

The Worker.

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A SOLID FRONT PRESENTED TO THE FOE.

National Convention Ends Its Work of Unifying Socialist Forces—"Socialist Party" Is the Name Under Which We Fight.

General Satisfaction with Result—Old Prejudices Fade Away When Delegates Meet Face to Face—Strong Platform Adopted and Efficient Plan of Organization Provided For—Unmistakable Expression of Position on Trade Unionism, Injunctions, Militia, and Negro Question.

"You are not here to discuss the troubles of the past, but to act on the immediate needs of the present, and to make the future."

When George D. Herron uttered this advisory message during his brief speech upon assuming the temporary chairmanship of the Indianapolis convention, he undoubtedly struck the keynote of action paramount in the minds of the delegates themselves. This was proven by the fact that the subsequent proceedings and final results were consistent with Herron's declaration.

In fact, when one looks back over the four days work the most surprising thing is that so little was said of the past, with its strife and recriminations. One can realize now how true it was that the delegates were more intent upon present needs and future opportunities than in haggling over past mishaps. No more hopeful evidence of the high moral and mental standard of the Socialist movement could be had than this. It showed a wise profiting from bitter experience that will be serviceable in the days to come.

A wide strip of red, white and blue flouting with the former color predominating draped around the gallery, was the sole decoration of Madison Hall when the delegates struggled in on that historic Monday morning. When they had settled in their seats, the sunshine glazing in through the eastern windows lit up the patch of red ribbon fastened at their breasts. A small button bearing the inscription, "The Socialist Convention," surmounted the ribbon, a constant reminder to the wearers of their mission. Papers and fans fluttered all over the hall, for the press reports had not belied the torrid Indiana weather. At the door a temporary newsstand bore Socialist pamphlets and books for sale. The platform at the further end of the hall, was in the shade, the figures of the chairman, secretary and stenographer outlining sharply against the light beyond. Through the half open windows there intruded from time to time the clangor of a busy worker hammering upon some tin or sheet iron. Across the street from the western windows a factory could be seen, wherein young girls were seated at machines and ladies sewing and stitching, stitching and sewing.

The personnel of the convention was the first thing of interest to the observant onlooker. Those who had attended previous conventions noted that there were more delegates present than ever before, and again that the vast majority were young people. Delegates past middle age were the exception, and these that were to lead veneration to the gathering.

Young men and young women, with earnest, eager faces, were the dominating spirits in the convention. Young people of energy and strong character, inspired by an ideal but rendered practical by the nature of the struggle, for the attainment of that ideal. Idealists cautious with a sense of duty, their enthusiasm tempered by the weight of a great responsibility.

Again, there was the unmistakable evidence of the growth of Socialism in America in the preponderance of Americans present. It was stated that at least twenty of them were eligible to membership in the Sons of the American Revolution. Other nationalities there were enough to show the cosmopolitan, all-embracing character of the international Socialist movement. Here was a world-wide democratic representation in very truth.

As if to furnish fresh proof of the realization of human brotherhood which Socialism promises to the world was the presence of three negro delegates. So far as known this is the first time that a national Socialist convention in the United States has held representatives of the colored workmen. The applause they received later when they spoke with surprising intelligence upon the question affecting their race was as hearty as their white comrades could make it.

The delegates got down to business in short order. If there was little enthusiasm manifested, it was solely because they believed they had something more important to do than whoop and holler. There would be time enough for that when the work they had come to do was done. At present they had a problem to solve and thousands of anxious people were awaiting its settlement.

The selection of Herron as temporary chairman was unanimous and satisfactory to all parties. It was his first experience in such a position, but his fairness and tact steered the convention through some threatening breakage during the opening and most trying hours of the convention. His brief speech was to the point and helped to put every one at ease.

There was some warm oratory from both sides, with some confusion also. Steadman's declaration that he would abide by the action of the convention cleared the atmosphere a little, but MacCartney's substitute evoked a storm completely. Then everybody felt better. There was more of what

try at large desired it and action was taken accordingly.

While the capitalist press attempted to distort the action of the convention upon the trade union resolutions, yet there was never any doubt as to the attitude of the convention upon that matter. The resolutions adopted

paragraph relating to the farmers and the attitude of Socialists toward them provoked a very thorough debate. Simons, Hoehn, Hillquit, Berger, Origo, and Carey speaking at length, Carey made a strong protest against any declaration identifying the class interests of the farmers with those of the wage workers, holding that such a declaration would not be true.

Sieverman opened the afternoon session with a speech on the same line. He advocated a platform based on the class interests of the proletariat alone.

Herron moved to strike out the paragraph from the platform and refer it to a special committee with instructions to draft an address embodying the Socialist position toward the farmers, such address not to form part of the platform. In supporting his motion he made an able presentation of his views and argued in the same line he had taken in regard to the immediate demands. Nothing, he said, should be inserted in the platform which did not clearly bring out the conflicting interests of the capitalist class and the working class, and the farmers are not members of the wage working class. It was upon this point of the conflicting class interests that the whole discussion on immediate demands and the farmers' question really turned. Steadman answered Herron, strongly presenting the side of those desiring the farmers' plank. Simons derided the ignorance of Socialists on the farmer question and Clemen spoke in the same strain.

One vote Herron's motion was carried and a committee was elected consisting of Berger, Harriman, Steadman, Simons, Hillquit, Clemen, and Hampton.

The immediate demands, as drafted in Herron's substitute presented on the preceding day, were then taken up and the first seven were adopted without change. The eighth was referred to the committee on the former question.

AGAINST CAPITALIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Herron introduced, as a substitute for the concluding paragraph in the set of demands presented by him the day before, the following: "While advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we are nevertheless, in the present, against the so-called public ownership movements, as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utility for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the betterment of the conditions of the working class."

The substitution was allowed and Berger moved that this paragraph be struck out. Herron defended the paragraph, saying it was necessary to define the difference between Socialist demands and the demands of capitalist politicians. It was probable that capitalist parties would adopt public ownership for the purpose of perpetuating capitalism.

Hoehn spoke against the paragraph and Putnam for. Wilsheire said he believed capitalist public ownership to be essentially impossible. Paupke supported the motion to strike out. Simons spoke warmly against it, declaring that he would not have voted for the immediate demands if he had not believed that the paragraph would be adopted.

Berger's motion to strike out was lost by a large majority, and the platform as amended was then adopted as a whole amid much enthusiasm.

THE QUESTION OF NAME

At this point, late in the afternoon, the committee on constitution presented its report. The first clause read: "The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement."

Berger moved that the name "Social Democratic" be substituted and supported his motion in a speech. Carey opposed the motion, relating experience in Massachusetts, which, he thought, should be sufficient reason for changing the name. Clemen asked the convention to free the Socialists of Kansas from the word "Democratic." Hoehn said the question of name was immaterial to Missourians, favored the old name, and was against "Socialist." Ryan said California wanted the change of name. Hillquit said that while he favored the name "Socialist," he feared the change would not be advisable at this time.

Berger's motion was defeated by a vote of 79 to 19. The nineteen delegates voting against change of name represented 1,808 votes.

At this point it was resolved to continue the consideration of the constitution in a night session. The convention took a recess for supper, after which the whole evening was spent in discussion of the constitution in detail.

Philip Brown was unanimously elected as chairman of the fourth day's session. After some routine business had been disposed of and the draft of constitution referred to the secretaries for revision, Abbott was given the floor

to report for the committee on resolutions.

ON TRADE UNIONS

The first resolution presented was that on Socialism and the trade unions, which was unanimously adopted. It is as follows:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned."

"We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle is only waged by the trade union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end only when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on class-conscious lines, to join the Socialist Party, and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

A resolution to telegraph congratulations to the striking steel workers of the working class, and the farmers and members of the wage working class. It was upon this point of the conflicting class interests that the whole discussion on immediate demands and the farmers' question really turned. Steadman answered Herron, strongly presenting the side of those desiring the farmers' plank. Simons derided the ignorance of Socialists on the farmer question and Clemen spoke in the same strain.

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THE NEGRO QUESTION

A spirited debate was raised by the resolution on the negro question, prepared by the special committee elected on Tuesday. Simons took exception to the clause on lynching and Adams and Carey warmly defended it. Hayes made a strong speech, saying that Socialists must take a stand on the negro question, caring nothing what capitalist parties do. Every word in the resolution was true and the convention should not try to evade the issue. Herron said it would be better for the Socialists to lose every white man's vote in the South than to fail to meet the moral issue involved in the resolution. Collins said we must take a stand in regard to the movement to eliminate race prejudice, Robinson and Hamilton wanted the lynching clause eliminated because it would close the ears of Southern white men to Socialist agitation. Mully spoke for the original resolution, answering Robinson and Hamilton. Harriman said the admission of the existence of race prejudice by the Socialists was the very reason why Socialists should take a decided stand. The resolution was finally referred to Herron for revision. When he reported in the evening session, the resolution, in the following form was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, the negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom, occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

"Whereas, the capitalist class seeks to preserve this peculiar condition and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

"Whereas, both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions ally the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class; be it therefore

"Resolved, That we the Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suf-

fer from the same conditions."

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class, and hostile to the interests of labor; and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket."

CONVENTION SENDS GREETINGS TO STRIKING STEEL WORKERS.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party, at Indianapolis, telegraphed the following message of congratulation to the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers at Pittsburg:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, congratulates the steel workers of the land on their gallant resistance to the attacks of organized capital upon the rights of organized labor."

In view of the constant use of the militia to break strikes, the convention declared that:

"No member of the Socialist Party shall become a member of any armed force of the capitalist class."

On the question of the use of injunctions against the working class, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the injunction has become, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist class seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingmen; be it

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class, and hostile to the interests of labor; and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket."

might broadly be termed factional feeling during this discussion than at any time thereafter.

By far the most interesting debate, and justly the most important, was that upon the immediate demands. Except when broken by points of order and appeals from the chair in the effort to get the question clearly before the convention, reckless oratory flowed unintermittently from early on Tuesday afternoon until half through the Wednesday morning session. What was most noticeable was the break-up of factional lines during the debate. For instance, against the demands were Simons, Wanhope, Hayes, Siobolin, Spring, and Lux of the Springfield party, and MacSweeney and Clemen of the Chicago party. In favor were Hoehn, Hillquit, Sieverman, Harriman, Herron, and Morgan of the Springfield party, and Berger, Goebel, and Steadman of the Chicago party.

The speeches were eloquent, of course, some more eloquent than convincing. There was a tendency to exaggerate on the part of those opposed to the demands. They seemed to find argument in calling those in favor of the demands "reformers" and "populists." Perhaps the most effective speech on this side was that made by Wanhope.

Harriman's explanation of the manner in which he believed the demands should be placed in the platform came at a crucial time in the debate. It met with such approval that there was no doubt that Herron's substitute embodying Harriman's views would finally be adopted.

Several of the delegates, instructed directly against the demands voted in favor of Herron's substitute, among them being Simons and Hill.

Next to the immediate demands came in matter of heat and earnestness, the debate upon the question of headquarters. The representatives of the Chicago party and the Chicago comrades affiliated with the Springfield party were united in their advocacy of Chicago. It was more amusing than otherwise to listen to the fervid eulogy of the "Windy City" by its supporters. No one can accuse the Chicago comrades of a lack of local pride after hearing them dilate upon the advantages of their home city. Simons' description of Chicago as "the bleeding heart of capitalism" was picturesque but not conclusive, as the vote for St. Louis showed.

The discussions upon the farmers' plank, the negro question, the constitution and other points were illuminating and instructive. The advocates of the farmers' plank were particularly careful to emphasize what they called "the ignorance of Socialists" upon this subject, and we can expect to receive some enlightenment very soon.

The discussion upon the negro question was notable for the speeches delivered by the colored delegates. These comrades displayed a good knowledge of Socialism; they did not ask for sympathy for their race; they recognized the identity of interests of all workmen, white and black, and the necessity of Socialism to allow everyone the opportunity to be really free. All they desired was that the convention give forth an utterance that would command the attention of the colored workmen, and bring these truths home to them. The applause that greeted these remarks was well deserved and enthusiastically given.

Although several delegates protested against the change of name, it was plain that the membership in the con-

vention was taken up seriously. The

THE BATTLE IS BEGUN.

The Steel Trust and the Workers in Deadly Battle.

The Greatest Strike in History, Involving the Strongest Forces on Either Side to Be Fought on a Question of Vital Interest.

The fight between the steel workers and the Steel Trust is on to a finish. After fruitless conferences held between the Amalgamated Association officials and the representatives of the Trust in the effort to effect a settlement, President Shaffer has been compelled to issue a general strike order calling out all Amalgamated men employed by the United States Steel Corporation.

The strike will be the most momentous one in the history of the American labor movement. The most completely organized trust and one of the strongest labor organizations are pitted against each other in a struggle for the mastery.

If the Trust wins, it will mean a blow to organized labor which will be felt throughout the world.

If the Trust loses, it will mean a great victory for the economically organized working class, a triumph for the principle of the right of labor to organize to protect and advance its interests.

The trust represents the largest mass of capital combined into one organization in existence. It is the capitalist class personified. Its directors are the leading financiers and capitalists of America; its managers, the shrewdest that money can buy. It possesses a worldwide power. Its influence extends wherever men gamble in the necessities of life. Into every country where labor is exploited to yield profits to a parasitical class, its resources are unlimited. All the cupidities and servility that troop obedient to the beck and call of omnipotent wealth are at its command. Statesmen are its tools, its pliant, and governments its creatures. Counting in its common weapon, force is its quick resort when all else fails. If needs be, it will resort to bloodshed to achieve its ends.

On the other hand, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers represents, at this juncture, the organized working class of North America. It is part of the American Federation of Labor, with which are affiliated, with few exceptions, the trades and labor organizations whose membership reaches into the millions. More than that, it has behind it the sympathy and support of several million unorganized workers.

Against the trust with its vast resources is set the organized working class, imbued with the spirit of class-consciousness, mighty as a whole, financially and morally. On their side stands justice. With them the fight is one for the right to organize, the right to attempt to free themselves from hellish conditions, the right to gain freedom from wage slavery, the right to live as free men.

Out of their scant wages must come the ammunition to fight this battle. Their press is limited in circulation and hampered by poverty. Their votes have made statesmen of servitors, they have supported a treacherous press, and they have perpetuated oppressive governments. They have fought before, and given their blood for their cause. They must fight this time as never before.

The issue is: Shall the trusts rule or shall the working class organize for its immediate betterment and its ultimate freedom?

The working class must win this battle. And the Socialists of America, with men, voice, and pen, must help them win it.

STRIKE IN CLARK'S COPPER MINES.

Senator Walter A. Clark of Montana is a famous labor-trust man. He proved that, immediately after "making" his calling and election sure, by joining the Copper Trust. He is also a famous "friend of labor" in politics. His sincerity in this is now proved.

His employees in the United Verde copper mines near Jerome, Arizona, demanded an eight-hour day. They considered that the intensity of their work, its unhealthfulness, the danger to life and limb involved, together with his great wealth, created by the copper mines, and his professions of friendship for labor, rendered the demand an altogether reasonable one.

Clark's reply was a flat and unqualified refusal. He had nothing to arbitrate. He was boss and proposed to run his mines in the way most profitable to himself.

So one thousand six hundred miners have gone on strike. Only ten stayed in. Now if this one thousand six hundred would only vote at the next election as class-consciously and as unitedly as they have struck, Clark would think twice before refusing their next demand.

BOSTON.

A mock caucus which all Boston comrades and sympathizers are requested to attend will be held at headquarters, 905 Washington street, Monday, August 12, at 8 p. m. It is desired to have a large attendance, as there are a number of things concerning the caucus about which a conference can probably be held.

JOHN SHERMAN WEAVER, Secretary City Committee.

The best work you can do for Socialism is to circulate the party press.

(Continued on page 4.)

MEET REVOLUTION WITH REVOLUTION.

Up in Connecticut there are a lot of machinists on strike. They are organized in a union. Their bosses are also organized in a union. The men do all the work in the foundries and machine shops. The bosses own the foundries and machine shops, get fat profits for owning them instead of working in them, and claim the exclusive right to say who shall work, how long and how hard and under what conditions they shall work, and what pay they shall receive. The bosses' union says that, on principle, it will not arbitrate these questions with the men who do the work.

The men, through their organization, have used perfectly peaceful and lawful means to explain the situation to other men and induce them not to go in and take the strikers' places. This plan succeeded very well, for the average workmen are too honorable to willingly steal another's job. The bosses' union was in trouble. If other men did not work for them they could not get any profits. They had to do something. This is what they did.

They found a judge named Gager (his name might as well be Jeffers or Tancy—or Dogberry, for that matter, who was a great friend and formerly counsel for one of the bosses, named Farrell. This Gager issued an injunction FORBIDDING THE STRIKERS EVEN TO PERSUADE OTHER MEN NOT TO TAKE THEIR PLACES; HE FORBODE THEM TO CONGREGATE in the neighborhood of the factory "OR IN ANY OTHER PLACE" for such purpose; he forbade them to "COUNSEL OR PERSUADE" anyone to "interfere" with the bosses' union by "persuasion or other means." He attached a penalty of \$5,000—FOUR YEARS' WAGES FOR A SKILLED MAN—to the violation of this order.

Then this infamous judge clinged his order still further by a device of his own. The bosses brought suit against the machinists' union for damages caused by the strike—not for any injury done by violence, but for the loss of profits that the men would otherwise have created for the bosses. These men are skilled and industrious workmen. Some of them had laid away a few hundred dollars in the savings banks. THIS BOUGHT-AND-SOLD JUDGE ISSUED AN ATTACHMENT ON THEIR SAVINGS

Some people are frightened because the Socialist Party is a revolutionary party. They think revolution means violence and lawlessness. Now if revolution does mean violence and lawlessness, what could be more revolutionary than the conduct of Judge Gager? Who could be more violent and lawless than he?

YOU HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN REVOLUTION AS PROPOSED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND REVOLUTION AS PRACTISED BY JUDGE GAGER, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS, WHICH DO YOU CHOOSE?

COMRADE DEBS IS PLEASED.

Editor of The Worker.

The Socialist delegates who met at Indianapolis last week and by their wise counsel, patient effort, and fidelity to principle converted rival factions into a united, harmonious, and enthusiastic party, are entitled to the thanks and congratulations of every Socialist in the country.

Considering the strained relations of the past and many other difficulties under which the delegates assembled, they accomplished all, and even more than could reasonably have been expected, and it is with special satisfaction that I voice my approval of the results of their labor. There may be those who will use a magnifying glass in seeking points of objection, but I am confident that hearty concurrence will mark the verdict of the membership at large.

Only our friends, the enemy, have cause for chagrin and disappointment. Most assiduously did their emissaries scatter the seed of dissension and strife, but it failed to germinate. The soil and climate were not congenial to it and the crop was a total failure. In the severity of debate, it may have seemed at times as if the convention was doomed to failure, but as passion subsided, the delegates were brought nearer and nearer together until at last all differences were hammered into forms of harmony and strength, and the stirring strains of the "Marseillaise" burst from the throat of the delegation and proclaimed the triumph of the convention.

The platform is a sound and practical expression of the principle and program of the party; the name is free from objection; the general plan of organization meets the demand and the national headquarters have been wisely located.

For National Secretary, the convention could not have made a better choice than Leon Greenbaum. Knowing the comrade personally, I can with pleasure bear testimony to his honesty, efficiency and unflinching devotion to Socialist principles.

Through The Worker, if extended a hand of cordial congratulation to every comrade. Let the dead past bury its dead. Let the convention stand as a monument above internal dissension and factional strife.

The proletarian is to be organized for the great class struggle, and the task appeals for our united and unflinching efforts. Hail the Socialist Party of America and the Social Revolution!

ETIENNE V. DEBS, Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 5.

THE WORKER CONFERENCE.

The Worker Conference will meet Monday evening, August 12, at the Labor Lyceum. All delegates should be on hand promptly at 8 p. m.

The meetings of the Conference are held regularly on the second and fourth Monday of each month.

IN THE BROW.

The attention of the comrades of the Bronx is called to the fact that the Young People's Club will hold an ice cream social, Friday evening, August 10, at 3309 Third avenue. A pleasant evening is assured those who attend. Comrades, turn out for a good time.

We must not imagine that all things are lapsing into confusion if every tender protestant be not compelled to bear his part in certain social conventions; nor doubt that roads can be built, letters carried, and the fruit of labor secured, when the government, of force is at an end.—Emerson.

The local unionists have been highly successful in their organization and their demands. The bankers, joiners, and plumbers have won the day. Independent political action, by the working class on a national scale, would just as easily establish the Workers' Republic.—San Diego Chief.

BANK ACCOUNTS AS SECURITY FOR THE DAMAGES ALLEGED FOR THE BOSSES IN THEIR BILL OF COMPLAINT.

In a word, this judge has entered into a conspiracy with the men who have grown rich on the machinists' labor, to deprive the men of their constitutional rights of assembly and free speech and has DELIBERATELY PLANNED TO RUIN EVERY MAN WHO HAS THE COURAGE TO DISOBEY HIS DECREE.

This judge was put on the bench by workmen's votes, for most of the voters of Connecticut are workmen. He was not selected by workmen. They merely accepted the candidates whom the capitalist politicians put forward. Nevertheless, it is by workmen's votes that this judge has authority to deprive workmen of their rights.

If workmen, by passively accepting the candidates whom capitalist politicians select, can give judges power to aid capitalists in crushing trade unions, then the same workmen, by actively supporting candidates chosen by their own class, can give new judges the power to aid the trade unions in fighting the capitalists. If the political power is so valuable to the owners of the foundries and machine shops, it would be just as valuable to the men who work in them. THIS POLITICAL POWER IS WITHIN THE REACH OF THE WORKINGMEN, FOR THEY ARE THE MAJORITY. THE SOCIALIST PARTY CALLS ON THEM TO USE IT.

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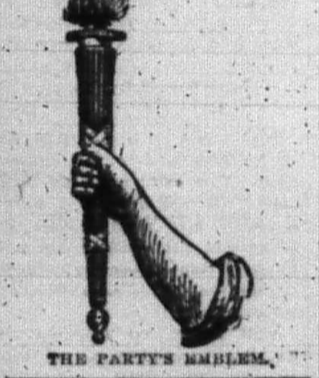
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States from 1888 to 1900. Columns include Year, Presidential, and S. D. P. / S. L. P. votes.

NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD. For Controller—MORRIS BROWN. For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHL.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

THE PARTY NAME.

Although, by the act of the Indianapolis Convention, the name of our organization is changed to Socialist Party, it will, for legal reasons, continue to use the name of Social Democratic Party for political purposes in this state through the present campaign.

We shall reproduce from the London 'Social Democrat,' next week, the translation of Gorki's 'On the Steppes.' This will be the first time anything from the pen of this great master has appeared in America. It will be worth reading.

March for Socialism! March for the United Socialist Party!

Now for vigorous work by every sincere Socialist.

The Socialist Party expects every man to do his duty.

Let the vote this fall prove to the capitalists that we are united in earnest.

There is no excuse left for Socialists who have stayed outside the party on account of its divisions.

The presence of three negro delegates at the Indianapolis convention furnishes Tillman with fresh proof why negroes should be disfranchised.

Now that the comrades don't have to bother their brains any longer about the 'unity question,' they should find time to push the circulation of the party press.

Celebrate the declaration of unity by paying up back dues if you are in arrears, sending in a new subscriber to your favorite party paper, and making an iron-clad resolution to do your full duty to the party from now on.

The strikes, the lockouts, the injunctions, the court decisions against labor, the persecution of 'pickets' and strike organizers—all these call for prompt action on the part of Socialists. The Unity Convention has opened the way for most effective work. Let no further time be lost.

A comrade offers this suggestion: 'Socialist speakers addressing city ad-

missions in this hot weather should not fail to draw comparisons between the closed mansions of the rich, whose owners are enjoying the country and the seashore, and the deserted tenements of the poor, whose inmates are gasping for breath on the curbstones or on the roof. Let the speakers rub it into sweltering labor.' Good advice.

The constitutional convention of the state of Virginia is composed of one hundred men. Among these are two doctors, one civil engineer, one teacher, two editors, and a preacher. The other ninety-three are all either capitalists (including planters in that term) or lawyers. Sixty-three are lawyers. The portion of Virginia's population which does all the productive and useful labor seems to be represented in inverse proportion to its numbers, and has a correspondingly slim prospect of being considered in the framing of a new constitution. But let us not make invidious remarks about Virginia. The workers of other states are about as slow in taking the political power into their own hands.

WOULD THEY TAKE THE CAPITAL AWAY?

Workers are warned that if they should put Socialists into public office and seek to carry out the Socialist program of securing the workers the whole product of their toil, the capitalists would straightway 'take their capital out of the country.' Sometimes this interesting suggestion makes quite an impression. Men who have not yet thought deeply about the matter are inclined to take it seriously.

Let those who are afraid the capitalists will 'take the capital out of the country' consider what that phrase means. What is capital? Well, land is capital—a large part of the land, at least. They won't take the land away, will they? Railroads are capital. They will hardly tear up the rails and carry them off. Factories are capital. It would not be very easy to abscond with a steel mill.

No, a Socialist administration will not lose any sleep worrying lest the bosses take the capital out of the country. They may take themselves off and we will say, 'Good riddance to bad rubbish.' They may take their deeds and bonds and stock certificates, for all the good it will do them. They may even take what ready cash they happen to have on hand. We can get along without it. But the greater part of the real capital—the material means of production—is of such a sort that it cannot well be carried off.

Besides, if there were any danger of the capitalists carrying out their threat, there is the injunction, which has been used in one direction—against labor—so long that it has got lop-sided. We might give it a new twist.

Don't be afraid of 'driving capital away.' Capital is the product of labor, and is useless without the constant application of labor. Simply resolve that the people who perform the labor shall also own the capital, and it will not be difficult to carry the proposition into effect.

The Pullman porters are reported to be on the point of striking for higher wages. Their regular pay from the company barely covers expenses, and they have therefore to be dependent upon 'tips,' which, they say, are growing smaller and rarer as time goes on. It is to be wished that the porters would stand for the entire abolition of the 'tipping' system, which puts a favor the pay that he has not the courage to demand in the form of wages. Self-respect may be more or less a matter of sentiment, but it is invaluable to the working class.

THE REFORMERS AND THE TENEMENT QUESTION.

The 'Evening Post' and other organs of the ultra-respectable reform politicians are beginning just now—three months before election day—to feel a profound interest in the condition of the tenement-house population of the city. They especially regret the lack of bathing facilities for the poor and talk in a large but indefinite manner about plans for free public bath-houses.

This is excellent. The choice of free baths as the war cry for the reform campaign in the tenement districts is a real stroke of genius. Why? Because the need of baths is most urgently felt in the hot weather. During the next three months the cleanly and godly reformers can appeal in an appreciative audience. And then, if they should get into office—not that they expect to, but if they should—why they have all win try to forget their promises.

But really, it is too serious a matter for joking. Out of the million people living in tenements (in the narrower sense of that word) in the borough of Manhattan, not 3,000 have access to baths in the houses where they live. Considering the character of our summer climate this would be a horrible condition given through the houses gave ordinary provision for sanitation in other ways. But with the small rooms, the narrow light wells, the lack of ventilation, the crowding, and the impossibility of privacy in many of the tenements, the condition is unimaginable to one who has not seen it. It is safe to say that no savage or barbarous people ever lived in such wretched habitations as those occupied by one-third of the population of this city.

And the two old parties have made absolutely no attempt to remedy this condition. We have had Republican and Democratic governors and legislatures at Albany. We have had Tammany administrations and 'reform' administrations in the City Hall. And yet the conditions in the tenement houses are acknowledged to be worse to-day than they were thirty years ago.

The state and city governments have the power to remedy these conditions if they would. Why have they not done so? Why have they never kept even the pitiful little pledges of peddling, half-hearted reform which they have sometimes made? The answer is: The tenement houses are owned by capitalists and inhabited by working people. Fireproof and sanitary houses would cost the capitalists more to build than the present death traps; and the worse the tenements are crowded, the more rent the owner gets. The capitalists put up the campaign funds for both old parties. The workers have calmly allowed themselves to be led to the polls, never thinking to vote for their own interests. Therefore both old parties have obeyed the dictates of the capitalists, and have done nothing to save the tenement-dwellers from slow murder.

Just now the Tammany officials are beginning to make a great ado about enforcing the tenement laws. That is because election day is approaching and the working people are beginning to show signs of voting for their own class. Why did not Commissioner Sexton think of enforcing the law a year ago? It might have saved hundreds of workmen's lives during the present summer. They are preparing to build some public baths, too. Why did not Commissioner Kearney think of that last winter, so that the people could have been using those baths during the last six weeks? Why did he wait till the campaign was opened before he took the first steps?

And after all, what a miserable little sop it is that they are offering to the million tenement-dwellers! Enforcement of the tenement house law, that sounds good. But what does that law amount to? So far as the 200,000 existing tenement houses are concerned, it amounts to almost nothing. And even for houses to be built in the future, the provisions are ridiculously inadequate. And a few public baths! Why, in the twentieth century and in the richest city of the world it is a disgrace that there should not be a private bathroom in every home. The propositions of the reformers and the pretenses of the city administration are an insult to the working class of the city—even if they were made in good faith, which they are not.

The tenement house question will never be settled until the working people who live in the tenement houses take the political power into their own hands and effect a radical settlement of it, without any regard for vested rights or capitalist interests. The Socialist Party is the only one which dares to propose such a solution and which is founded on the working class and can therefore be trusted to carry it out. Read what the Socialist municipal platform says on the subject and then vote for the ticket headed by the Arm and Torch—for Hanford and Brown and Stahl—for the ticket of the working class, the ticket whose election would mean, among other things, safe, wholesome, and comfortable houses for the whole population of the city.

The United States Geological Survey has issued a report on the iron and steel industry, written by James M. Swank, general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association. He is certainly in a position to speak with authority, and he declares that the last year has been one of 'marked prosperity' in this industry. Yet the men who do the work of producing iron and steel are compelled to undergo all the hardships of a strike in order barely to defend their right to organize! If the people owned the mines and furnaces and mills and foundries, as the Socialist advocates, this condition would not prevail. The 'marked prosperity' would then be enjoyed by the workers! Let the workers consider that before they go to the polls again.

DON'T BE AN INVERTEBRATE.

Of all the foolish excuses offered by those who cannot free themselves from old prejudices enough to vote the Socialist ticket, none is more foolish than that of the man who says: 'I am a Socialist; I think Socialism is a good thing; but it's a long way off yet; you have no chance to win this year, so I shall vote the Democratic ticket once more.'—or the Republican, as the case may be. What do those people imagine to be the purpose of voting? Is it merely for the pleasure it gives them to go, every November, and mark an official ballot, that they vote? Is it just to have their vanity tickled by the thought that they are 'American sovereigns'? So it would seem, from the fact that they are willing to vote against what they believe to be right, against what they profess to desire, merely in order that they may be on the winning side.

There is a very good saying to the effect that it is better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it. Thousands of people have for years been voting for what they did not want, just for fear of being on the losing side. They have voted for what they did not want, and they have not it. They call it 'prosperity.' They have their own folly and moral cowardice to thank for it.

So long as you vote for what you do not want, it is very sure that you will not get what you do want. If all the people who refrain from voting for Socialism and joining the Socialist party, organization because it is small would have the courage of their convictions, would do what they know by heart, the Socialist movement would no longer be small—it would be doubled—trebled at once. It is a very bad thing for a man to have no backbone. It makes him useless to himself and harmful to others. Some day these invertebrates will be going about, boasting of being 'old Socialists'—when we dare to be in the minority shall have prepared the way for them. Don't be an invertebrate.

The New York local union of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paper Hangers met last Saturday and voted to send a petition to President McKinley, asking him to intervene on behalf of the steel strikers. This union had deliberately tried, to make itself ridiculous, it could not have succeeded better. McKinley has intervened in strikes before this—in the miners' strike in Idaho. He sent federal troops there, and authorized the Democratic governor to suspend all guarantees of law, to arrest strikers by the hundreds, to hinder some and drive others crazy by inhuman treatment, to railroad the leaders to prison, and to establish an official blacklist against union men. That is the way McKinley intervened. It is too late in the day for petitioning. The only protest that will have any effect upon Republican politicians like McKinley or Democratic politicians like Steiweg is a straight vote cast by the workmen for the Socialist ticket.

The shameful injunction and attachment proceedings of Judge Gager of Connecticut, elsewhere commented upon, do not concern Connecticut workmen alone nor machinists alone. In California, in Missouri, in Illinois, in Kentucky, in Ohio, in Indiana, in West Virginia, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, in New York—over the land, in fact—the Republican and Democratic judges are proceeding from one infamy to another in their eagerness to help the capitalists crush strikes. Here it is the machinists that receive the blow, there it is the cigarmakers, there it is the printers, somewhere else it is the miners. It is a question that concerns workmen of every trade and of every state. And there is only one way to meet it—organized political action, in opposition to both old parties, on the sole basis of working class interests, as represented in the Socialist Party.

THE FALLACY OF NON-PARTISANSHIP.

The reformers of the goodly-goody type are fond of telling us that partisanship is the one great evil of American politics, that all we need to do in order to make this a model republic is to smash the political machines, abandon our old party organizations, wipe out party lines, and 'vote for good men,' respectable, honest citizens, regardless of their political affiliations. There is just enough truth in this theory to make it a dangerous falsehood. It is true, in the first place, that political parties do frequently fall into the hands of unscrupulous ringleaders and represent their possessed principles. It is true, in the second place, that many voters do so blindly follow their party leaders that those leaders may turn the platform of the party topsy-turvy without alienating those docile followers.

To such voters as these the ballot is not a tool for the service of human interests. It is a mere toy for the gratification of their childish vanity—and as toy as dangerous to others as a shot-gun in the hands of a small boy. These people who boast that they never have voted and never will vote anything but the ticket their grandfathers voted, do not injure themselves only by their folly; they do an equal injury to the more sensible fellow citizens.

The rings and machines, too, in so far as they succeed in controlling the political affairs of the community, prevent the people from using their political power for the social good. So much for the truth in the non-partisanship theory. This grain of truth makes the theory attractive to those who know more of theory than of facts, and leads many astray. Now for the mass of falsehood which goes with this microscopic truth. It is a mistake to suppose that the rings and the corrupt politicians are at the bottom of the injustice that is done to the workers under the cover of the law. The politicians are in office as the servants of capitalist interests. They are the tools, not the prime movers, in the process of exploitation and oppression.

And the corrupt politicians and machine bosses are, to say the least, no worse in this respect than the respectable politicians who oppose them and appeal to the workers for aid in de-

throning them. On the contrary, the respectable reformer is generally a worse enemy of the workers than the corrupt machine politician. And, on the whole, parties generally perform the work for which they are elected; politicians, respectable or corrupt, generally fulfill the wishes of those who put them in office. The respectable politician, partisan or not, put in office by capitalist interest, does what the capitalists want done and does it in a cold-blooded, business-like way. The corrupt politician, put in office by capitalist influence, does what the capitalists want done and does also to feathering his own nest while he is about it. That is the chief difference: The respectable is honest with his master, who is the workers' enemy; the corrupt politician 'serves the same master, but steals a little from him. In the bargain, and can thus afford to be a 'good fellow' and liberal to the poor—especially those of the poor whose votes are for sale. Between the two types of capitalist politician the workingman can make no intelligent choice.

The real political power is not in the hands of the individuals who hold the offices. It is in the hands of those who put them in office and on whom they depend for future support. 'Good men,' when elected to office, have often turned out to be very bad officials, because of the evil influences which raised them to power and controlled their actions; while, for the same reason, 'bad' men have sometimes proved to be fairly good public servants.

It is the character of the party which counts, rather than the character of the official. If any principle is to be carried into effect through political action, it must find its expression in a political party; and the more efficient that party is organized, the more thoroughly will its work be done.

In New York City we have a splendidly organized party whose first purpose is to advance capitalist interests and its second purpose to enrich its own members. Tammany Hall is a magnificent organization. It does its work. Of course the work is bad, but that should not prevent us from se-

Mosquito Bites. By PETER E. BURROWES. The brothelands, with which it has been customary to open the New York majority campaign, has commenced. This is about the only thing left for the reform bootleggers of both parties to commence with, because the difficulty of proving which has done the more to make the prostitute viler is so great that the only innings to be had is in the throwing of the first stone.

Comparing the steel strikers' organization as a moral, reasonable, and responsible body with the factious group now assailing the primary rights of citizenship to organize for defense, it must be apparent that the financiers are a tricky, insincere and immoral mob, theured beside the gentlemen of the steel unions. Every member of the Steel Trust and the public knows where to go and to whom to have audience for the strikers. The head of the Steel Trust, on the other hand, takes of his ears, takes out his tongue, and becomes inviolable and irresponsible at any stage of the crisis. Now under any good government seeking to do right by all its citizens, a man who, like Morgan, can set, and does set, such a stupendous force as the Steel Trust in motion for any purpose, should be held to his post, officially in sight and responsible and punishable for being deaf, or blind, or dumb, or absent during this battle he has raised.

The most lamentable page of the colored man's history in this country was that of recording their employment by capitalism against the trade unions of the white; it would be the beginning of the end. But there is hardly much to be feared, or hoped for, on this line. Such a course would be too indiplomatic for our well trained masters. The color line would then be an objective instructor, and multitudes of slaves of both colors would learn more Socialism on the firing line in a week than could be brought to them in the printed lines of books for years.

The brethren who run Washington and Wall Street in a mutual partnership try to let each other down as easily as possible when the bills come in after the play of patriotism. A war tax in the form of a stamp is contemplated to be affixed to certain sale certificates on the Stock Exchange. Now the stock-brokers refuse to diffuse the blessing of this war tax among the deserving poor, and so does the government; therefore, a leading broker of New York is allowed to run in default until he has incurred an impossible penalty—a thousand years' imprisonment, etc.—just to make a case for the higher courts, you know.

When an article in good demand is cheap and you have money, buy it. To the working out of this simple axiom, Mr. Phillips, the corn king, owes his brilliant achievement of having had the whole 1900 corn crop of the United States under his thumb. But the most remarkable part of it, that he worked out this amazing success on the first clause of his motto; for he hadn't a dollar when he began to buy the crop of the United States. The rule, therefore, stand for others, as he leaves it; thus, 'When an article in good demand is cheap and you have no money, buy it.' Now if he could buy the whole crop of the United States without a dollar, what could he have bought if he had that week's wages which you have in your pocket, oh you mere laborer? Work that out, young man, and be satisfied. It is terrible to think of all the great examples that are wasted upon you.

ing how efficient are the means used to perform it. In Philadelphia the Republican party holds the same 'bad influence' and offers the same lesson. And the non-partisan reformers with Democratic leanings in Philadelphia play a very small and generally ridiculous part, because they have not been able to build up an organization competent to fight the machine parties now in power.

Tammany Hall and the Republican machine of Philadelphia are bad, not because they are powerful and closely organized parties, but because their purposes are opposed to the interests of the majority of the people. When the workers learn to form an equally efficient organization for their own purposes, then those capitalist machines will be smashed. But non-partisanship will never do it.

Let us by all means have partisanship in politics, strong partisanship, loyal partisanship, aggressive partisanship. But let it also be intelligent partisanship. Let the voter know what he wants to accomplish through his party and then let him support that party with all his soul. It is so that political victories are won and political revolutions carried out.

THE PROTEST.

Hold the great machine of iron and wood, And let the creative hand of God be made manifest in the world's need. And wait and hunger whenever I would lift men's burdens and lighten their pain. I would give them leisure to laugh in the sun. If owned by the Many—instead of the One.

Men who are original now as ever, If they had but the courage, even the insight, Heroic souls in old times had no more opportunity than we have; but they used them. There were daring deeds to be done—there are there none now? Sacrifices to be made—are there none now? Wrong is to be redressed—are there none now?—Charles Kingsley.

SOCIALIST ECONOMICS. Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language. THE EXPONENT, SAGINAW.

Some stumbling blocks that written records, society has been divided into classes—the people of one class doing the productive labor, the people of the other class living upon the surplus product of their labor. In some stages of society the workers have been chattel slaves, in other stages they have been serfs, in yet other stages they have been legally free men—though not actually free.

The civilization of ancient Athens and Rome was founded upon slavery. The great majority of the people in those states were chattel slaves; that is to say, not only were the land and other material means of production in the hands of the ruling class, but the very bodies of the workers themselves were like-wise the property of the members of that class. That is, they owned both of the necessary elements of production—the materials and the labor-power.

Under this system, the whole product of the slave's labor belonged to the master. But it was necessary, of course for the master, out of this product to supply the necessities of life for the slave. This did not, indeed, cost as much as the slave's labor produced, and the surplus was left for the master, and by living at leisure upon this surplus produced by their numerous slaves, the free citizens of Rome and of Athens were able to develop their wonderful civilization.

But the slave system could not maintain itself. It is not necessary here, nor is there space at my command, to explain in full how it was that slavery showed itself a suicidal system, how it worked out its own destruction. It is enough to point out that a society in which the larger part of the people were slaves, could not be trusted with arms, while the small ruling class were weakened by luxury and arrogance, could not possibly resist the attacks of the free and energetic barbarians who, in the fifteenth century, attacked the Roman empire from the north, and overthrew it. So Rome fell, her material civilization disappeared and a new half-barbarian society rose upon its ruins. Out of this grew the feudal system of the Middle Ages.

Under the feudal system, the workers, called serfs, were personally free men. But the land belonged to the master class, the feudal nobles, and the serfs were obliged to do a certain amount of work (generally two or three days a week) for the lord directly. The rest of the serf's time was his own, and was spent in producing the necessities of his life.

Such a system of exploitation as this, so crude and clumsy, while it served well enough for carrying on simple agriculture, would not fit a manufacturing society, in which work has to be performed by an orderly and complex arrangement.

With the development of commerce and manufacturing industry, therefore, which took place in the fifteenth and following centuries, came the rapid decay of the feudal system. In England that system came to an end by the political revolutions of 1640 and 1688. In France and throughout western Europe it fell with a world-resounding crash in the great revolution of 1789. In America, feudalism never existed, because American colonization did not begin until feudalism in Europe was almost at an end.

In the nineteenth century, productive labor throughout the civilized world—with a few exceptions that may be disregarded—is performed by men who are not only personally free in the eye of the law, but who have the legal right to own property, to buy and sell, and to compete in the labor market.

It might be supposed, by one who had looked no deeper into the matter, that under such conditions as this the working people would realize the truth of all that they could ask. It was, indeed, the belief of the honest ones among the revolutionists of 1789, that 'liberty, fraternity, and equality' would be established by simply removing the legal and customary limitations which feudalism imposed upon industrial competition. The result has shown their error. 'Liberty, fraternity, and equality' are no more to be realized than was than at any time in the past. This was a surprise to such men as Saint-Simon, who had looked upon the great revolution as the opening of a new and brighter day for the down-trodden workers. But to us, who have studied the economics of Marx and Engels, it is no matter of wonder. To those even who have read with care the preceding articles of this series, it will be clear enough why the establishment of free competition and the wage system did not make the working people really free.

Shylock said: 'You take my life when you do take the means by which I live.' So have the wage-workers learned by a century's experience. Owners of their own bodies, lawful masters of their own labor-power, they find the 'means by which they live,' the material instruments of production, still owned by members of another class. And they find that under such a system 'freedom of labor' means only freedom to work for as low pay as will support life.

In my next article I shall write upon 'The Labor Movement.'

Our Esteemed Contemporaries.

The Exponent, Saginaw. 'Perseus of itself, if long confined, must become a nuisance and unlawful,' said Judge Wig of the United States Circuit Court, when issuing an injunction against the striking molders at Cleveland.

Perseus, undisturbed until it persuades the scab to quit work, is the kind that becomes unlawful. Injunctions never issue so long as the employers are successful in filling the places of striking workmen.

We make the guess that the so-called Everett-Moore syndicate, which is gobbling all the urban and suburban traction companies in this part of the country, is merely a branch of the Whitney-Elkins-Widener syndicate, which is in control in Baltimore, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago, Cincinnati, and scores of smaller places, and behind which stands the capital of the Standard Oil octopus.

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A SOLID FRONT.

(Continued from page 1.)

fer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world; be it further:

"Resolved, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor-power; that all social and racial prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor; and to be further:

"Resolved, That we, the American Socialist Party invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world."

HEADQUARTERS AT ST. LOUIS.

The constitution being again taken up, the first point to be decided was the location of headquarters.

Berger moved for Chicago, describing it as "the Paris of America." He urged its central position and its railroad facilities, and declared that it had a strong Socialist movement embracing more ability than in any other city and that, from henceforth, there would be no factional divisions in Chicago.

Carney moved to substitute Cleveland. He was opposed to choosing either New York or Chicago. The history of continued strife in Chicago was the strongest argument against its claims. He was not so sure as Berger about the perfect harmony that was to prevail in Chicago in the future. He wanted to see it demonstrated before the National Committee was put in charge.

The afternoon session was begun with a motion, which was adopted, to choose the seat of the National Committee by election, a majority being necessary to elect. Chicago and Cleveland being nominated, Thornton followed with the nomination of Indianapolis and Abbott, proposing St. Louis, Goebel and Mills spoke for Chicago. Hilquit cited Chicago as the only city in the land where division had continued after the national convention. He proposed Cleveland, just as he would oppose New York.

Steadman insisted that all differences were healed in Chicago and urged its location as a strong argument. Simons made a fiery speech for Chicago. He believed if the headquarters were located there it would inaugurate a new era in the movement. There, he argued, was the focus of the fight between capitalism and Socialism. Against Cleveland and St. Louis he urged the comparative smallness of their Socialist vote. Malley believed that the Socialists of the country would have more confidence that unity was effected if the headquarters were kept away from both Chicago and New York.

Harriman said that the Springfield faction had the power in the convention, but they did not ask for headquarters in the East. They wanted nothing but peace and unity. Why could not the Chicago comrades follow the same course? Socialists would be dissatisfied with both old places. We must have time to smooth over troubles and get settled; then we might find it necessary to change to a new city, but not now. He asked the delegates to compare the arguments of Hilquit and of Simons and compare the spirit displayed, and to decide accordingly.

Jacobs nominated Davenport, La. Hayes withdrew the name of Cleveland and spoke in favor of St. Louis. Miller and Hamilton then withdrew the nomination of Indianapolis and Jacobs that of Davenport.

After Goebel had again spoken for Chicago and Spring for St. Louis and a Cincinnati delegate had stated that his local vote was carried by roll call, the vote was taken by roll call. The unaffiliated states gave 56 votes for Chicago and 118 for St. Louis; the Chicago faction, 1,297 for Chicago and 232 for St. Louis; the Springfield faction, 1,743 for Chicago and 3,178 for St. Louis; in all, 3,096 for Chicago and 2,547 for St. Louis, a majority for the latter city of 421.

Some discussion arose also on the mode of representation in future conventions. The committee's report retained the present plan. Hilquit moved to substitute representation by states, each state to have one delegate and one additional for every hundred members in good standing. This was supported by Hayes and Sioboda and opposed by Goebel, and was adopted.

In the evening session Sioboda offered an amendment to the constitution. The Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Springfield, Mass., the Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Chicago, Ill., the Socialist Party of the state of Texas, the Social Democratic Party of the states of Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, hereby surrender their separate and independent existence and merge and amalgamate into one organization.

At Berger's request, Sioboda moved this as a resolution only, not as a part of the constitution, and it was unanimously adopted. Berger stated that he hoped unity was now accomplished; for his part, he had determined to abide by the results of the convention.

The following moved by Robinson, was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That upon the endorsement of the acts of this convention by general referendum vote of the Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Chicago, the Socialist Party here formed shall assume the independence of \$677,02, as reported by Secretary Webster of the Springfield organization, and the indebtedness of \$1,083.35, as reported by Secretary Debs of the Chicago organization, and indebtedness to be assumed and paid by the Socialist Party; provided, however, that upon the assumption of said indebtedness the books, records, funds, resources, liabilities, and effects on file of the two national organizations named shall be turned over to the Na-

national Secretary of the Socialist Party.

INJUNCTIONS AND MILITIA.

Abbott reported for the resolutions committee the following resolution on injunctions, which was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The injunction has become, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist class seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workmen;

"Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class and hostile to the interests of labor; and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket."

Harriman's resolution prohibiting party members accepting any appointive office from capitalist administrations provoked some debate chiefly through its scope. Harriman supported it in an eloquent speech, his time being extended. Carney and MacCarney asked that action be deferred, as the resolution, if adopted, would cause confusion. The resolution was finally referred to the National Committee, their action to be submitted to referendum.

THE CLOSING HOUR.

Berger stated the Chicago party delegates had considered waiving the referendum of convention results to their party membership, but found they could not do it. However, he believed this was to be permanent unity and if ever a split came it would have to be on new lines.

Leon Greenbaum of St. Louis was elected National Secretary by acclamation. The following were elected as the local quorum of the National Committee: G. A. Hoehn, J. E. Hildbrand, E. Val. Putnam, M. Ballard Dunn, and W. H. Baird. They were empowered to fill vacancies occurring before the election of the full committee. 174 delegates to the amount of \$243 were paid to start the work of the National Committee.

A resolution of appreciation of the two retiring secretaries was adopted in the following terms:

"Whereas, The two National Secretaries of the Socialist Democratic Party, Theodore Debs and William Butcher, are about to retire from office, and

"Whereas, We recognize that the Socialist movement in this country has been materially advanced by the faithful work of these two comrades, be it unanimously resolved, a vote of appreciation to Comrades Butcher and Debs for their valuable services to the Socialist cause."

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE CONVENTION.

One of the most remarkable features of the great national gathering which may prove to have been of an epoch-making character was the fact that it was a plain business meeting from beginning to end. Never and nowhere has to my knowledge, anything like it been seen, not even in Germany, the cool-headed, matter-of-fact, almost unemotional foster mother of modern Socialism.

Hardly an opening speech—Comrade Hebron's few guarded, though eloquent remarks being no more than a slight effort in that direction—no such thing as an impressive appeal to the hearts of the delegates at any time during the progress of the convention, and absolutely not a word at the closing of it—all this ought to suffice to bear out the statement that ours was the most extraordinary "folk-note" of the most unostentatious convention ever held in the annals of the Socialist movement.

And yet it is in this very fact that comes the surest guaranty for the perfectness and durability of that unity which was accomplished last week at Indianapolis.

It was not ushered in with a flourish of trumpets. It was not inspired by anything like a heart-stirring exhortation that might have carried away contending factions, that might have hypnotized and intoxicated, as it were, the audience on both sides only to render possible a rude awakening, a mental "katschenjumm."

Unity, then, was not inspired; people did not get "enthused" into it, neither was it made. It just grew. It did that slowly, painfully if you like, by hardly perceptible degrees, from hour to hour, from session to session, from day to day, until the last supreme moment was reached, and the beautiful, ripe growth stood out perfect before the eyes of men, giving to each and all a taste of that unity to which shall embrace the whole working class, arrayed against the slings, useless, non-producing drones who now devour all the fruits of the busy bees while looking in the sunshine of their independence.

And the four glorious days at Indianapolis, while in the aggregate one blessed period, as those days appear now, represented them as nearly as possible the four seasons of the year. A kind of misty, frosty, bleak winter was the first, followed by a spring day more distinguished by the proverbial March winds and April showers than indicative of May flowers. The third day was clearly a sunny, warm, all-rippling summer, rendering the fourth day, autumnal, yielding a rich harvest for the well-being of all concerned.

If this "verges on the poetical" the older Mr. Weller will please note that after the dry prose of Indianapolis a touch of poetry would hardly seem out of place now, and I only wish some poet had been assigned the task.

Another striking feature of our convention was the peacefulness of many of the American-born delegates. The chairman of the last day, for instance, was a youth hardly out of his teen-

At least, he looked to me—and by his side there sat two young men, older than he, but young men with the promise of life before them full of strength and vigor in the service of the cause. And facing them there sat that noble looking greybeard, the old veteran of the German movement, he who espoused the cause of the oppressed and exploited people years before La-salle unfurled the purple banner, and then joined the Socialist pioneers—there sat Julius Valtheich, and the contrast between him and the lads on the platform was brought out in strong relief. It accentuated the fact that our day was nearing its end, while young America was asserting itself ready to don the armor bright of the Social Revolution, to enter the lists on behalf of their class, and to fight the battle of labor, to fight and to win.

PARTY CONSTITUTION

The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

There shall be a National Committee, composed of one member from each organized state or territory, and a quorum of five to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the Committee.

The members of this Committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than two years and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

This Committee shall meet in regular session not oftener than once a year. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of members of such committee.

The duties of this Committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs, to organize unorganized states and territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party, and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the state, county and local committees. Any member of the National Committee not a member of the local quorum may require the Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National Committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the Secretary; also for its consideration any part of the work of the Secretary or of the local committee or any business belonging to the National Committee.

The National Committee shall elect a member of the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and direct the work of the party in that locality, to submit to a vote of the whole National Committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the Secretary; also for its consideration any part of the work of the Secretary or of the local committee or any business belonging to the National Committee.

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As Adopted by the National Convention at Indianapolis.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profits, are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial domination abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual opposition, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act-

submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in three different states.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN OTHER MATTERS.

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All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

BASES OF REPRESENTATION.

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The unaffiliated state organizations were represented as follows:

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KENTUCKY.—Chas. Decker, Louisville, 88; F. E. Markert, Louisville, 37; F. L. Robinson, Louisville, & F. E. Seeds, Covington, 22.

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