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The Worker

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VOL. XIV.—NO. 24.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 11, 1904.

LABOR DAY ADDRESS AT ROCHESTER.

By Jos. Wanhope.

Mr. Chairman and Brother Unionists—When I received the honor of an invitation to address you on this occasion, I did not anticipate such an immense audience, but on second thought I should have remembered that trade unionism is an exceedingly lively subject in this city.

That struggle is still raging. And as the contending forces increase and develop they bring ever new weapons into the struggle. There are exceptions now and then, of course, as when your local capitalists endeavored to dig up that ancient battle-axe labeled "conspiracy to raise wages."

More on the side of labor the weapons have also been improved though not to such an extent. Destruction of machinery, as we saw, has been abandoned. The strike is still retained, but much improved. In place of the strike in one factory, we have the strike of the same craft gradually extending over the city, the state and the nation.

The strike of allied crafts. The sympathetic strike that overtops the ordinary strike and emphasizes the growing solidarity of labor, so that the employers in alarm are forced to develop counter organization. We have added the boycott, the unfair list and the union label, and improved these weapons somewhat. And more significant than all, the most advanced of our union members, are turning towards and grasping the most potent weapon of all, and that is the general class action through the ballot.

Let me here point out that the introduction of these ever improving weapons on both sides is a result of intelligence developed by experience, in obedience to that great law of change of which I have spoken. And I might add that the latest weapon is always the most effective, just as the machine gun is superior to the rifle and the rifle to the musket and will always be so no matter how much the latter may be improved.

As I said, I shall touch lightly on the past of the labor movement. To tell its story is to recount a tragedy, to recite tales of want and misery, of heroism and self-sacrifice, of countless thousands of obscure and nameless men fighting against overwhelming odds—in the face of scorn and contumely, opposition, slander, persecution, ignorance and indifference—often from the time they would enlighten or blast the hopes and hopes of the victors who only to be lost again and again won, of unflinching courage, of high hopes and of sullen despair, of organizations formed to be broken and dispersed and formed again—a struggle ever continued more or less blindly or clearly, of labor betrayed by false friends, or wrecked by ignorant ones, or crushed or seduced by powerful and unscrupulous enemies, but still a continual struggle onward and upward evermore to the light, that light which is beginning to break upon the indomitable fighters, and illumine their path and direct their course, that light whose existence is even denied by some who ally to it as the "Emancipation of Labor."

Though some there be that would lead away from it, still it is that light becoming more distinct. The advance guard of labor see to-day, the main body of the labor host will follow to-morrow. The emancipation of labor, is ceasing to be a phrase, and becoming more a reality—a definite thing that men are talking soberly and seriously of as of the coming of a new day. In it is becoming embodied the hopes and aspirations of the workers of the world. In it is growing the recognition that in the past has been an open slavery, the present a disguised slavery, so the future holds economic freedom for the world's toilers. And this recognition portends not only change, but the greatest change the earth has ever known.

For it means, and can mean nothing short of a complete transformation of our existing social and economic system, a change that shall render the workers complete possessors of the fruits of their labor, and make them the owners of the sources and means of life on which their labor is now expended. It means and can only mean the collective ownership of the land and the tools of production by the whole people. For emancipation means freedom, and no man can be free while another owns and controls the means of his livelihood. But when these means are free to all, no slave can exist on earth.

And for this emancipation the weapons are ready to our hands—political class action, hostile to capitalist politics as it must necessarily be. We have passed through the stage of begging and petitioning. We have crawled in the dust, and eaten dirt to no purpose. Our committees have been spurned from the doors of capitalist legislatures like impudent beggars, and our enemies openly taunt us with our failure. Our fellow workers are still held in "bull pens" in Colorado, shot down in Illinois and Pennsylvania, imprisoned and indicted in New York and Massachusetts. On every hand we feel the weight of capitalist law, see it interpreted and enforced against our class. It is the one power we have left in the hands of our masters. Political class action on our part will enable us to secure it for ourselves. We must have it and WE WILL. It is indispensable for the emancipation of labor, indispensable to gain our freedom.

We are able to do this. Evolution never imposed upon a class a task it was unable to perform. When the workers of the world unite, resistance is vain. And they are uniting. From every

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The latter, dealing especially with the conditions of British India, was supported in a remarkable speech by Dalmadi Naoraji. In spite of his nearly eighty years, Naoraji's voice is clear and strong, and his calm and judicious manner of presenting his detailed indictment of the British government and the capitalist ring behind it for their oppression and spoliation of India, England's colonies, was met with a chorus of groans and hisses. Herron declared that the issue was between organized labor and the organized anarchy of the capitalist governments of the world and dealt with the strike as a phase of the struggle of the working class to own their own products and their own lives.

Referring to the threatened strike on the elevated railroad, he called attention to the professional strike-breakers, and evoked great applause, by the statement that the strike-breakers constituted a private army of thugs, maintained by the capitalist syndicate in defiance of the constitution.

Dististinguished Visitors. Emil Vandervelde, the famous leader of the Belgian Socialists; Hermann Greulich of Switzerland, and several other Socialist representatives in the parliaments of Europe, were present, being on their way to the Interparliamentary Congress at the St. Louis exposition. Vandervelde and Greulich were introduced to the audience and delivered short speeches in French and German. These veteran fighters in the Socialist cause, who have won many laurels in their respective countries, and whose names are known to all workers, were met with a chorus of applause, and even those who could not understand what they said were much impressed by their earnest and forceful manner of speaking.

Reply to Cleveland. When Debs was introduced another great ovation took place and it was some time before he could proceed to speak. He declared that Cleveland's article was a tissue of misstatements and perversion of facts, in plain contradiction of the history of the great American Railway Union strike, and then proceeded to prove it by a statement of the facts as given in his written reply, the substance of which appeared in The Worker of Aug. 28. He told how the Pullman company had repeatedly reduced wages, how the union had been broken up, how the Pullman strike was a strike for the reduction of rents for the houses in the company's "model town" in which the workers lived, how the company discharged every member of the committee, how the strike was then declared and how the reign of capitalist lawlessness and repression then began by the swearing in of 3,000 deputy marshals who were in the pay of the company but bore the badge of governmental authority. Herron Debs quoted the written statement of Chief of Police Brennan that these "protectors of law and order" were "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts" and reinforced it by reading extracts from the report of the Commission which President Cleveland himself appointed to investigate the strike, giving the testimony of newspaper men, local officials and other eyewitnesses that the deputy marshals were a drunken and irrepressible set of low characters, some of whom were actually arrested for high way robbery while serving as "guards of law and order." These tools of the railroad corporations set fire to some old cars in order that the strikers might be accused of incendiarism, and the papers were then filled with sensational articles charging the strikers with all sorts of crime. Then came the injunctions and the troops, said Debs, by which we were restrained from doing what we did not intend to do and then jailed for not doing it. Edwin Walker, who was appointed special counsel for the government, was at the same time the counsel for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad. A special grand jury was empaneled and when the

DEBS IN NEW YORK.

A Mammoth Meeting Greeted Him.

The Burning Eloquence and Keen Wit of the Socialist Presidential Candidate Applauded by a Vast Multitude.

The great mass meeting in Carnegie Hall last Tuesday, at which Eugene V. Debs gave the Socialist view of the present economic and political situation, after having replied to Grover Cleveland's recent magazine article attacking the Pullman strike of 1894, was a most impressive revolutionary demonstration, both in numbers and in enthusiasm.

The great hall was packed from top to bottom. There was a rush as soon as the doors were opened and the police had to form a long line down the street to prevent confusion while the hall was filling. The main floor and the four galleries were filled to their utmost capacity and overflow meetings were held outside. The number of women present showed the hold the Socialist movement has upon the hearts of the women of the working class, standing as it does for the equality of the sexes.

As the band struck up and the noble strains of the "Marseillaise" filled the hall, the audience burst into wild enthusiasm, which was redoubled as the tall figure of Debs, who was seen making his way across the crowded platform. Men and women, their hearts leaping with enthusiasm at the sight of the national standard bearer who so well typified the nature and spirit of the movement, leaped to their feet and climbed on the chairs, waving hats and handkerchiefs and cheering until they were hoarse.

A Private Army. When this deafening welcome had somewhat subsided John C. Chase stepped forward and introduced Geo. D. Herron as chairman of the meeting. Comrade Herron, who is about to leave for Europe, also received a hearty welcome. His first mention of Cleveland's name, when he announced that Debs would reply as "President" of Debs, was met with a chorus of groans and hisses. Herron declared that the issue was between organized labor and the organized anarchy of the capitalist governments of the world and dealt with the strike as a phase of the struggle of the working class to own their own products and their own lives.

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SOCIALISM FOR THE WORKING CLASS

By John C. Chase.

The Socialist Party is the political party of the working class. It calls upon the workers of the land to unite politically and take possession of the government of the country in all its branches, legislative, executive and judicial, and through the government assume the ownership and operation of the industries of the land and operate them for the comfort and happiness of those who toil.

At the present time all the means of producing those things that all mankind must have to exist are owned by a very small number of people who are known as capitalists and obtain property class must seek and obtain permission to labor in the industrial institutions owned by this small number of capitalists in order to live. The capitalist, therefore, have the fate of the workmen in their hands. The very life of those who toil is disposed of by the few who own the means of wealth production. The capitalists are the absolute masters of the people, their liberties and their lives. We have seen these few capitalists grow more powerful, from day to day and from year to year, until one per cent. of the people of the country own almost all of the means of life, while the great mass have nothing but misery and rags.

How can freedom prevail in a country where such a condition exists? One man, at least, in this country is reputed to be the possessor of one billion dollars of wealth. A certain Boston daily capitalist newspaper, commenting on this gigantic fortune a few months ago, claimed, after a careful computation, that with the same income he had in the last few years, the heir to this fortune—the grandson of the present owner—will be the possessor of the appalling total of eighty-six billion dollars. Think of this for a moment, my great, free, American citizen and see what it means. The total wealth of America is estimated at something like eighty billion dollars. This means, then, that some individual, a few years from now—an individual who may be born into the world deaf, dumb and blind, or an absolute idiot, or a weakling—will be the possessor of one hundred billion dollars more wealth than there is total wealth in the country at the present time.

Can we look complacently on and see such a condition coming upon the people of this country? What is to become of our children, and what is to be their position in life when that time shall have arrived? Our children must, of necessity, be the slaves of the individual, or few individuals, as the case may be, who will have such complete control of all the means of life. We are, as a matter of fact, in a similar situation. Every man should be able to immediately answer no to this question. The Republican party, "Not to dare and do is to be a slave."

There is no difference between a Republican and a Democratic capitalist; there is no difference between a Republican and a Democratic bullet; they both kill. There should be no difference in the ballots of the working class. They should also kill; but instead of killing men, their ballots should be intelligently and class-consciously used to kill the system which breeds, and will continue to breed, strife and war between the capitalist and the worker. Workmen, you have nothing to lose by voting with your class, as a class, in the Socialist Party. It is necessary to organize on the industrial field and to strike, suffer and die to protect yourselves against your masters, why will you not vote against them, by voting as you strike? Why will you divide, on election day, into Republicans and Democrats, and place your masters in control of government so that they can order you imprisoned, deported or killed? The earth belongs to you; why will you let a few keep it from you? You must have it if you are to be free. The way to get it is to vote for the party that demands it—the Socialist Party. "Not to dare and do is to be a slave."

over an hour and a half and all were enthused and inspired. This mammoth meeting was one that the Socialists of New York will long remember. The arrangements were carefully planned and well carried out and the meeting was a complete success in every respect.

THE CAUSE OF PROSTITUTION. Only a few days ago I read in the capitalist press where one of these poor creatures called at the entrance to the House of the Good Shepherd in New York City; she asked for food and a place to sleep. "Was a pitiful tale she told the matron in charge. She told of her parents having died and left her alone in the great dark city; she told of jobs she had secured but was discharged owing to her physical inability to keep pace with the machine and as a last resort she appealed to this institution for succor and support. The matron in attendance after having heard this terrible tale of woe and being thoroughly convinced as to the girl's honesty and integrity as well as to her virtue, informed her that she could not take her in there, as that institution was established for the redemption of fallen women only. The poor girl went away, but on the following night she returned. And how old hydro-headed hypocrite bow low! For what follows is an indictment which should arraign the capitalist system as a public criminal at the bar of the nation's conscience. "You may take me now," said the poor girl. "You may take me now, for I am a fallen woman."—John W. Brown.

What are you doing to spread the circulation of this paper? Get busy. The party press needs your support, and is justified in asking if you claim to be a Socialist. Ten thousand new subscribers are wanted between now and election day and it is up to you to do your part in helping to get them.

Real labor laws must be made by those who want them. When granted through being begged for, they are not enforced.

It is a good plan for the Worker subscription cards for The Worker in your pocket—until you can sell them.

Our votes have given our masters the earth and all that is in it, and our votes can take it from them.

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Consider the ever more costly, capitalist exploitation of an ever more extended colonial territory—exploitation not regulated and not restrained, which wastes capital and natural riches, exposes the colonial populations to the most cruel, most terrible, and often bloodiest oppression, and serves only to aggravate the misery of the proletariat.

1. To oppose without any compromise every imperialist or protectionist measure, every colonial expedition, and all military expenses for the colonies;

2. To fight every monopoly, every concentration of vast territories, being opposed to the colonial territory being acquired by the all-powerful capitalists;

3. To denounce incessantly the deeds of oppression of which the natives are the victims, to obtain for them the most efficacious measures of protection against military acts of cruelty or capitalist exploitation, to prevent their being robbed of their possessions either by violence or by deceit;

4. To propose and to favor all that is conducive to the amelioration of the natives' conditions of life—public works, hygienic measures, schools, etc.; to do everything to withdraw them from the influence of the missionaries.

5. To claim for the natives that liberty and autonomy that is compatible with their state of development, bearing in mind that the complete emancipation of the colonies is the purpose to pursue;

6. To try to bring under parliamentary

(Continued on page 2)

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

In the State of New York, on account of certain provisions of the social laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Social Labor Party.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) has passed through its second general election, its growing popularity is indicated by the great increase of its vote.

1904 (Presidential)..... 87,730 1902 (State and Congressional)..... 229,762

FOR PRESIDENT—EUGENE V. DEBS, OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—BENJAMIN HANFORD, OF NEW YORK.

FOR GOVERNOR—THOS. PENDERGAST, OF WATERTOWN.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—CHARLES R. BACH, OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—E. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—EMIL NEPPLE of New York.

For Attorney-General—LEON A. MALKIEL of New York.

For State Comptroller—W. W. PASSAGE of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—S. K. EARLY of Buffalo.

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

THE LAST BLOW TO MR. BRYAN. It may be remembered that the one reason Mr. Bryan gave for his support of Judge Parker was that the latter was opposed to "imperialism."

For it cannot be denied that the recently expressed views of Judge Parker on "imperialism" are in no sense distinguishable from those expressed in the Republican platform.

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we should promise them that as soon as they are prepared, "self government" will be given them "as soon as it can be prudently done."

This is the language of imperialism the world over. It is essentially the view set forth in Roosevelt's speech of acceptance also. It is the excuse put forward everywhere for the retention of foreign power over subject peoples.

The blindness of Mr. Bryan on this point is both pitiable and ludicrous. His idea that the "anti-imperialist" declaration in the Democratic platform might be regarded as a reality when, as he himself admits, the party is thoroughly controlled by capitalist interests, could only be entertained by one hopelessly ignorant of the nature of the forces that dominate present society.

Mr. Bryan expected no "economic" reform from the election of Judge Parker, evidently supposing that the question of imperialism was not an economic one.

Imperialism, like charity, begins at home. It is inherent in the relations of capitalist and wage-worker. It begins in the workshop, the mill, the mine and the factory, where wage slavery on the one hand and capitalist exploitation and political and economic dominance on the other is the order of the day.

Bryan presents to the world the unique spectacle of a so-called statesman every one of whose policies have been set aside or overruled, still clinging to the party that has repudiated everything for which he stood.

As he talks nothing, so he shall be nothing," said Falstaff of his drunken parasite, Ancient Pistol. Bryan has talked nothing for eight long years, and talked it long and loudly, and has finally reached the vanishing point.

Capitalism has spewed him out, Socialism is beyond his comprehension of his purpose, and Wall Street is doing business with its tool, Parker, at the same old stand.

The New York "World" reports that Mr. Ernest Crosby, the well known single taxer and reform advocate, has "come out for Parker," and represents him as saying: "The economic issues are absolutely overshadowed this year by the question of imperialism and militarism. It is impossible to devote serious attention to the great domestic question of the distribution of wealth while the public mind is distracted by the fireworks of foreign conquest."

According to Mr. Crosby, then, the thousands of men out on strike in the building trades, the thousands in the meat industry, the starving weavers of Fall River, the homeless and hungry thousands of our great cities, the millions desperately struggling to maintain existence on a starvation wage, the million unemployed through being laid off or discharged, are not interested in problems of distribution. They would be perfectly satisfied with their lot in life if they could be assured that no increase of the army or navy was projected, that the swashbuckling Roosevelt would be restrained and political independence secured to the Philippines. If only those desirable things could be assured them, they could stand want and the fear of want cheerfully. In fact the getting of food, clothing and shelter is to them only a minor consideration while the great questions of imperialism and militarism remain unsettled. They "cannot devote serious attention" to it as Mr. Crosby says. Their minds are "distracted by the fireworks of foreign conquest." If it be asked where Mr. Crosby discovered this very curious "public," let it be remembered that almost every man's "public" is made up of the class amongst which he moves. The "World" itself answers the question by stating at the outset of a short biography of the man who is "out for Parker," that "Mr. Crosby is rich."

Mr. Crosby is in earnest, but however sincere his intentions may be the fact that he is able to enjoy comfort and ease seems to make it impossible for him to appreciate the real feelings of the overworked and underpaid working class. But it is passing strange that he cannot come to a thorough understanding of the fact that imperialism grows out of the same problem of the distribution of wealth which he says it absolutely overshadows, that he cannot come to at least an intellectual grasp of the plain truth that only by working class supremacy can imperialism be destroyed.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Weekly Circulation Statement Showing Condition of The Worker. As The Worker always has been and is now published at a deficit, and as it is imperatively necessary that the deficit be wiped out and the paper made self-supporting, a circulation statement will be published from week to week, showing the gains or losses of the paper, so that its readers may realize the necessity of increasing the circulation and may see the results of their efforts to do so.

Table with columns for Week ending, Single subscriptions, Bundles, Sample copies, Exchanges, Sold in office and in bundles, and at retail.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries (and OTHERS)

Washington Times. The favorite argument of the Meat Trust just now is that thousands of men out of work can fill the places of the strikers, and will be glad to work for 15 cents an hour, instead of the 18 1/2 cents demanded.

The present condition of the labor market, the entrance of women, girls, and children into this market, and many degraded conditions of living, all follow in the train of the theory that labor must be bought in the cheapest market, especially when a monopoly which need fear no competition is doing the buying.

In a large business not requiring long experience in its workmen there is a young fellow who comes to town willing to work at anything he can get. He accepts the wages of a "new hand," which are sufficient to support him so long as he lives alone, and gives him a small—very small—surplus for pleasures. He works and marries, having had his pay raised from time to time so that, with the small savings he has accumulated, he can support a wife and family.

As time goes on and his family increases, his pay is also increased, so that, with close economy, he can take care of his wife and three or four children, and probably one of his wife's parents or his own. Then comes a time of business depression which throws out of work a lot of unskilled workers somewhere else, and the lower end of the labor market, who would be glad to work for the wages of new hands.

It is true that our laborer has no unusual talent, or he might have become superintendent or foreman; but there are only a few such places, anyway, and not more than half enough for the men who could fill them. He is simply a good, honest, hard-working man who wants his children to have a chance to live up healthily and intelligently. He now receives the information that his wages will be cut to the level of the market price, and that instead of getting 18 cents an hour, \$1.80 a day, or \$10.80 a week, he will get only \$9 a week, and perhaps not that, if the market price should sink.

A single man can live easily on \$8 a week, but how about this man, who is supporting seven people? This is not an uncommon case, either, and there have been cuts which sliced an even greater percentage off the living expenses. Obviously, the money lost must somehow be made up, and so the wife, or the eldest girl, or the eldest boy, goes hunting a job.

Now, multiply this laborer's case by several hundred and see what happens. Thousands of women, girls, and boys are thrown out of the labor market, and take whatever places they can get. They will work for \$3, \$4, or \$5 a week, and take the places which men would only occupy for \$8 or more. And so it goes.

If President Roosevelt wants to know what the cause of race suicide is, he can look at this situation. The percentage of marriages is smaller, and the percentage of vice slightly larger, among girls and women who work at ill-paid labor. They do not marry, because the men with whom they are thrown cannot afford to marry in the uncertain state of the labor market; they turn now and then to vice because they cannot live on their wages if obliged to support themselves, unless they possess a strength of character rare enough among human beings anywhere.

It is pretty hard on a girl to be obliged to look forward to working for just enough money to support herself, until she is an old woman, without love, without children, without interests outside her work, but for all that, hundreds of them do it, in every factory town. The way to prevent race suicide is to make homes possible and practicable and attractive, and this cannot be while there is no security of wages, and no certainty that good character and faithful work will secure a man in his job.

CAN SOCIETY SURVIVE ITS CLASSES?

Peter E. Barrows.

So far as I know the national experience of mankind afford no examples of organic unity. The states, the federations, the kingdoms, the empires, the republics of history have always consisted of internal antagonisms bound together by force and fraud. The antagonisms were poisonous and class-saving interests of their own either consciously or unconsciously, aside from those of some other or of all other men in their own country or elsewhere.

To regulate and profitably restrain these non-organic antagonisms is the sum total of statecraft. In the monarchial forms of this craft the heads of states play these differences off against each other and are as anxious to maintain them as to prevent any of them from becoming too largely victorious. Government by division has thus become the historical program of political states.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the king as one man has been at any time able to play this game of suspended dissolution with all the classes in his dominion. Kings and himself, always included in one of the classes and his crown and scepter never stood for more than the supremacy of his own class, which lasted so long as it secured the allegiance to itself of other adjacent classes; that is, so long as it proved its ability to keep the far off basic slave class beneath them all in that state of servitude called for by the economic conditions of the time.

But things have been happening inside the state bonds of nations which are straining these bonds to the point of breakage. The classes are becoming simultaneously too large and too small; the antagonisms are losing differentiation; the intermediary classes have lost their fences and boundaries. The class of labor has become more and more accentuated as the slave class, no corresponding accentuation has taken place to mark the class in control among the others.

Our labor regenerated to a mere beast, our life to spasms of unrest. Our religion has become the uniform and servile of the masses. Our ambition has no other steps to mount upon but the bodies of the fallen. Desire has withered and fallen down to a few mean shoats; just to crawl through life and get a little money to mind your own business with, and let other people alone until they diminish my profit. Our brains are smitten with insanity as never were men before. Our bodies are afflicted by doctors. We know how to live, but not to eat, not to dress. We are ignorant and strangers to ourselves. We are drunkards and paupers. We do not live and we dare not die. Can any unity, any hope of unity and the human life come out of these vast and disastrous afflictions?

On examining every one of these spots on the body of civilization we find that they have their origin in a pervading private property containing in economic classes and that that tendency, over all other classes, of capitalism. The many swords of the world's bloody mastership have been all beaten into one sword and that is the sword of the capitalist, the mad pursuit of profit in the markets of the world.

And his war is the war of paradox. It was not kept warm divided it serves the purpose of war no more. If the dividing sword of the sword is begetting only unity in the mind of the world then capitalism destroys the class. If like causes produce like results and the capitalist process is alike in every nation shall not the way of resistance be one, and shall not the first success of the proletariat in any nation be the signal and the assurance of all to be quickly and eagerly followed by like deliverance? With an intelligent international working class, well trumped upon and pounded down in the very same way all over the world, who shall gain any or postpone our deliverance?

For we find that the human way out of one stage of sociality into another has been along the line of efficiency for producing the things of life. Therefore, if any system fails to give sufficient to all, that system will perish. If feudalism had supplied all its needs we would all be still feudal. Capitalism, which is the successor of that failure, and which is the perfection of all previous systems of private property in man, is up against its final collapse; it cannot give employment nor find sufficient for all; and the human way out has been in its own failure, which it finds increased in its own failure. And the world has been trained and prepared, negatively and positively, for the successor of capitalism. Therefore I say, society can survive its classes and it can do it through Socialism only.

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No trade union can engage in a "fight to a finish" with the bosses, unless its members are equipped with Socialist brains and Socialist ballots.

In demanding the "unconditional surrender" of its employees, the Beef Trust is merely illustrating its view of the "harmony" which should exist between labor and capital.

People who have been on European pleasure trips are coming back in shoals to vote, but the Socialist Party does not expect much increase on that account.

WHEN YOU KNOW ENOUGH.

By Horace Traubel.

When you know enough. When you learn your own shape and size. When you have ceased to be humble and have refused to be proud. When you begin to think out the final questions that demand the final answers. When you no longer delegate options to your officials but only delegate duties. When you see that forces that begin in the people end in the plutocracy. When you determine that you shall no longer stand aside for superiors and authorities. When you understand that a world in which the gain of one is the loss of another is not a world to be perpetuated. When you become more resolute in favor of yourself. When you see that the failure of the mass can never be the success of the individual. When you see that you have been deceived in your rulers because you have first been deceived by yourself.

When you have learned that the masses will always exploit you. When you stop blaming other people and other powers and begin to blame yourself. When you acknowledge your own part in the process of your own enslavement. When you have the courage to put aside what you call personal prosperity for what we know to be race success. When you at last see the interest figured out finally in one interest. When you understand that individualism in one face. When you have proved to nations that there is only one nation. When you have shown that the property of the world is useless until it can serve righteously the soul of the world. When you have shaken yourself clear of institutions and parties and accepted in the open the untrammelled challenge of life. When you have called all profits off. All profits. All interests. When you have called wages off. Wages, making the last stand of slavery. When you have called wages off. When you have got acquainted with yourself. When you have come to recognize your own genius. When you identify the work of your own hands. When you see the capital of the world to be only the labor of the world in another form. When you refuse any longer to be alienated from your self. Alienated by political catcalls. Alienated by property rights. Alienated by churches and masters. Alienated by traditions. Alienated by social forms and preferences. Alienated in the name of religion, of the state, of the parlor. When you have taken the wheel in your own hands and insist that you shall hereafter steer your day has come. Then I will understand that the statesman is no longer to put you in pawn. That religion will have to talk religion in your name or close its churches. That the state will have to talk economics in your name or wind up its legislatures. That all education will have to educate in your name or apologize for its existence to the alphabet. That the political conventions will have to talk politics honestly in your name or be crushed to the wall. That there will no longer

be any use for laws or creeds or social codes or commercial maxims that have no use for the people. That the institutions and the powers will forever cease to play the people. That now the people will play the institutions and the powers until they are played out and then throw them away. That the people will ask why any formula of the church or of the state or of anything else should outlast its service to the people. That the people will no longer run the errands of the individual. That the individual will now run the errands of the people. That no man will any longer wait to rule or to own. That every man will now be ambitious to serve and to refuse ownership. That the last extra of exploitation will lapse in the general treasure. Then I will know that history has turned over its next leaf. Then I will know that the people have not consulted self-elected or formal oracles, but have consulted themselves. Then I will know that all alienated properties have been called home. Then I will know that the people have won out their case against themselves. Then I will know that the industrial controversy of the people versus the people has been forever closed. Then I will know that after going from court to court the people have at a decision. Then I will know. Then I will be happy.

When you know enough. When you know enough to refuse to play the game. The game which you are bound to lose. Which it has been predetermined you should lose. Just enough to refuse to vote the ticket. The ticket which is bound to betray. Which it has been predetermined should betray you. Just enough to refuse to repeat the orthodox prayer. Just enough to refuse to go to the hospital. Which it has been predetermined should never go to God. Just enough to refuse to accept the job. The job which is bound to starve you. Which it has been predetermined should starve you. Just enough to refuse the social axioms. The axioms which are bound to humble you to the castles. Which it has been predetermined should nullify your democracy. Just enough to refuse to go to the bank. Which it has been predetermined to tax you and kill you. Which it has been predetermined should make you its victim. Just enough to refuse to be dishonest with love and with sex. The love and sex which is bound to hate and pollute you. Which it has been predetermined should sentence you to the economic wolf. Just enough to refuse to take any benefit alone. Any distinction. Any greatness. Any good deed. Any good thing to wear. Any private inheritance. Any merely personal culture. Preferences bound to be false. Which it has been predetermined should be perditionous. Just enough to refuse to take the total social compact on the usual terms. Terms which are bound to continue forever a world of up and down, slave and master. Which it has been predetermined should condemn you to an immortal servitude. Just enough to refuse. When you know enough.

THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

The vision of the average observer of political events is limited to the two dominant parties, and he is so absorbed in their unchanging that he is oblivious of the changing conditions which ultimately necessitate a new party and a new expansion of the social progress and must be settled in the march of events. The Republican party came into existence upon the issue of chattel slavery. It was formally organized in 1854, but had no great following and attracted but little attention. In the national election of 1856 it was a "third party" and by the great majority was defeated. It was a new party which has evolved in the order of progress and must be settled in the march of events. The Republican party came into existence upon the issue of chattel slavery. It was formally organized in 1854, but had no great following and attracted but little attention. In the national election of 1856 it was a "third party" and by the great majority was defeated. It was a new party which has evolved in the order of progress and must be settled in the march of events.

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Still a third delegation, that of Poland, was divided into three parts. Here the question of Polish nationality is a source of disagreement—some advocating and working for the re-establishment of Polish national independence, while others hold that the Socialists in the three fragments of old Poland ought to affiliate with the Russian, Austrian, and German party organizations.

The British dependencies—Canada, Australia, and South Africa—were recognized as constituting a nation, with two votes.

Among the British delegates was one who ought to be regarded as in some sense a representative of India—Mr. J. D. Bhabha, an aged Hindu, who has lived in England for many years and whose writings on the subject of British misgovernment in India are known all over the world.

One of the Norwegian delegates, Comrade Kringsen, was active in the Socialist movement in the United States seven years ago, editing the "Nye Norden" at Minneapolis. One of the representatives of Argentina has also been in the government in our country; we refer to Comrade Rondani, formerly editor of the Italian paper "Il Proletario" in New York City.

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Two of the delegates go from the Congress to prison. Enrico Ferri is under fourteen months' sentence for having exposed the rascality of the Italian Ministry of Marine through "Avanti," the party paper which he edits. Rosa Luxemburg of Germany must spend three months in prison for having, in a political speech, "insulted the honor" of the Kaiser; she says she shall improve the time by studying the English and Dutch languages. A great part of the delegates have had more experience more than once. Among the Russian Terrorist delegates is a woman who has spent twenty-two years in Siberia and has since been working in Russia, and has the very noses of the police, with almost incredible courage, skill, and patience. "Theresa," as is well known, was its laborer for sixteen years. Babel speaks of the time he has spent in German prisons as his "university years," and many of the other delegates have pursued their studies under similar restraint. Herman Schlueter of the American delegation had two years' experience of prison life in Germany in the early eighties, in the days of Bismarck's Exceptional Laws.

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COLONIAL POLICY.

The Report Presented by H. M. Hyndman of the British Social Democratic Federation to the National Congress at Amsterdam.

[We present here the report upon colonial policy by H. M. Hyndman, one of the delegates of the Social Democratic Federation of England to the International Congress. It deals chiefly with the British colonies. Yan Koi having treated the subject more generally. The accompanying resolutions, supplementary to that of Yan Koi, were presented on behalf of Dahabul Nassir, a Hindu of world-wide reputation, resident for many years in England, who was also among the delegates of the S. D. F. at Amsterdam.]

The establishment or conquest of colonies and dependencies by a nation or city has almost invariably led to the acquisition of more and more colonies and dependencies. The process of expansion by settlement or war has steadily continued until the final breakdown of the dominant power owing to external or internal causes, or a combination of both. This was as true of Egypt, Assyria, Athens, Carthage, or Rome, as it has been of Venice, Spain, Portugal, England, or Russia. Such expansion has appeared to be almost involuntary and irresistible. In cases where the able statesmen and general statesmen of the conquering country have seen that a further move forward would bring with it weakness and loss rather than strength and gain, an irresistible attraction has carried the frontier line onwards, either by land or by sea. Whether the motive in the first instance has been to obtain slaves and tribute, as with Carthage and Rome, or for trade and commercial purposes, as with Venice and Great Britain, or for the precious metals and religious domination, as with Spain and Portugal, or, in the main, for religious reasons only, as with the Moslems in their best time, this continuous and seemingly unconscious development on the part of a power in its prime, from the Chinese or Phoenicians in the east to the Trojans in the west, admits of scarcely an exception. The annals of Rome, under its able emperors, form a record in regard to external politics of a constant but fruitless endeavor to keep within or to contract existing boundaries. The growth of the British empire in India was accompanied by a never-ending protest on the part of the real rulers, the East India Company, against any further adventurous policy of annexation whatever. The reasons for staying the hand were twofold, in both cases: they failed to produce a permanent effect in either upon the steady onward march. When, therefore, Prince Bismarck said: "Use puissance ou cedez de prendre et puisance finie," he put in the form of an epigram the teachings of history; though in the particular instance to which he referred, the conqueror proved to be only a very insignificant break in a career of universal absorption.

That the course of colonization and conquest has been chiefly dictated by economic considerations is obvious both in ancient and modern times, and it is equally clear that when Rome, for example, ceased to be able to supply her slave markets one portion of her industrial system was immediately threatened. But in our own times the direct economic impetus has been more apparent than ever before, and the course pursued by the most successful colonizing and conquering power of all, namely, Great Britain, has been from the first due to the direct desire for personal gain. The imperial sentiment came in much later, and when the period of comparative decadence at home had already begun to set in, it was this that practically all the British colonies and dependencies of value, excepting those acquired as incidents of wars with foreign nations, have been founded by private enterprise; the government granting charters in some instances, but only making its appearance on the spot with its officials and soldiers at a very late period. When the position was already secured by individuals or companies. First the pioneer, then the trader, next the merchant and administrator, later the politician and a law court, last of all, and sometimes never, the military. Such has been the general development of the British empire. This, of course, is a complete reversal of the usual order of things, as seen by other states. They have begun with empire in view. With these in the majority of cases, the soldiers come directly after the pioneer, the officials next, the lawyers thereupon, and the merchants and traders pay quite a minor part towards the end. Everything is regulated and ordained from the beginning. As a rule, therefore, such colonies and dependencies have not been self-supporting or remunerative, though the inhabitants subjected have scarcely been the better off.

The extraordinary growth of the British colonies and dependencies during the past three centuries shows, therefore, that the spread of commerce and settlement with its concomitant pecuniary gain to the capitalist class at home, is more favored by this system than by the more rigid military and bureaucratic policy adopted by other nations. Moreover, in the case of the British, the object even of the government itself from the first has been to make more differentiation of nation and the colonies and dependencies pay the mother country. Indirectly, a tribute greater than any expense likely to be incurred on their behalf. It has been throughout a thoroughly profit-mongering imperialism, even before the word "imperialism" was used. Though no direct exactions might be made, the doctrine of the "colonial system" and "continuous voyages" were upheld in order that Great Britain herself, as represented by her trading and capitalist class, might derive all the benefits that could be obtained from her increasing and prosperous settlements. When the North American colonies, moved there by the new merchants and traders, revolted against this policy and the attempt at taxation without representation which followed, refusing to allow the ancient merchant class at home to have it all their own way in the new territories, their success gradually gave rise to fresh ideas as to the treatment of colonies properly so-called.

Such colonies, even when first set on foot as convict settlements, were by degrees accorded the right of self-government, after more or less sharp and sometimes bloody encounters with the official clique which represented the old idea of domination by the mother country. Thus it has come about that Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and the Cape are as completely free and self-governing communities as Great Britain herself. They are, indeed, the most thoroughgoing democracies existing on the planet; and the portions of the colonies, as the French in Canada, who have been brought under English control by treaty after treaty, are allowed to use their own laws and their own language as completely as if they had never been annexed. These democracies also, whilst entitled to, or at any rate expecting, the fullest support and protection from the parent nation at its expense, without any payment from themselves, are accorded the right, which they freely exercise, of heavily taxing goods imported from the mother country to any extent they please, as well as of shutting out at their pleasure intending immigrants from other portions of the empire, whether they be white or black, brown or yellow.

Such extraordinary and undue privileges have never before in history been granted to or obtained by any other peoples. It is not surprising, therefore, that the eleven millions or white colonists under the British flag, who are favored with such conditions and are given complete control over vast territories which they neither discovered themselves nor have one-fifth part developed, are loyal to the empire which grants them such advantages without any of its drawbacks whatever. The return for these unprecedented concessions, on the part of the people at home who are for the most part far worse off than the colonists whom they thus pamper, is wholly indirect, benefits the capitalist class alone, and is scarcely likely to be enduring. The well-to-do sections of society in Great Britain have found a secure and profitable outlet for their capital in the colonies, and advances to the colonists, alike as organized communities and as individual property owners. But the drain for interest and dividends to England on this account is heavy, and is severely felt in times of depression such as that which Australia as a whole has been suffering from during the recent seven years of almost continuous drought. It seems to me, therefore, that this comparative handful of colonists, eleven millions in all, of which only four millions in Australia, will in time come, and as the Labor Party and Socialists gain strength, repudiate, or at any rate reduce, these onerous obligations. It is also probable that with regard to Australia, as the white population does not increase and England's day as a colonial power is practically over (having no longer any agricultural population to send out as emigrants) this huge territory will not be permanently left at the sole dog-in-the-manger control of its present handful of inhabitants. We may expect, at least, that Australia will not be permanently able to retain its position without an infusion of entirely fresh blood, and that this direction of the present policy will play a part in the abandonment of Canada is in a different position, seeing that in her case there is already a set of population from the United States into her territory, and she has not yet adopted, except towards the Chinese and Japanese, the wholesale restrictions, even against English trade interests, favored by the Australian Labor Party.

But England's free colonies depend today upon other nations and other races for their growth and population, and the economic decline of the empire in this respect is everywhere apparent. So long, however, as capitalism rules, the indirect tribute will, of course, be carefully exacted.

These free colonies, however, though of enormous extent, count for little in the matter of population. Their wealth is out of all proportion to their numbers, as their pretensions are out of all proportion to their power. That they will play any very great part in the future of the world, either federated to the mother country or in any other way, seems exceedingly improbable. So far, they have taken from the United Kingdom a considerable part of its most vigorous and intelligent inhabitants, and have strengthened the domination of the capitalist class over the rest of the nation at home. But in this respect, also, they seem likely to play the near future to play a different role.

The total of the British colonies and dependencies, however, comprises one-fifth of the entire habitable surface of the earth and fully one-fourth of its population. Nearly all these countries are governed either despotically or semi-despotically. It is true, in many cases, as in the Indies, where the negroes are still, of course, economically at the mercy of the whites, the pretense of self-government is kept up by legislative councils under the governor, and a similar hybrid system is to be found in the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, West and East Africa, etc.; but, in reality, the populations of these districts are as much at the mercy of the insolent benevolent despotism as the negroes of India, or the folkmen of Egypt; and in all cases, of course, the power of the home capitalist is both directly and indirectly exercised in his own favor. The war, against the Transvaal and the Orange Free State proved, indeed, conclusively how, under the pretense of obtaining equal rights with the Boers for men of European birth, an international gang of swindlers of the type who were able to partly bribe and partly force the British government, its aristocracy and their hangers-on, into hostilities for the advantage of the mine owners as was supposed, but certainly to the injury of the entire nation. The result has strengthened capitalism temporarily, but the ultimate outcome of the swindlers' type was able to be seen. In every direction, however, the same unscrupulous tactics are being relentlessly pursued avowedly now in the interest of new markets, and to obtain further outlets for English capital, shaken in its self-confidence at home by German and American competition.

Undoubtedly, this conscious expansion helps to retard the ultimate breakdown of the capitalist system and the hypercritical contention that we are conquering and annexing peoples for their own good, which has been adopted from England by other nations, now widely engaged in appropriating territory in Asia and Africa, which does not belong to them for the benefit of the dominant class, is almost abandoned by the advocates of imperialism in Great Britain itself.

The change which has taken place of late years in this respect is most marked. Nobody declares nowadays that the campaigns in the Sudan, in East Africa, on the West Coast, and Thibet are carried on for the sake of Christianity and civilization. That miserable pretense has been dropped. The British flag, as the buccannier Cecil Rhodes avowed, is "a commercial asset," to be exploited by its masters and owners, the capitalists of Great Britain, native and foreign. It is extremely doubtful, indeed, whether either slavery or the slave trade would be abandoned in the British empire if they still existed to-day, and their abrogation and suppression depended upon the English House of Commons. The hideous corruption in that assembly, and the utter indifference of the majority of its plutocratic members and their retainers to the welfare of any people, at home or abroad, where money is to be made by neglecting the commonest rules of ethics, have never been so clearly manifested as they are to-day. By their treatment of Kaffirs, Chinese, and negroes, English politicians are no less than those which forced labor and indentured slavery now form a recognized portion of the machinery of capitalist exploitation abroad, as sweating and swindling of the proletariat wage earners are their habitual methods of industrial organization at home. No one, as yet, has been bold enough to advocate a return to chattel slavery in British possessions in any other world; not already the thing exists, and is rapidly extending almost without protest.

It is in relation to India, however, that the greatest colonizing power in the world has displayed the natural results of relentless exploitation. For just 150 years, counting from the battle of Plassey, the luckless inhabitants of Hindostan have been brought in an increasing degree under the control of the greedy European exploiter. From the very beginning, the wealth of the natives, and the riches of the land, the savings and the wealth of India for generations were laid hands upon by ignorant freebooters who rivalled even Alibonquet in their wholesale depredations. The vast wealth thus acquired was used as capital for the rising cotton and other machine industries in Great Britain, and helped to give us as a nation that lead in the markets of every department; they secured governing classes in good stead during the contest for universal dominion against Napoleon. Millions upon millions sterling were thus robbed from India by violence and chicanery, and the rich nabob, returned from the East, was as familiar a figure in English society at the end of the eighteenth century as his congener, the American trust magnate, or the South African millionaire, is to-day. The riches of the East, the cotton gain was felt in many directions; but the scandal became too great for those times. The East India Company was compelled in its own interest to put down this unlicensed conveyance on individual account, and to substitute more legal and more effective means of exploitation. Instead of waiting till treasure accumulated before resorting to the method of exporting hidden riches, the new rulers of the Great Peninsula went straight to the fountain head of wealth production. They carefully appointed Englishmen at high salaries to all important posts held by natives; they put the whole cost of maintaining the army of occupation upon the shoulders of the subject people; they raised taxation in every department; they secured monopolies of the most costly luxury as well as of a prime necessity of life for men and cattle. Thus, mitigated to some extent by their success in putting down Tanjore and certain disagreeable old customs, the rule of the East India Company began that systematic process of draining India of its resources for the benefit of the well-to-do English at home which has gone on steadily and in an ever-increasing ratio from that time to this.

With the Indian mutiny in 1857, the century of the battle of Plassey in 1757, the rule of the great East India Company—which had developed from a clique of merchants, clerks and adventurers to a great military and commercial establishment, owning and controlling a territory more extensive and more populous than any European nation, and which had secured monopolies of the most costly luxury as well as of a prime necessity of life for men and cattle. Thus, mitigated to some extent by their success in putting down Tanjore and certain disagreeable old customs, the rule of the East India Company began that systematic process of draining India of its resources for the benefit of the well-to-do English at home which has gone on steadily and in an ever-increasing ratio from that time to this.

In order to keep up these heavy expenditures and to cover this constant bleeding, India is taxed literally to death. A ryot to-day can afford to eat only one-third of the food his grandfather ate even in good years. He is forced to pay his land tax to the government before the crop is grown, thus being compelled to resort to the money-lender so as to be able to sow his crop and till his land. Not long since the Indian government, which is so completely despotic as that of Russia, announced that the rupee, which is intrinsically worth about 11d. (one penny less than a mark, two pennies more than a franc) should be held to be worth 4d., and that the people of India should pay their taxes on this basis. The taxation of the starving cultivators was thus increased from 40 to 50 per cent. by a stroke of the pen. No wonder that millions die of starvation, and that India is being completely ruined. Previous rulers of India lived in India, and employed the Indians in the highest posts. The wealth raised by their taxation was spent in the country. The Moguls, with all their faults, were infinitely better rulers for India than the English on this account alone. Akbar, the Mohammedan, the greatest in the world, ever held sway in India, employed the famous Hindu ruler, Raja Todar Mull as his finance minister, and the Hindus have always been great in finance. He also had Hindoo generals at the head of his armies, and so had others of the Mogul emperors. We know better. No native of India, under British rule, is good enough to help to govern the glorious country which his ancestors made celebrated for thousands of years. All this, I repeat, shows that capitalism in its latest manifestation is as short-sighted as it is greedy and brutal. Even from the trade point of view, a well-to-do India, with its 300,000,000 inhabitants, would afford the greatest market for goods in the world. It is a civilized, not a barbarous, population as a whole. But enlightened Christian English capitalists prefer to bleed this

enormous population to death rather than to benefit by its prosperity! To this a Western civilization, Socialism itself for Western Europe is less important than the prevention of this wholesale atrocity. I appeal to this International Congress to denounce the statesmen and the nation guilty of this infamy before the entire civilized world, and to convey to the natives of India the heartfelt wish of the delegates of the workers of all nations here assembled that they may shortly, as matter in what manner, free themselves finally from the horrors of the most criminal atrocity that has ever afflicted humanity.

But India only gives the most striking instance of the infamy of modern capitalism in colonies. I do not say that the English are worse than the others. Not a bit of it. They had only the first opportunities, and carry on a daily system on a grand scale than rival nations. The petty larceny thief differs from the monumental scoundrel, not in kind, but in degree. Given the same chance, he would do as big a steal. The French in Algeria and Tonquin; the Russians in Europe and in Asia; the Germans in Africa and China; the Dutch in Java and Sumatra; the Americans in the Sandwich Islands, the Philippines, and Porto Rico; the Belgians on the Congo; each and all carry on the same methods, and only fall short of the English in the scale of their depredations, because they have not as yet so wide a field for robbery, extortion, swindling and murder. Modern colonization and conquest necessarily lead to all these crimes and others. Moreover, such extensions help to prolong capitalist domination, and to enrich and strengthen the exploiting classes in every country, both nationally and internationally, against the real producers of wealth.

Therefore it is the duty of the international Socialist, the only international non-capitalist party, to denounce, and wherever possible, to prevent the extension of colonization and conquest, leaving to each race, and creed, and color, the full opportunity to develop itself. The only complete economic and social emancipation is secured by all.

\$32,000 WORTH OF FUN.
By E. S. Egerton.
SARATOGA, Aug. 20.—John W. Gates spared four hours with the tiger here early this morning and the tiger won on Saturday. Mr. Gates and his son Charley, John A. Drew, Alpha Hedges and one or two others had been dining at the clubhouse at the track.

It was agreed among them that Mr. Gates should do the playing, and the other members of the party should share in his winnings or losses. The regular limit for a bank at the United States Club is \$25. For the particular accommodation of Mr. Gates the limit was raised to \$250. Under this arrangement the play went on for about two hours, when Mr. Gates, who had a horse to the extent of something like \$10,000. That just edged his enthusiasm. He asked that the limit be raised.

Among those who had been watching the play were the bookmakers, Joe Ullman and Max Himmelman. Mr. Gates had no sooner made his reported remark than Ullman, who used to run the New York Club at Long Branch, quipped:

"Max and I will back the game as long as it is played. The regular limit for a bank at the United States Club is \$25. For the particular accommodation of Mr. Gates the limit was raised to \$250. Under this arrangement the play went on for about two hours, when Mr. Gates, who had a horse to the extent of something like \$10,000. That just edged his enthusiasm. He asked that the limit be raised." Ullman suggested a limit of \$1,000, and intimated that if that was not high enough he'd put it up higher.

The new limit was satisfactory to Gates and fortunate continued to smile on the bank. At one time Gates was as much to the bad as \$25,000. Between 4 and 5 o'clock this morning, according to the story, Mr. Gates concluded that he was too sleepy to play any longer and wanted to go to bed. His friends were made and, according to Mr. Ullman's friends, Mr. Gates settled with the limit raisers for \$22,000, which was equally divided between Ullman and Himmelman. Then he settled the small sum due to him to the bookies. He was a chipper and spry at the races this afternoon as if he had had fourteen hours' sleep.

Yellow wage slaves, isn't this inspiring? Just think, but \$32,000 for four hours' fun! It only takes about a year for one hundred of us to earn \$32,000, and we should be joyful to get our dear masters out of us for such a jolly time for such an insignificant sum.

Let us raise the limit." Double it. Make it \$10,000 an hour. That would be but \$64,000 for four hours' fun. Fewer, we would have fewer dinners, fewer shoes and less of the necessities of life if our masters had to get that much more profit out of us. More slaves would be crucified in the Southern mills, and more mothers would be divorced. Let us should rejoice that the "Divinely appointed dispensers of God's bounty" could have more fun.

They tell us, "contentment is better than riches." It must be, if they say so. They reason for us. Reason is a function we have long since delegated to them. We have the contentment they permit. They have the riches we've earned. It's all right, because we have made it right, and we should not pretend to be anything else.

Let us take a peep, just a peep at contentment and riches. Contentment: Thousands of ragged, unkempt men walking the streets desolate and hungry; others worked beyond endurance for a pittance. Bedridden women selling themselves that they may exist; others in the hell of childbirth crying for bread; others in the sweethearts learning a trade.

No joy. No hope. No fun. Riches: A few men sitting in their clubs, well groomed, gorged with food, and flushed with wine; others at Saratoga and elsewhere engaged in the necessary production of soap. Gen-bedecked women selling themselves that they may have more gems; others rolling in the mud. Almost naked children fed on dainties; others at the seashore for their health. All joy. All hope. All fun. Come, brothers, make it \$64,000 for four hours' fun. Let us "raise the limit" if necessary. Thirty-two thousand dollars is too little. Don't be parsimonious; vote for at least \$64,000. Either Parker or Roosevelt will do. Debs won't.

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PARTY NEWS.

National. The first monthly official bulletin authorized by the new national constitution will be issued Sept. 15. There are many official matters concerning the party which the executive campaign committee must publish at this time. The bulletin will contain a complete list of campaign speakers, organizers and financial reports, last Quorum meeting, and all secretaries should have one.

CAMPAIGN FUND. The following contributions have been made to the National Campaign Fund since last report: Half-day's Pay Fund: Edw. Gardner, Ohio, list No. 2073, Local Cornings, \$3.85; P. K. Waldhorst, Alabama, \$2.75; Thos. J. Condon, Idaho, \$2.87; John Anderson, Vermont, \$3.24; Cornelius Mahony, Connecticut, \$3.10; H. Miner, Local Adams, Mass., national share, \$2.25; John Baer, Local New Bedford, Massachusetts, national share, \$2.50; J. A. Jacobson, Iowa, \$12.20; N. E. Putney, Massachusetts, \$15.71; Wm. A. Chase, Baltimore, Md., \$25.85; John C. Thos., New York, \$44; E. H. Thomas, Wisconsin, \$32.16; W. E. Peasey, Maine, \$16.03; total, \$225.90; previously acknowledged, \$2,909.18; total, \$3,135.08.

Regular Contributions: Isadore Bernstein, Washington, D. C., 25c; Simon Lubros, for Workmen's Co-operative Association, Philadelphia, \$25; John Schaefer, for Arbeiter Liedertafel, Hartford, Conn., \$25; F. T. H. Becker, Wayne, Neb., \$2; R. K. Swope, Santa Clara, Cal., \$5; L. V. Floury, San Francisco, Cal., \$1; I. P. H. San Francisco, Cal., \$2; Chas. Holdreth, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$2; Geo. Holmes, Local Point Isabel, O., \$2.25; Fraternal Supply Co., Chicago, Ill., \$5; J. F. McClain, Ferdinand, Pa., 75c; Larity, Lisa & Troop, New York City, \$5; J. H. Van Gorden, Lyndell, Wash., \$2; Jos. Zidd, Local N. Y., \$2; G. P. Bissan, Knoxville, Cal., \$1; J. H. B. Washington, D. C., \$1; Appeal to Reason, per E. V. Debs, \$25; M. H. Carey, Miramere, Okla., \$1; total, \$110.82; previously acknowledged, \$707.02; total, \$817.84. Grand total, \$3,952.92.

Report on the work of the National Campaign Fund since last report: The first monthly official bulletin authorized by the new national constitution will be issued Sept. 15. There are many official matters concerning the party which the executive campaign committee must publish at this time. The bulletin will contain a complete list of campaign speakers, organizers and financial reports, last Quorum meeting, and all secretaries should have one.

Contributions to the National Campaign Fund have been sent to local in all states where consent was given by state committees and to all active workers whose names could be had. It is hoped that the comrades will fill these lists and return them rapidly to the National Secretary. The campaign fund is far from what it ought to be, considering the work to be done and the need of the hour. It is left to do it in. Instead of three thousand dollars there ought to be thirty thousand collected by this time, and every day the demands upon the national headquarters are increasing. How to meet these demands will remain a mystery so long as the money is not forthcoming.

The first meeting of the Socialist national campaign, addressed by Eugene V. Debs, the candidate for President at Indianapolis on Sept. 2, was a great success. "Masonic Temple was packed to the doors, despite the intense heat, and the enthusiasm was spontaneous and unstinted. Comrade Debs was at his best and covered the Socialist position thoroughly. It was an auspicious omen. It is evident that the people are ready for a great campaign.

The demands upon Comrade Debs for special articles on the Socialist Party being made by leading newspapers and magazines indicate the importance of the Socialist campaign this year. The daily "News" of Chicago, having the largest circulation of any evening paper in the city, last week published a two column article by Debs. The "Era Magazine" has offered him space to answer an article by David M. Parry appearing in its September number, and the "Independent" of New York has already accepted an article which will shortly appear. In addition to these are the many calls made upon Comrade Debs by the Socialist and labor press, all of which should be taken as a presidential candidate involves lots of work.

The National Secretary has sent a letter of advice regarding the treatment of Comrade Debs to the locals where he is engaged to speak during the campaign. It is hoped the committees having the meetings in charge will give heed to the suggestions made, as it is highly important that the best kind of care taken of Comrade Debs so that he can pull through the long and trying campaign successfully.

Comrade Hanford's dates for the months of September and October are being rapidly made. Passing in Chicago on his way East he reported enthusiastically upon the campaign prospects and he predicts a greater vote than even the comrades themselves expect. He urges diligent distribution of literature everywhere so that new recruits can be posted upon the party principles.

REPORTING UPON HANFORD'S MEETING IN KANSAS CITY ON AUG. 24.

George H. Goebel entered Idaho on Sept. 9 and will fill a series of twenty-five dates under the direction of the state secretary. Chas. Pergler, national Bohemian organizer, will soon make a tour extending through Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York, and will return to his work in Wisconsin before the election. Louis Gosaulo, national French organizer, will make a tour which will include Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan during September and October.

REPORTING UPON HANFORD'S MEETING IN KANSAS CITY ON AUG. 24.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet on Saturday, Sept. 10, at 8 p. m. sharp at the clubrooms of the W. E. A., 206 E. Eighty-sixth street. Very important business will be transacted at this meeting and the delegates are urged to be there on time.

The next meeting of the Demonstration Conference will take place on Wednesday, Sept. 14, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street. The delegates from the subdivisions of Local New York and various labor organizations are requested to be there promptly.

The Organizer has ready for distribution the leaflet written by Debs, "The Mission of the S. D. P.," and every assembly district should have a sufficient supply for their outdoor meetings. The leaflet is very well written and attractive and contains the pictures of Debs, Hanford, Pendergast and Bach, the national and state candidates. These leaflets may be secured from the Organizer in any quantities, the price being \$1 per thousand. The Organizer has also ready for distribution the state platform with the pictures of Pendergast and Bach and the national and state tickets, the price for them being 70 cents per thousand.

A German edition of Debs' "Mission of the S. D. P." is in press now and will be ready for distribution early next week.

The Organizer also has for sale Debs' "Unionism and Socialism" and Hanford's "Labor War in Colorado" and buttons of Debs and Hanford. John C. Chase will speak in Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue on Sunday Sept. 11.

Great preparations are being made for the Hanford demonstration in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum on Friday, Sept. 23. Ten thousand invitations for the meeting are ready for distribution. Every enrolled Socialist voter receives one. Thousands of large posters are being distributed. The conference of trade unions is considering the advisability of a monster parade. Contributions to the campaign fund are commencing to come in. The 16th, 17th and 18th A. D. donates \$10, Branch 87, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse, \$10; Mrs. C. R. Cook, \$5; 20th A. D., \$10; State Committee, List No. 909, collected by John Datzler, \$4.00; W. Wildgans, \$2; surplus from picnic of Arbeiter Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, combined branches of Brooklyn, \$270; List No. 707, collected by Bakers' Union No. 3, \$4.50; Cigar Makers' Progressive International Union No. 149, donation, \$10; A. M. Daniels, donation, \$2; Bushwick Lodge No. 316, International Machinists, Union, \$5; Butchers' Union No. 211, \$15; Mrs. C. B. Cook, \$10. Comrades must bestir themselves and also money on the state campaign. Lists need money now. Every one of our lists sent out ought to realize \$5. Over 300 are in circulation. Hustle, comrades, hustle! These lists must bring \$1,500 to the campaign fund. Twenty-five thousand state platforms are ready for distribution. Every assembly district should call for their quota. Twenty-five thousand "Mission of the S. D. P." are also ready. Of this leaflet, one million must be distributed in this "hurry" campaign, and preparations are on foot to this effect. A large quantity of "Labor War in Colorado" is at headquarters. This book should be offered for sale at every street meeting. "The Parable of the Water Tank," in German and English, can also be had at headquarters. "Unionism and Socialism," by Eugene V. Debs, can be had from the campaign secretary. This is one of the greatest and best books ever published on the subject of Socialism. It is sold to every union member of your area. It is to be so. It at cost price during the campaign only. Price, 5 cents. The banner raising at headquarters Brooklyn Labor Lyceum was a great success. One thousand Socialists applauded the unfurling of this beautiful standard of the Social Democratic Party. Preparations are being made in the 15th A. D., Br. 2, for the erection of a similar body. The 21st A. D. is also going to fall in line with a large banner. The 20th A. D. have a large transparency 10x20 to be placed in front of their headquarters, corner Green and Hamburg avenue and will also run an entertainment for the benefit of the agitation fund. Comrade Modest was up against the Brooklyn Federation of Labor for ammunition for the campaign fund; this is a Socialist matter. What the amount will be has not yet been decided. The assembly district organizations are requested to take notice of their meetings. It is that they have the platform out on time and that sufficient literature is distributed.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 9. 6th A. D.-N. W. corner of Fourth street and 11th street. Speakers, Alex. Rosen, A. W. Josephson and I. Backus. 14th A. D.-N. E. corner of Tenth street and 11th street. Speakers, Edw. Meyer, Edw. Meyer, Edw. Meyer. 15th A. D.-N. E. corner of Tenth street and Second avenue. Speakers, Fred. Paulsch and Thos. J. Lewis. 16th A. D.-N. E. corner of Eighth street and First avenue. Speakers, J. C. Frost, I. Phillips and A. Abraham. 17th A. D.-N. E. corner of Second street and First avenue. Speakers, Edw. Cassidy, Thos. J. Lewis, D. M. Hayes and J. A. Mayes. SATURDAY, SEPT. 10. 11th A. D.-N. W. corner of Thirty-third street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, J. C. Frost and Wm. Karlin. 21st A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Alex. Rosen, Jos. Wanhoppe and Courtney Lemon. 24th A. D.-S. E. corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Alex. Rosen, Jos. Wanhoppe and Edw. J. Lewis. MONDAY, SEPT. 12. 5th A. D.-N. E. corner of Eleventh street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, L. D. Hayes and Thos. J. Lewis. 10th A. D.-N. E. corner of Twentieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 14th A. D.-N. E. corner of Ninth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 18th A. D.-N. E. corner of Twenty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 22nd A. D.-N. E. corner of Twenty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 26th A. D.-N. E. corner of Thirty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 30th A. D.-N. E. corner of Thirty-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 34th A. D.-N. E. corner of Fortyth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 38th A. D.-N. E. corner of Forty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 42nd A. D.-N. E. corner of Forty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 46th A. D.-N. E. corner of Fifty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 50th A. D.-N. E. corner of Fifty-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 54th A. D.-N. E. corner of Sixtyth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 58th A. D.-N. E. corner of Sixty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 62nd A. D.-N. E. corner of Sixty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 66th A. D.-N. E. corner of Seventy-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 70th A. D.-N. E. corner of Seventy-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 74th A. D.-N. E. corner of Eightyth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 78th A. D.-N. E. corner of Eighty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 82nd A. D.-N. E. corner of Eighty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 86th A. D.-N. E. corner of Ninety-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 90th A. D.-N. E. corner of Ninety-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 94th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundredth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 98th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 102nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 106th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and twelfth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 110th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and sixteenth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 114th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and twentieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 118th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and twenty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 122nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and twenty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 126th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and thirty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 130th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and thirty-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 134th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and fortieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 138th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and forty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 142nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and forty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 146th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and fifty-second street and Eighth avenue. 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E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fifty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 550th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fifty-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 554th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixtieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 558th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 562nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 566th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and seventy-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 570th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and seventy-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 574th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eightyth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 578th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eighty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 582nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eighty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 586th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and ninety-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 590th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and ninety-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 594th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundredth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 598th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 602nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 606th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and twelfth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 610th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixteenth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 614th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and twentieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 618th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and twenty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 622nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and twenty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 626th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and thirty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 630th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and thirty-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 634th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fortieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 638th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and forty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 642nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and forty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 646th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fifty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 650th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fifty-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 654th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixtieth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 658th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 662nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and sixty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 666th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and seventy-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 670th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and seventy-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 674th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eightyth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 678th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eighty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 682nd A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and eighty-eighth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 686th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and ninety-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 690th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and ninety-sixth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 694th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundredth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Courtney Lemon and J. Backus. 698th A. D.-N. E. corner of One Hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and one hundred and fourth street and Eighth avenue. 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