. The same holds true of the platform and all resolutions adopted, if referendums on these are demanded. This means that the work of the national office will be practically suspended on the eve of what is expected to be a great nationa campaign. If the revised constitution is adopted within two months, it will take at least another month or six weeks to elect the Executive Commit tee which is supposed to also act as the Campaign Committee. Meanwhile I have no authority or power, nor do I care to assume any, to make any ar rangements for the national campaign. Unless something is done immediately the party machinery, so far as the national office is concerned, will be stopped and valuable time will be wasted. Under the circumstances, have the following to submit: The olconstitution, under which we are still working, requires that 'The National Committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters,' etc. This committee of five has been known as the Quorum. This clause was rendered ineffective by the selection by referendum last year of a ois, Iowa, Wisconstn, Indiana and Kentucky. The term of this Quorum expired with the national convention just held. In view, however, of the objection to a quorum selected from the party membership in one locality and the contemplated change in the method of selecting an Executive Com mittee provided by the revised consti-tution, I would suggest that the Quo-rum whose term expired with the national convention be empowered by the National Committe to act as an Executive Committee or Quorum until such time as the revised constitution is adopted by the membership and an Executive Committee chosen in ac-cordance therewith. This suggestion is made in order to facilitate business. Something must be done at one if we are to be saved from confusion and eless delay. In order to secure im following proposition: 'Shall the mem-bers of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky and Wisconsin continue to act as the National Quorum until such time as an Executive Committee is

on this proposition will close June 6." National Campaign Fund.

elected in accordance with the revised constituion to be submitted to a ref-

A fund for the Socialist Party Presi al campaign must be raised a In accordance with the resolu tion adopted by the national conven-tion, party members and sympathiners everywhere are called upon to con-tribute one-half day's pay sometime during the month of June.

be divided equally between the state and national organizations. In unor-ganized states amounts shall be divid-ed equally between the local and national organization. In organized states all remittances should be made made through the state secretaries and por tion due the national organization can be sent in the form of a money order or draft payable to National Sec-retary William Mailly. Lists will soon be sent out by the

National Secretary through the state and territorial secretaries to all the local secretaries. The state secretaries will countersign these lists, keep a record of them before forwarding them to the various locals, and be re-sponsible for their return to the Na-tional Secretary, with the amounts reported as collected on them. This will ensure the local state and national or ganizations the receipt of the respective amounts due them.

Comrades should prepare for these lists and be ready to contribute at least one-half day's pay during the month of June. If this is done generally we can be assured of a good campaice fund with which to begin the great battle against the capitalist par-

ties.

Lists will be forwarded to comrades where no locals exist upon application direct to the National Secretary, 203 Dearborn street, Chicago, III.

Beginning with this week, the national office will report the donations made to the national campaign fund. The following contributions have been

received this week:

J. H. Swerdfiger, Washington, D. C., \$2.00; P. Bisson, Knowles, Cal., \$1.50; S. Schmoll, St. Louis, Mo., \$1.00; total,

National Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: Card No. 325, Evanston Branch, Ill., \$1.50; Card 1895, Branch No. 3, Hobo-

ken, N. J., \$1.50; Card 1623, A. J. Hauser, Newport News, Va., \$1.50; Adolph Guthen, Waterloo, Iowa, 50c.; Card 142. Alfred Paul, Colton, Cal., \$2.00; Card 391, Chas, Andersen, Davenport, Ia., \$1.50; Card 1594, J. Vicine, Provi-dence, R. I., \$1.50; Card 1799, O. Meyer, Hill City, Kansas, 25c.; Card 1420, Branch No. 21, Naugatuck, Conn., 50c.; Victor W. Sterling, Commerce, Texas, \$1.00; German Local Stonington, Conn., \$11.05; Card 1933. Wm. Inderlast, Stonington, Conn., \$1.50; Card 1004, Wm. Inderlast, Stonington, Conn., \$2.75; Card 1935, Wm. Inderlast, Stonington, Conn., \$1.50; Card 1936, Wm. Inderlast, Stonington, Conn., \$2.00; Card 1937, Wm. Inder-last, Stonington, Conn., \$2.95; Card 1940, Wm. Inderlast, Stonington, Conn., \$1.50; Card 7, D. Andrus, Bir-L. Cushman, Auburn, Me., \$1.50; Card 506 Alvin L. Heinn, Chandler, Ind. \$1.50; Coinrade E., Tennessee, \$5.00; J. H. B., St. Louis, Mo., \$1.00; Card 1853, 4th A. D., New York, \$1.30; Card 1825, C. A. Hawley, Sloux City, Ia., \$1.50; Card 1035, Jas. M. Graham, Livingston, Mont., 60c.; Card 1430, Le-cal Memphis, Tena., \$1.50; Card 1490. Local Syracuse, N. Y., \$1.59; total to noon, May 14, \$51.65; previously re-ported, \$3,193.76; total, \$3,245.41.

New York State. At the regular meeting of the State Committee on May 10 a com-

munication from Chas. H. Vail was

read, saying that he could not give the month of October for agitation, but that he would probably be able to give a few dates. Communications were received from Joshua Wanhope and Au-gust Kienke of Erie, Pa., stating that they would give the State Committee two weeks each during the fall cain-Chase was instructed to urge upon all locals the importance and necessity of electing delegates to the state conven-tion at Albany on May 29 and 30; to ask Local Albany to make arrange ment for hotel accommodations for the delegates, and to suggest that Local Albany arrange for a picnic on Decor-ation Day for raising funds for the campaign. Louis Spector of the Down Town Young People's Social Demo-cratic Club appeared before the com-mittee and urged it to aid the organization of young people's clubs as an auxiliary to the movement, and stated that the Down Town Young People's Club would donate 10 per cent. of the proceeds of a festival which it had held to the State Committee. The secretary was instructed to thank the club and assure them of the co-opera-tion of the State-Committee. Comrade Chase read a circular letter to locals Quorum of the National Committee, in regard to a penny bank system of paign, the banks to be placed in the homes of comrades, so that they would drop in a small contribution each day and invite visitors to do likewise. The plan was endorsed and the letter or dered sept out. The election of the following delegates to the state con vention was reported: Rochester— Chas. R. Bach, Joel Moses, and Henry D. Henderson; Watertown—Thomas Pendergast; Sparrowbush — Hamilton Hulse, with John Hall as alternate; Albany—Fred L. Arland, with Edward C. Romaine as alternate; Johntown-E. S. Timorman. Local Albany report ed that Bleeker Hall had been for the convention. Chase reported that he had made dates to speak in May as follows: Middletown, May 20; Tarrytown, May 21; Ticonderoga, May 27; Fort Edward, May 28. Oneida, Watertown, and Wellsville desired dates for Chase, but not enough dates in the western end of the state were secured to warrant making those places at this time, and they will be visited at a later date. Application for chartes was received from Fulton, Oswego County, with twelve mem-bers, Organizer, E. B. Abbey; Secre-tary, C. H. Walcott; Treasurer, E. C.

The state convention will be held in The state convention will be held in Bleeker's Hall, Albany, May 29 and 30, Sunday and Decoration Day. Ar-rangements have been made with the Albany Night Line Boat Co. for a round-trip rate of a fare and one-third for delegation and other whomes. for delegates and others who may defor delegates and others who may detion, party members and sympathisers sire to go to the convention from New
York City. This makes the round trip
to Albany and return \$2. Those who
desire to go can leave New York Satit is proposed that one-third of the
smount thus realized shall be retained
by the local organizations, one-third
abail be remitted to the state organizations, and one-third sent to the national organization. Where no local
seganizations exist contributions shall

Rogers; Literature Agent, E. R. Ab-

and have an enjoyable outing and at of the party. Those who intend to go should decide at once and notify the Assistant State Secretary, John C. Chase, at 64 E. Fourth street, immediately, so that arrangements can be made to reserve place for them on the

Local New York, at its county convention, elected the following delegates to the state convention: Edward Cas-sidy, George D. Herron, I. Phillips, E. M. Martin, Paulitsch, Malkiel, Abra-A. Martin, Pauntsch, Markiel, Abrahams, Henry L. Slobodin, Jas. G. Kanely, Fred Martin, F. Schlüter, Courtenay Lemon, Emil Neppel, Morris Hiliquit, Joseph Dunne, L. D. Mayes, Wm. Edlin, E. S. Edgerton, Elias Wolf. Robert Saltiel will speak in Buffalo

as follows: Tuesday evening, May 24, on the corner of Main and Mohawk streets, in English; Wednesday evening, May 25, at Schartzmeier's Half, corner Sycamore and Jefferson streets, in German; Thursday evening, May 26, in Hillburger's Hall, in German. Ad-

nission free.
The Westchester county convetion will be held at the Union Opera House. Fountain Squars, North Tarrytown, on Saturday, May 21, 3 p. m. The County Committee will also meet at the same place. Delegates are to be elected to the state convention and arrangements made for the Presidential campaign. H. W. Wessling, delegate to the national convention, will 'make his report. Comrade Chase of New York will address an outdoor mass meeting in the evening. It is hoped that every comrade in Westchester who can spare time will attend both the convention and the mass meeting. Tarrytown and Sleepy Hollow is an ideal spot for New York comrades to run up and visit on a Saturday haif holiday, and as Rockefeller has his mansion there you can rest assured that it is nearly an earthly paradise

The headquarters of Local Rochester are now located at 40 State street. two floors up, where all who are in-terested in Socialism are welcome.

New Jersey.

A special meeting of Local Hudson County will be held at party headquar-ters, 375 Central avenue, Jersey City. on Tuesday, May 24, 8 p. m., to nomi nate two candidates for Presidential electors and hear the report of delegates to national convention.

The first meeting of delegates to the conference for the labor fest val arr. nged by Local Hudson County and kin-dred organizations, which is to be held Sept. 4 at Union Hill Schuelzen Park took place May 8 at headquarters in Jersey City. Miss G. Ufert was elected recording secretary. Temporary financial secretary and theasurer were elected; the election of permanent offi-cers was left over to the next meeting. which takes place at the Jersey City headquarters, 375 Central avenue Sunday, May 22, at 3 p. m., and every delegate is urgently requested to at-tend so as to complete preliminary ar-

At the last meeting of the State Committee a communication from Hudson County to the National Secretary, referred to this committee by him, ask-ing whether De Luca was expelled from the party in Italy, was in turn referred to National Committeeman Ufert as a matter for the na-tional organization. Communication tional organization. Communication from Weiss of Newfield referred to Or-ganization Committee. Secretary reported having written to Local New York regarding Comrade Neben hav-ing membership in New York while living in New Jersey, but received no reply. It was decided to hold a state picnic in Newark on Labor Day, as no labor festivals have been arranged there on that day, and \$7 was approprinted as a provisional guarantee fund. Organization Committe reports having sent a circular to speakers, but received no replies. Comrade Kearns letter of acceptance of nomination for Governor will be forwarded to the press and published with national plat-form. Locals report good activity! A successful debate was held in Camden between Comrade Fred Long of Phila delphia and C. Oscar Beasly, Republi-can, which was attefided by large au-dience. Treasurer's report: Receipts for April. \$103.70: disbursements

Readers of The . Worker in Prince ton, N. J., are asked to communicate with Upton Sinclair, with a view to organizing a local.

Massachusetts. The vote of the General Clubs Committee for a successor to Squire E. Putney, who recently resigned from the Executive Committee, resulted in the election of Walter P. Thorne of Cambridge. Comrade Thorne received 8 votes, Alfred B. Outram 3, and John T. Galvin 2; the majority of the committee did not vote. A referendum is now before the General Clubs Com-mittee on the advisability of holding the Annual Clubs Conference late in June or early in July, instead of at the time of the legal state convention. Two dates have been submitted to the committee—June 26 and July 3.

committee—june 26 and July 3.

John Gallagher will lecture on Socialism at the Boston Socialist head-quarters, Washington street, on Sun-day, May 22, 8 p. m., under the auspices of the Ward 9 Club.

George Willis Cooke, the well known author, will lecture on "Woman's Share in the Evolution of Humanity" May 25, 8 p. m., in Dudley Street Opera House, 113 Dudley street, Bos Opera House, 113 Dudley street, Boston. The meeting will be on the anniversary of Frederic O. MacCartney's death. James F. Carey and John Eills have been invited to open the meeting with short addresses in honor of our unforgotten and honored Comrade MacCartney. This is the sixth lecture in the course given by the Boston Socialist Women's Club. Admission is free. The collection will be given to the State Executive Committee.

vention marks the commencement of political activity upon the part of the comrades at Brockton, who express satisfaction at the work of the convention and feel they of the convention and feel they can go forward to new victories in this vicinity. Delegate Dan A. White made his report to the Brockton Central Club Saturday night, and will make a report to each club in turn. A meeting will be held under the auspices of the Monetial local Friday, May 20, which will be the opening of the campaign. Comrade White will address the rally and a Debs and Hanford banner will be awang to the bream. The comrades at Mentello de-

fall, and start at once to make good that declaration. The Central Com-mittee meets Thursday night and plans for continuous agitation will be mapped out. A handsome Debs and Hanford banner will be swung in the center of Brockton also. The Con-gressional Committee held a meeting Sunday with delegates from Plymouth, Bridgewater, and Whitman present. meeting has been called for later date when definite plans will be outline for work in the entire district. It is believed at this writing that Com-rade Franklin H. Wentworth will take up his abode in the town of Hanson, which is a part of the district from which Comrade MacCartney was four times elected to the legislature, and this knowledge is very pleasing to the Massachusetts comrades. A commit-tee has been apointed and is now arranging a series of trolley trips. The intention is to engage a special car or cars, according to number, and, Sunday, with Socialist banners and Debs and Hanford signs decorating car, journey to the surrounding places. The committee have in mind Fall River, New Bedford, Providence, and other places where, with speakers and music, the gospel of Socialism will be hurled into the enemy's camp. It will be arranged for comrades in cities to which trolleyites will go to make pre-paration to have some place where meeting can be held.

The clubs at Brockton have closed a five night fair, which was held in the largest hall in the city, and it eclipsed anything ever held by any organization prior to this. When the supporters of the old parties saw the great jam of people which attended from opening to clos-ing of the fair, they realized that the job of burying the Socialists, which they claimed to have done last fall, was only a dream. A thousand dollars above expenses was cleared, so the comrades enter with enthusiasm for a battle roy-al with the dominant parties, stronger and better prepared to meet them than

The state convention of the Socialist Party of Connecticut will meet at Bowditch Hall, Bank street, Waterbury, Memorial Day, May 30, at 10 a. m., to nominate a full state ticket, representatives in Congress, and Presidential electors, revise the state constituion of the party; adopt a state platform and transact such other busi-ness as may come up. The basis of representation is one delegate from each branch for each 25 members in good standing or major fraction there of; provided that each branch shall be entitled to at least one delegate. Visitors are welcome., Sol Fieldman was arrested on a

charge of causing the obstruction of the street while making a Social st speech in New Haven, and will be tried in the City Court. The "New Haven Union," a daily newspaper, says editorially: "Those who insist says editorially: "Those who that the laws shall be fearlessly impartially enforced in New Haven will not take kindly to the action of the police in this matter while there is plenty for the police to do in directions that require their immediate attention elsewhere. Suppression of free speech in this country, when such speech is confined within the law, is nn invasion of popular and constitu-tional rights which should not be tolerated, even from the New Haven po-lice department. It has been said in defense of the act of the police that Saturday night's speaker was arrested because he caused the streets to be blocked, and that he was therefore responsible for an infraction of a city ordinance. But the police intelligence in this town is exceedingly acute in its interpretation of the laws on some oc-casions in contrast with its density on . . . We remember on several occasions when Crown stress

blocked the streets but the sidewalks too listening to the rending of news the paper or the megaphone announcer of the bulletins because it was impos been going on in Church street, across from the postoffice, attracting crowds that filled the walks and blocked travel. Have the police stepped in to make any arrest on such occasions? Oh, no. That might prove troublesome; somebody's corns might have been trampled upon that were sacre and then the blueconts or the head of the bluecoas might have to explain. The 'Union' has been informed that as a matter of fact the policeman who made the arrest was more of an offending cause against the city's laws than the Socialist orator, and that he and not the speaker should have been taken to police headquarters.'

lowa.

The state convention of the Socialist Party of Iowa will be held in Reform Hall, corner First avenue, South and Church street, Marshalltown, July 4, at 9 a. m., and comrades are urgently conested to assist in making this as representative and memorable a gath-ering as possible. The convention will adopt a state platform and nominate adopt a state platform and nominate candidates for the following offices: Two Presidential Electors-at-large, one Presidential Elector for each Congressional District, Secretary of State, Auditor of State, Treasurer of State, Auditor of State, Treasurer of State, Auditor of Supreme Court, Clerk of Supreme Court, Railroad Commissioner. Each local of the state organization in good standing is entitled to as many delegates as it has members in good standing, the delegates in actual attendance being entitled. tled to cast the full vote of the local

clare that they will elect a member Brady of Los Angeles, in relation to the count on election of national delegates, has been thoroughly investi gated by the Grievance Co Local Los Angeles. Comrade Helten-stein has shown satisfactorily to the committee and myself that no grounds existed for my published statements of manipulation, carelessness or prejudice; therefore I desire this public statement be given as full publication as the charges were, and I consider this due in justice to Comrade Helfen-

"I so much like your editorial in The Worker of May 8 on 'What Sort of Speakers De We Need?' that I feel like offering you my congratulations." You answered the question and an swered it well. We are in manifest need of just such speakers as you de-scribe, and we need officials who appreciate just such speakers."

The reports and communications of E. E. Martin, the energetic state sec-retary of the party in Washington, are good propaganda matter and full of

DEMOCRACY AND DISCIPLINE.

Difference of opinion on policy and certain principles may exist and must always remain in an organization of progressive thought; it does not weakto it health, vigor and enthusiasm, be-cause it results from activity of the minds. For that reason I hold that the German and Italian parties are right and do wisely not to expel the so-called "Revisionists." And those who take the attitude of the German party towards comrades like Bern-stein, Bruin, and Schippel, as an exam-ple of extreme toleration, should fol-low the example of those German comrades, who in some respects diffe with the majority of the party, but who absolutely adhere to any decision of that majority of the party's executive, and who never yet committed themselves to a breach of the party is in a political party far worse more damaging than the greatest dif-

ference of opinion.
So long as Millerand disagreed with his fellow members of the French Socialist Party, they did not think of expelling him, but they banished him from their midst forthwith when he broke the discipline by acting contrary to the decision of the party's repre sentatives in parliament. Those that cannot stand such discipline, do better to resign their membership and join the angrehists in idle dreaming about "perfect personal liberty." In a fight ing Socialist Party we have no room for such impossible things, and car use only those who are willing to sub mit their personal liberties uncondi-tionally to the decision of the majority.

We must recognize that a Social Democratic Party, destined to rule, is not a kind of missionary society, or a propaganda club for the preaching, and the preaching only of Socialism, but a fighting body, at war with the capitalistic rulers for the political pow ers of the state. And one seat in Par liament, and even on a local govern ing body, gained by the Socialist Party, is a far greater revolutionary act than a bomb thrown amidst Park Laners, than a strike, than a thousand speeches about the social revolution. capitalist class is a step towards the accomplishment of the real, not the illusory, social revolution. The Social-ist Party is like an army which can only accomplish its aim on the field of. battle by a severe discipline, by the united action of all particles. Now, an officer, even a soldier, may on the field have their own opinion about the best tactics, the best move, the best time of attack, so long as they act strictly according to the commands. But they are forthwith shot when they act contrary to or resist those orders. Be-cause should others follow their exampie the whole strength of the army, though it outnumbers the enemy large-ly, would be shaken, broken up and

easily shattered.

A breach of discipline in a Socialist Party, an act contrary to the decision of those who are the chosen commanders of the Socialist army is, according to the moral code of the party, also a crime which must be punished unbesi-tatingly. Because what would remain of the party's fighting power if such things were tolerated and became fre-quent? No weakness must be shown towards those that sin against what only can make a political party strong, influential and unconquerable; discip-

That is the opinion and the policy of all Socialist parties on the continent; that must be the policy of all political parties. And those who speak about autocracy in a Socialist movement misunderstand that word and therefore apply it wrongly. An auto-crat acts without any instruction, without any responsibility—merely as serves his own interest best. And can that be said of a number of people elected to govern a Socialist party? One thing more: Not only have the members of a Socialist—as a political

-party to abide by the discipline and the decisions of the majority, but it is also their duty to refrain from damaging or assisting in damaging the moral influence of those who are the choses commanders of the party. Because, by doing so, they would not only harm those who are quite sufficiently attacked by our opponents, but, what is far more important, they would hinder the development of the organization and impress distrust upon the mind of the class which particularly has to trust the Socialist Party as their emancipa-tor. And it is equal to a breach of dis-cipline if members sneer at those who, not by their own desire or will, but by thed to cast the full vote of the local they represent. Members-at-large in good standing are entitled to all the privileges accordled delegates representing locals. Credentials in duplicate have been, sent to the locals, the originals to be presented delegates and the duplicates to be forwarded to State Secretary Jacobsen not later than July 1. Delegates, as well as members-at-large, are requested to also present their memberships dues books to committee on credentials.

Here and There.

The following statement has been issued by Comrade Brady of Los Angeles and attested by K. Bauer, G. H. Peters and H. Koltkamp, the Grievance Committee: "The whole matter of charges against E. B. Helfenstein, State Secretary of California, by M.

they think for a moment about it, see the wickedness of such things. It is a shame which no continental party would tolerate, but which I never ex-

perienced on the continent.

I claim respect for those who did the hard work in our movement at a time when Socialists were generally despised. And I advise those who waste their and other's time in stirring up strife rather to devote that time to reading and study and self-criticism. They will make their own life less worried and unhappy, and allow our movement to get back the enthusiasm of yore, and which must brighten the lives of a true Socialist when he thinks what Life upon this planet is and what it could be made through Socialism.—

THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM. Coupled with the centralization of

the army, the nationalizing of the militia, the building of a great navy, the subjugation of foreign lands and the ever-increasing interference in foreign affairs, they speak of an at-mosphere of empire; they point the road which Augustus took when be changed the meaning of Imperator from General to Emperor, and Na-poleon when he threw aside the title of First Consul. Power turns men's head. Mr. Root has described his own recent power to us. "It has been my province during the last four years and a half," he says, "to deal with arbitrary government. It has been necessary for me not only to make laws and pronounce judgment without any occasion for discussion—except in so far as I would choose to weigh the questions involved in my own mindaffecting ten million people. And not only to make laws and pronounce judgment, but to execute judgment with overwhelming force and great swiftness." Is it the Grand Mogul who is speaking, or the White Tsar, or the Sultan of Morocco? No. it is an American head of department! Surely these words of his should make Americans think. No wonder that in his mind such sovereignty has suggested monarchy and that he talks of the of fice of president as if it involved the divine right of exacting homage. Mr. Root adds, it is true, that such power should only be exercised within narrow limits and in the face of great emergencies, "if our free institutions are to be perpetuated." But why should they be perpetuated? If we can have kindly despots for the ask-ing, why should we bother ourselves with attending to our own affairs? Re port has it that during Mr. Root's reign in the Philippines seven hundred thousand of his subjects died. What was the "great emergency" which called for this sacrifice of human lives? orhood of a well-stocked bank safe. After his resignation Mr. Root left his ouse for the station at Washington was a new idea, the fruit of imperial aspirations and dreams.-The Whim.

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The primal consideration in the present industrial system is profit, All ther things are secondary. Profit is he life blood of capital-the vital current of the capitalist system, and when it shall cease to flow the system

will be dead.

The capitalist is the owner of the worker's tools. Before the latter can work he must have access to the capi-talist's tool-house and permission to use the master's tools. What he produces with these tools belongs to the master, to whom he must sell his labor power at the market price. The ownof the tools is therefore master of

he man. Only when the capitalist can extract only when the capitalist can extract a satisfactory profit from his labor power is the worker given a job, or allowed to work at all.

Profit first: labor, life, love, liberty all these most income.

-all these must take second place.
In such a system labor is in chains, and the standard of living, if such it may be called, is corner-stoned in

crusts and rags.
Under such conditions ideas and ideals are not prolific among the sons and daughters of toll.

Slavery does not excite lofty aspira-ions nor inspire noble ideas.

The tendency is to sodden irresolu-

tion and brutish inertia. But this very tendency nourishes the germ of resistance that ripens into the spirit of revolt.

The labor movement is the child of slavery—the offspring of oppression—in revolt against the misery and suffering that gave it birth. Its splendid growth is the marvel of

our time, the forerunner of freedom, the hope of mankind.

Ten thousand times has the labor

movement stumbled and fallen and bruised itself, and risen again; been seized by the throat and choked and clubbed into lusensibility; enjoined by courts, assaulted by thugs, charged by the militia, shot down by regulars, traduced by the press, frowned upon by nublic opinion, deceived by politicians, threatened by priests, repudiated by renegades, preyed upon by grafters, infested by spies, deserted by cowards, betrayed by traitors, bled by leeches, and sold out by leaders, but, notwith-standing all this, and all these, it is to-day the most vital and potential this planet has ever known, and its historic mission of emancipating the workers of the world from the thraldem of the ages is as certain of ultimate realization as the setting of the rising sun.

The most vital thing about this

world movement is its educational propaganda—its capacity and power to she'l light-in the brain of the working class, arouse them from their torpor, develop their faculties for thinking, teach them their economic class inter-ests, effect their solidarity, and imbue them with the spirit of the impending social revolution.

In this propaganda, the life-breath of the movement, the press, is para-mount to all other agencies and influences, and the progress of the press n sure index of the progress of the

Unfortunately, the workers lack intelligent appreciation of the importance of the press; they also lack judg-ment and discrimination in dealing with the subject, and utterly neglect some good papers, and permit them to crish, while others that are anything at helpful or beneficial to the cause they are supposed to represent are liberally patronized, and flourish at the expense of the ignorance and stupid-ity that support them.

THE VACILLATION OF

THE MIDDLE CLASS

The small trading and shopkeeping

class is exceedingly numerous in Ger

ome of the most worthless labor pub lications have the finest mechanical appearance, and are supported by the

largest circulations. Such a press is not only not a help to labor, but a milistone about its neck, that only the awakening intelligence of the working class can remove.

How thoroughly alive the capitalist are to the power of the press! And how assiduously they develop and support it that it may in turn buttress heir class interests. The press is one of their most val-

uable assets, and, as an investment pays the highest dividends.

When there is trouble between capi-tal and labor, the press volleys and thunders against labor and its unions and leaders and all other things that dare to breathe against the sacred rights of capital. In such a contest labor is dumb, speechless; it has no press that reaches the public, and must submit to the vilest call umny, the most outrageous misrepresentation.

The lesson has been taught in all the

languages of labor and written in the blood of its countless martyred vic-

Labor must have a press as formid-Labor must have a press as to indo-able as the great movement of the working class requires to worthily represent its dignity and fearlessly and uncompromisingly advocate its principles.

Every member of a trade union should feel himself obligated to do his should feel himself obligated to do his full share in the important work of building up the press of the labor movement; he should at least support the paper of his union, and one or more of the papers of his party, and, should read them an above all, he school himself in the art of intelligent criticism, and let the editor hear from him when he has a criticism to offer

or a suggestion to make. The expense of supporting the labor press is but a trifle to the individual member—less than the daily outlay for other trifles that are of no benefit, and

can easily be dispensed with.

The editor of a labor paper is of far more importance to the union and the movement than the president or any other officer of the union. He ought to be chosen with special reference t his knowledge upon the labor question and his fitness to advocate and defend the economic interests of the class he represents.

The vast amount of capitalist advertising some labor publications carry certifies unerringly to the worthlessness of their literary contents. Capitalists do not, as a rule, advertise in labor papers that are loyal to working class interests. It is only on condition that the advertising colors and controls the editorial that the capitalist generously allows his patronage to go

to the labor paper.

The workingman who wants to read a labor paper with the true ring, one that ably, honestly and fearlessly speaks for the working class will find it safer to steer clear of those that are loaded with capitalist advertising and make his selection from those that are nearly or quite boycotted by the class that live and thrive upon the slavery

of the working class.

The labor press of to-day is not ideal, but it is improving steadily, and the time will come when the ideal labor press will be realized; when the labor movement will command editors, writers, journalists, artists of the first when hundreds of papers, including dailles in the large cities, will gather the news and discuss it from the labor standpoint; when illustrated magazines and periodicals will illum-inate the literature of labor and all will combine to realize our ideal labor The material prosperity of a labor paper of to-day is no guarantee of its moral or intellectual value. Indeed, The International Metal Worker. press and blaze the way to victory.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Germany in 1848.

many to consequence of the stinted development which the large capital-ists and manufacturers as a class have had in that country. In the larger towns it forms almost the majority of the inhabitants; in the smaller ones is entirely predominates, from the ab sence of wealthier competitors or inice. This class, a most important one in every modern body politic, and in all modern revolutions, is still more important in Germany, where, during recent struggles, it generally play ed the decisive part. Its intermediate position between the class of larger capitalists, traders industrial class, determines its character. -Aspiring to the position of the first, the least adverse turn of fortune huris the individuals of this class down into the ranks of the second * * * * Thus eternally torsed about between the hope of entering the ranks of the wealthler class and the fear of being

reduced to the state of proletarians e ing a share in the direction of public affairs and the dread of rousing, by illfined opposition, the ire of a govern-ment which disposes of their very ex-Istence because it has the power of re-moving their best customers; pos-sessed of small means, the insecurity of the possession of which is in the inverse ratio of the amount—this class is extremely vaciliating in its views. Humble and crouchingly submissive under a powerful feudal or monarchirnment it turns to the side of m when the middle class e class," here and in the following clause, means the "bourgeoisie properly so called" or capitalist class, referred to above. This is the proper meaning of the phrase in speaking of Europe half a century ago, though to Europe half a century sgo, though to-fay and especially in the United States, that has become the upper class and the phrase "middle class" now and here applies principally to the very shopkeeping and small trad-ing element that Marx is here describ-ing—Ed.] is in the ascendant; it be-romes seized with violent democratic fits as soon as the middle class has secured its own surgemacy, but falls ing.—Ed.] is in the ascendant; it becomes seized with violent democratic fits as soon as the middle class has secured its own supremacy, but falls tack into the abject despondency of fear as soon as the class helow tiself, the proletarians, attempts an independent movement.—Kari Marx, in

PROFIT MEANS SLAVERY.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community, such as ours, having such command over ex-ternal nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do. And once for all, there is nothing in our circumstances save the hunting of profit that drives us into it. It is profit which draws men into enormous, unmanageable aggregations called towns, for instance; profit which into quarters without gardens or open spaces; profit which won't take the most ordinary precautions against wrapping a whole district in a cloud sulphurous smoke; which turns beautiful rivers into filthy sewers, which condemns all but the rich to which condemns all but the rich to live in houses idiotically cramped and confined at best, and at worst in houses for whose wretchedness there is no name. I say it is almost incredible that we should bear such gross stupidity as this; nor should we if we could help it. We shall not bear it when the workers get out of their heads that they are but an appendage to profit-grinding; that the more pro-fits that are made the more work at higher wages there will be for them, and that therefore all the incredible filth, disorder and degradation of mod-ern civilization are signs of their prosperity. So far from that, they are signs of their slavery. When they are no longer slaves they will claim as a matter of course that every man and to play in a garden close to where its parents live; that the houses should by their obvious decency and order be ornaments to nature, not disfigure-

ments of it.

All this, of course, would mean the people-that is, all society-duly or-ganized, having in their own hands the means of production, to be owned by no individual, but used by all as occasion called for its use, and can only be done on those terms.—William Morris.

-Socialism has already a long roll

FOR THE CALLY.

The Cooper Union Meeting-Meetings of the Board of Managers and of the Call Conferences.

On Tuesday the large hall in Coope

Union was about two-thirds filled at the mass meeting for the Socialis daily. John C. Chase presided and the meeting was addressed by Frederick Krafft, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, Courtenay Lemon, and George D. Her ron. The speakers indicted the capi talist-controlled daily press both for its editorial policy and its suppression and distortion of news, showed now neces a powerful weapon it would be, and tried to arouse an earnest determina tion among the comrades to work un ceasingly for the daily and have it pub lished on Sept. 1. Cash contribution to the amount of \$68.50 and pledges fo

\$123.85 were collected at the meeting At the meeting of the Board of Man agement of the Daily Call held or Monday it was decided to have 500 of the paper, to be used for advertising the Call in trade union halls or in othe places, such as picule grounds, wher they will be seen to advantage. Com rade Hahn of Liberty Park, Ever green, has been asked to have the

sign in his picnic grounds. As the monthly subscriptious ar now coming in a suitable man will b engaged to take charge of that work who will receive and account for al money from that source. The secre-tary was instructed to communicate with Comrade Gillan of Haverhill to ascertain if he will work in Massachu

setts for the daily.

Everything is in readiness to begin the work of making a house to house canvass for readers and subscriptions. Special meetings of the assembly dis trict branches will soon be called to awaken interest in the undertaking and to get the comrades to go to work Comrades Julius Bychower, J. A. Beh-ringer and Chas. Friedel, all of Brook lyn, have each sent in ten subscrip

tions already.

The committee on plant reported that Hoe & Co. have a printing press which will be put in first-class order for \$10,000. The matter was referred to the association with the recommendation that it be ordered. In order to have it delivered on time ninety days notice must be given. Hereafter the meetings of the association will be held twice a month, on the first and third Mondays. A hall in the Labor Lyceum has been engaged for these meetings. The Board of Managemen will meet on the alternate Mondays

A regular meeting of the New York Call Conference was held on Thursday evening, May 12, President E. Wol. presiding. Herman Mayer wa as delegate from the 35th A. D., Br. 2 Delegates from the Gilder's Union

of New York and vicinity, No. 803, reported that their union had voluntarily assessed their members 25 cents each for the benefit of the Call Fund. A number of subscription blank books were taken by the delegates for the several unions. It was announced that fifty paid ur

subscriptions were secured at the Callbooth, maintained at the recent industrial exposition.

The attendance of delegates at the last meeting was small considering the number of organizations represented in the Conference. Every delegate is therefore urged to attend the meetings regularly from now on, which are held every second and fourth Thursday in month at 64 E. Pourth street, York. There is work of various kinds to be done and suitable to every dele gate according to his ability, now tha it has been decided to issue the New York Call on Sept. 1, which can only be done successfully by united action on the part of every delegate and fel-

The Call Conference of Brookly holds meetings on the second and fourth Thursdays of each month at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 649 Willough by avenue. The next meeting will take place on May 26 at 8 p. m. sharp. So cialist and labor organizations not yet represented will please take notice.

KINGS COUNTY PRIMARIES AND CONVENTION.

Party of Kings County to elect dele gates to the county, congressional, sen-atorial and assembly district conven-tions, will be held on Friday, May 20, from 7 to 10 p. m., at the

1st Assembly District-121 Schor perhorn street, office of Furman. 2d Assembly District—228 Duffield street, home of Williams. 3d Assembly District-208 Columbia

street, home of Pattberg.

5th Assembly District-214 Hoope embly District-30 Sur

avenue, hall.

7th Assembly District—At 1524 Fif. ty-ninth street, home of C. W. Cavan street, home of Kennell.

Oth Assembly District-131 Imlay street, meeting room. 10th Assembly District—107 Vande bilt avenue, home of Bychower. 11th Assembly District—803 Union

street, home of Fraser.

12th Assembly District—303a Sixteenth street, home of Brash.

13th Assembly District—202 Calyer

14th Assembly District--310 Haron street, home of Clayton. 15th Assembly District—187 Mont

rose avenue, meeting room. 16th Assembly District-715 Lexing en avenue, home of Hopkins. 17th Assembly District—261 Munro street, home of Holmes.

18th Assembly District-12 E. Seventh street, Windsor Terrace, home of 19th Assembly District-949-955 Wil

loughly avenue, meeting room.
burg avenue, meeting room.
20th Assembly District—257 Hamburg evenue, hall.
21st Assembly District—675 Gleumore avenue, meeting room.

KINGS COUNTY CONVENTION.

A convention of the Social Demo-cratic Party of Kings County for the purpose of ciccing delegates to the state convention, to nominate candi-dates for offices to be voted for at the

ensuing election and to transact such other matters as may come before it, will be held on Saturday, May 21, at 8 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue, in the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

The representation to the conven-tions is as follows: County Convention: One delegate for each Assembly District and one additional delegate for every ten members in good standing. Unorganized

districts, one delegate. Congressional District Conventions Five delegates for Assembly Districts wholly located in a Congressional Dis-trict, and three delegates to each Congressional District Convention for dis tricts located in two or more Con gressional Districts.
Senatorial District Conventions: Five

delegates from each Assembly District Assembly District Conventions: As many delegates as the district may de-

Organizers are requested to proceed ecording to the instructions sent to

The dates for all conventions, except the County Conventions, baye not been set, but it will be announced in the party press in time, and delegates will be notified if the secretaries of the primaries will notify the undersigned of the names and addresses of their re-

spective delegates.

By order of the County Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County. J. GERBER.

PARTY NEWS. (Continued from page 3.)

At the meeting of the General Committee of Local New York, on May 15, Fred Martin presiding, twenty-four applicants were admitted to membership. New delegates were scated as follows: Conrad Lentz from 26th A. D., Br. 1; Comrades Obrist and Rauch from 28th A. D. Resignation of U Solomon as organizer was accepted, but he was prevailed upon to continue as financial secretary. Comrades Hillquit, Bemon, and Ehret were elected as committee to cenfer with Comrade Chase and bring before the state convention a proposal to consolidate the offices of state secretary and organizer of Local New York. George Roewer resigned his office as secretary, as he intends to move to Boston, and E. S. Edgerton was elected in his place. A to his bank system of raising funds for the state organization was referred to the state convention with instruc-tions to our delegates, to favor th plan. A committee from the Socialist Band, which has always furnished music free at Socialist affairs, appeal-ed for support of their picnic as the band is in financial straits: it was decided to take \$20 worth of tickets and they will sent to the assembly dis-tricts. On motion of the 28th A. D., it was decided that the City Executive should call a conference, with the pro-gressive labor organizations, for the purpose of arranging a parade and great ratification meeting for Debs and Hanford, the idea being to hold the meeting in Madison Square Garden or Carnegie Hall, with the presidential candidates as speakers. Henry Haup was elected to the City Executive Committee in place of Comrade Obrist, who resigned. On roll call, 11th A. D. Annexed Br. 1, were not represent ed. Upon request of a committee for the Daily Call, 225 tickets for raffle of two watches and a bicycle, left over from the Call booth at the industrial

exposition, were ordered sent to the as sembly district branches. Financial Secretary Solomon knowledges receipt of further contribu tions to the fund for the expenses of delegates to the national convention as follows: 6th-10th A. D.—J. Schrey, 50c.; 11th A. D.—M. Princer, 25c.; G. Brown, 25c.; S. Gaba, 50c.; J. Neusius, 25c.; J. Oltman, 10c. Fritz Uhl, 15c.: 13th A. D.-G. Haerdtner, \$2; Mrs. Brudi, 10c.; Wm. Brudi, \$1; Miss Annie Brudi, 10c.; Mrs. Haerdt ner, 25c.; Fred Brudl, 10c.; Henry Haerdtner, 25c.; George Graf, 25c.; B. Alleman, 25c.; E. S. Bock, 25c.; 18th and 20th A. D.-Louis Steplinger \$2.75; 21st A. D.-F. J. Bell, \$1; 22d A. D.-John J. Flick, 35c.; Wm. Meyer 10c.; C. Andern, \$1.25; Henry Spitzfa den, \$2.75; M. Weiss, 50c.; E. Taussig, 25c.; 24th A. D.-M. Hutter, \$1.50; Nic Zettwock, \$1.95; Wm. Meyer, 75c.; Th. Sulitze, \$1; Oppenlander, 50c.; W. Herde, \$1.95; Hein rich Luehrer, \$2.15; 26th A. D., Br. I .-W. Heckert, \$2.40; 28th A. D.-Volt tary assessment of 50c. per member, \$20; 30th A. D.—Geo. Vogt, 60c.; J. Schneider \$1. C Schad \$1 80. Fred Schultz, \$1; Dr. L. Lichtschein, \$1; W. Hillebrandt, 50c.; 34th A. D.—John Harter, 25c.; Aug. Hausen, 25c.; M. Arous, \$3; 35th A. D., Br. II.—Wm. Meyer, 25c.; Fred Yaeger, 75c.; A. Kohnle, \$2.05; W. C. Burgwald, 25c.; total, 60.35; previously acknowledged, \$264.15; total, 324.50. District financial secretaries are re-

quested to make final settlements the fund for national delegate's The lists were returnable April 15, and the secretaries are re quested to return at once all the lists in their possession and also to make efforts to get in all the outstanding lists. All contributions should be for-warded to U. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street, who will acknowledge receipt in

The Worker.

The Organizer has still in stock about 20,000 copies of the "Dismal Homes and Famine Prices" leaflets and 35,000 copies of a general propaganda leaflet entitled "What Socialism Stands For." Both these leaflets were written by Comrade John Spargo and can be used with good results during the coming month. The price is only \$1.50 per thousand and those districts that have no literature on hand should at once

get a sufficient supply.

The 31st A. D. will hold a special meeting at 261 W. One Hundred and Twenty-third street Wednesday evening, May 25, to discuss district organi-zation. Morris Hillquit and Frederick Thomas will speak. Comrades living in the 23d, 21st, 32d, 33d, and 34th dis-

tricts are invited to be present.

At the regular meeting of the Kings
County Committee on May 14, five
new members were adultted from the new members were admitted from the 5th A. D. and two from the 15th A. D. The May Day parade was reported as being a great success, and the organ-izer was instructed to make arrange-ments for holding another parade dur-ing the coming campaign. Three hun-dred Pally Call subscription books were ordered sent to branches for members

quest each assembly district to pay at least 50 cents per month to state fund, and forward same to financial secretary of County Committee. Financial Secretary reported a balance of \$86.43, after paying \$215 for the expenses of the national convention delegates.

Platon Brounoff will lecture on "Rus-sian Music as an Appeal of an Op-pressed Nation to the Civilized World." on Wednesday evening, May 25, at the Liberal Art Society, Terrace Lyceum, 206 East Broadway. There-will be a musical program from Russian composers, and a Japanese war song by Mr. Kuku Lima Fo. Admission, fiv

CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 1.)

comrades who were with me, and they Socialist Party was in sympathy with the trade unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capi-talists. (Applause.) Now, there was another party that would like to have sent its speakers down to that field but they would not have been favor-ably received, and that was the So-cialist Labor Party, and that party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trade union. (Applause.) Now, you think it is terrible when trade unionists make mistakes, but good Heavens I would like to know down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make one. (Laughter and ap-plause.) They have troubles, but, Lord, look at the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) And, they are like us again in this further respect: They have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong to-day they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right.

"Now, comrades, you have the great est privilege, as Comrade Titus has pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth ever had before. All previous revolutions, none of them ever had it in its power to do any-thing more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they may be, for all time. This move-ment is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you let your hearts be as true as steel, be steeled to the very back, put your soul and your heart and your whole power into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country." (Great appliause.)

State and Municipal Platform. The following report of the Commit

tee on State and Municipal Program was referred to the National Committee for revision and adoption: To the National Convention of the So-

cialist Party.

Comrades:—Your committee on state and municipal program beg leave to submit the following report:
We wish first of all to call the at

tention of the convention to the fact that the report of this committee is unanimous. This is contrary to the expectations of the members of the com nittee, but is the apparently natural outcome of the discussion which took place in the sessions of the committee.

We wish, secondly, to express the opinion of the committee that nothing in this report, if adopted by the convention, is to be considered as other wise than suggestive, or as being in any way mandatory or binding upon the various states and municipal con ventions; since the various states and municipalities have their own characteristic economic development and political situation.

In view of the difficulties attending the work of those elected to public office to represent the Socialist Party, as already developed in the experience of such officials, and also in view of the problems attending the proper pre-paration of state and municipal plat-forms, your committee have adopted the following resolutions, and trans-mitted a copy of them to the committee on constitution:

Whereas, The committee on state and municipal program regard it as essential that the Socialist Party should have a permanent committee on state and municipal affairs, with a perma-nent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters; therefore, be it

Resolved. That we, the committee on state and municipal program, re-commend that in the constitution of the party, provision should be made for the organization of a committee on state and municipal affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and re commend that the following provision become a part of the constitution of the party;

Section A:-There shall be elected at each national convention a committee of nine on state and municipal affairs Section B:-The committee shall have power to fill vacancles occurring among its members during th terim between the meeting of the na

mittee shall be that of an advisory committee to suggest lines of activity to local and state officers and to assist them in securing data and in the preparation of resolutions, ordinarce bills and such other legal measures for the carrying out of the Socialist pro gram as may be necessary, and also to advise the party, where it may de sire, in the preparation of local and state programs. Section D:—The committee on state

and municipal affairs shall, on the ap-proval of the executive committee of the national committee, elect a permathe national committee, elect a perma-nent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and his compensation shall be fixed by the executive committee, Section E:—The expenses of the committee on state and municipal af-fairs while attending its meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

ights with men. STATE PROGRAM.

Suggestions for the activity of Social-ist members of the state legislatures while the Socialist party is a minority party.

Preamble for State Program.
The principles of the Socialist plat

form cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist party is a minorit party. The work of Socialist member of the state legislatures and local ad-ministrations under present circumstances must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit of and in the interes advocating such measures the Social ist members of the state legislature and of local administrations must bear in mind the fact that they are fighting on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement and the Social ist party. They must defend the interests of the working class against the encronchments of the capitalist class and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist re presentatives for favorable legislation Socialists in state legislatures and local administrations may well be guided by the advice of the permanent committee on state and municipal pro-

tution of the Socialist Party. The following suggestions are made as a preliminary basis for the activity of Socialist members of the state legis latures and local administrations, with the understanding that they are mandatory, binding, or anything else than suggestive:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Freedom of speech and expression of opinion by teachers and students. Free text-books for teachers and pu

pils; uniform text-books on all subject to be furnished free to public schools and to private schools on request. The choice of text-books to be left to a committee composed of teacher, and students in all institutions above the grade of high schools.

In history and economics, the prole-tarian standpoint to receive equal con-sideration with the capitalist standpoint.

Compulsory education for both sexes up to the age of 18 years.

Co-education in all branches of science and manual training for both sexes to be continued through all grades Adequate provisions for harmonious physical culture and development through a systematic course of gymnas-tics and open air exercises, a minimum time for such exercises to be made a requirement for students of both sexe throughout all grades.

Extension of the public school sys tem to assure equal educational oppor-tunities to all classes in all branches of learning; public supervision of all educational institutions to secure as equal educational standard.

STATE MILITARY LAW The repeal of all militia law which

surrenders the power of the governo over the militia to the federal authori ties; and members of the state militia to be exempt from all other military

militia to elect their officers; and state militia to be confined within state Federal troops to be prohibited from

interfering in disputes between capi-talists and laborers. CITIES. The autonomy of all municipalities in the matter of the ownership and oper-

ation of all enterprises vital to nunicipality as such. PUBLIC WORKS.

For the nurpose of employing the unemployed and educating citizens in co-operation, the state inaugurate a system of good roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irri gation, state farms in connection with agricultural experiment stations, and to build homes to be rented at a price not exceeding the cost of production and maintenance. The contract system to be abolished

in all public works and such work to be done by the state directly. OLD AGE PENSIONS.

All persons above the age of 60 to be exempt from labor, and to be enti-tled to pensions of not less than the current minimum wage.

SICK AND DISABLED.

Adequate facilities to be provided, at public expense, for the care and main-tenance of all sick and disabled per-TAXATION.

A graduated income tax and graduated inheritance tax to be imposed such revenue to be used solely in the relieve the middle class of taxation. LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Public control of the entire liquor REGULATION OF CORPORA-TIONS.

Railroads and all other corporations operating under public franchises to be placed under state control, and to have their rates fixed by law.

THE COURTS. The abolition of all court costs and

heriff's fees in the commencement of suits, and the abolition of all costs for appealing cases to the courts of last The establishment of free legal de-

Sufficient courts to secure speedy

PRISON SYSTEM. The present brutal system of treating

criminal persons to be replaced by a system of pathological treatment. This includes the abolition of the prison contract system, death penalties and isolated confinement, and the substi-tution therefore of sanitariums in rural localities with adequate healthful

pen-air employment, and treatment

corresponding to mode psychological pathology.

SUFFRAGE. The right to vote not to be contin ent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or public labor. Women to have equal political

Residence qualifications for all elections not to exceed sixty days. LABOR LEGISLATION.

An eight-hour day and a minim Free state employment agencies.
All specific laws detrimental to the

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE DELEGATES to the NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SO-CIALIST PARTY is now ready for delivery. It is a large group, 14 by 17 inches. Every face is clear and distinct, each picture plainly numbered and the names printed below, so that every face can readily be identified. Sent prepaid, ready for framing, on receipt of one dollar.

GEORGE W. EVANS, 1429 Masonic Temple, Chicago.

conspiracy, anti-boycott and anti-picketing laws, and the abolition of the in function as a means of breaking

Trial by jury in all cases by which a person may be deprived of liberty. INSPECTION.

Public inspection of all factories and institutions employing labor. LAND.

All land held for speculation and all land not occupied or used by the owners to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of 10 per cent on the assessed valuation, as fixed by the owner.
All public forest and mining lands to

be developed under state direction and control directly, and farm lands to be open for use with public assistance. DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The initiative, referendum and imperative mandate to be put into oper-

MUNICIPAL PROGRAM. uggestions for the Activity of Local

Socialist Administrations While the Socialist Party's is a Minority Party.

PREAMBLE FOR MUNICIPAL Socialist representatives in municipal administration should always bear clearly in mind the scientific basis of the Socialist municipal program. Un-der capitalism the municipalization of the public enterprises has been compelled in the interest of the business man. The graft of a few has come to interfere with the graft of the remainder of the business world, on account of the development of machinery vital to municipal life. There has followed as a result of this what might be call-

tries for the purpose of reducing the taxes of present property holders.

It must be borne in mind that Socialism will operate these enterprises in

one of the three following ways: First. All service absolutely free of cost to the public, paid for out of the general fund. Instance, the roads and streets, police service, and the free water supply of New Orleans.

ed municipal capitalism, which would operate these publicly owned indus-

Second. Serv.ce at cost production. upply and of the United States post

Third. Service furnished at a profit to the municipality, the profits to be used for the benefit of the whole community. Instance, the taking of water works profits for the perfection of fire department and extension of parks, bath and playground systems.

All other measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increase of intelligence, strengthening of their bodies, securing independence or certainty of livelihood for them, are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privilege naking the courts free to all and s curing as far as possible, the limita-tion of those powers financial, legal, social and political which have accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class will tend, of course, to make the victory of the working class more easy at every step.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

L-CHANGES IN INSTRUCTION. 1. Sufficient kindergarten for all children of proper age.

2. Manual training (not trade schools)

n all grades.

3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in educa-tion with close conection with things, according to principles of modern ped-

agogy. 4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as 5. Establishment of vacation schools,

6. Adequate night schools for adults.
7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II.-CHANGES AFFECTING TEACHING FORCE

 Adequate number of teachers small classes in all schools).
 Normal school training required as minimum qualification for teaching 3. Right of trial for teachers before dismissal.

4. Pensions for teachers when su-

perannuated or disabled. III.-CARE OF CHILDREN. 1. Uniform free text-books for all rehoels, public and private, on de-

 Free meals and clothing.
 Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and for conta-

IV.-EQUIPMENT. 1. Adequate buildings, numerous tot too large. 2. Ample playgrounds, with physi-

cal instructor in charge,
3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all chil-dren through frequent visits accom-

4. Baths and gyn iums in each All school buildings open even-ings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblages.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP. 1.-PRINCIPLES OF MANAGE-MENT.

1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.

2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation.

3. Pension for nil city employees

when sick and disabled.

II.-INDUSTRIES SUGGESTED FOR

1. All industries dependent on franchises, such as street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.

2. Bakeries, ice houses, coal and wood yards, department stores, slaugh ter houses where they are needed.

III.-MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY. Municipal autonomy for the own-rship and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such. 2. Issuance of bonds for this pur-

se up to 50 per cent. of the asse 3. Issuance of debenture bonds, secured by plants to be acquired or built WORKING CLASS GOVERN-

MENT. 1. Police not to be used in interest f employer against strikers.

 Free legal advice.
 Abolition of fee system in all ourts. Trial by jury without extra

expense. 4. Abolition of fines as alternative o imprisonment. 5. Establishment of municipal labor

bureaus for investigation, inspection and report upon conditions of labor. GENERAL MEASURES FOR PUB-LIC RELIEF.

1. Establishment of useful works and extension of public functions give work to unemployed. 2. Free medical service, including

 Adequate hospital service with to taint of charity.
 Homes for aged and invalid. 5. Night lodgings for men out of em-loyment and without homes.
6. Pensions for all public employees.

free medicine.

7. Pree public crematory. 7. Free public crematory. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

 Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.
 Public disinfection after contagious diseases.

3. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores, and such other things as care of public bealth demands Adequate system of parks, public play grounds and gymnasiums

1. Special laws for protection of both women and children in both mer-cantile and industrial pursuits. 2. No child under 18 may be per-nitted to work at any gainful occu-

FACTORY INSPECTION.

pation, including selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

· HOUSING OUESTION. 1. Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.

2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation-no return for ground rent to be demanded.

3. Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to proper standards of light, ven tilation and over-crowding.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

1. Direct employment by the cityabolition of contract system.

2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower than standard trade union rate.

TAXATION. 1. Progressive income tax, such revenue to be used solely in the interests of the working class, and not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

 Taxation of ground rents.
 Exemption of household furniture and laborers' homes up to \$2,000. MISCELLANEOUS. 1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by

municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for workers of the city. 2. Publication of municipal bulletin, containing complete news of all

municipal activity.

E. UNTERMANN, Chairman. JOHN M. WORK, Secretary. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Illinois. GAYLORD, Wisconslu. S. M. REYNOLDS, Indiana.

LUCTLA B KRAYBILL Kansas.

KELLY, Massachusetts, WARREN ATKINSON, New York.

ber, for the maintenance of the national organization, shall be paid to the National Secretary.
Where state organizations exist, this payment of ten cents should be made to the State Secretary with a formal application for charter. To the national state of the secretary with a formal application for charter to the membership or other charter to the membership of other charter to the membership of the organization was decided on the tames of persons participating, tegether with the ten cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter; after precipt of which, upon approval of the National of State Committee, that the formal terms of the sent with application for charter; after precipt, of which, upon approval of the National of State Committee, that we hould be considered to the sent with a sent of the party and the sent of the discussion of political and committee of the State Secretary in a realized states or to the National Secretary in a morganized states, and will be causified as a meeting at least states, and will be causified as a meeting attates, and will be causified as a meeting at the National Secretary in unorganized states, and will be causified as a meeting at the secretary of the party of the party of the secretary of the party of the secretary of the party of the part

-Possibly there were lots of wise people in Tibet who were sure that capitalism would never come in their time.- Erie People.

6

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS. Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party (known in New York and Wisconsin as the Social Democratic Party), and sever their relations with all other political par-ties. ties.

2. The officers to be elected are:
(a) A Chairman at each meeting.
(b) Recording Secretary.
(c) Figuratial Secretary.
(d) Organize Agent.
(d) Organize Agent.
(e) Order of business.
(h) Admission of new membry.
(c) Communications and bills.
(d) Report of Organizer.
(e) Reports of committees.
(f) Untrished business.
(g) New business.
(g) New business.
(g) New business.